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California Historical Society

Quarterly

Volume 1, Numbers 1-3
July and October, 1922; January, 1923

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SAN FRANCISCO

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JOHNSON REPRINT CORPORATION	JOHNSON REPRINT COMPANY LTD.
111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10003	Berkeley Square House, London, W. 1

First reprinting, 1968, Johnson Reprint Corporation
Printed in the United States of America

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CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Reorganized March 27, 1922

OFFICERS

C. Templeton Crocker, President
H. R. Wagner, First Vice-President
E. S. Heller, Second Vice-President
C. O. G. Miller, Third Vice-President
T. W. Hubbard, Secretary and Treasurer

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Elected March 27, 1922

R. E. Cowan	T. W. Hubbard
C. Templeton Crocker	Walter S. Martin
John S. Drum	C. O. G. Miller
E. S. Heller	E. J. Molera
Alfred Holman	D. Q. Troy
H. R. Wagner	

BY-LAWS

Adopted April 7, 1922

ARTICLE I.

This Society shall be styled CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Its object shall be to collect, preserve and diffuse information relating to the history of California.

ARTICLE II.

This Society shall consist of patron, active, corresponding and honorary members.

1. Patron members shall consist of active members who shall pay at least One Hundred Dollars per annum as dues.

2. Active members shall consist of persons who shall have been elected to membership, and shall have paid their dues as hereinafter provided.

3. Corresponding members shall consist of persons not residing in California, who shall have been elected as such.

4. Honorary members shall consist of persons specially distinguished for their attainments in History, and who shall have been elected to honorary membership.

None but active members shall have a vote or have any interest in the property of the Society.

Upon the death, resignation or expulsion of a patron or active member, neither he nor his estate shall have any interest in the property of the Society.

ARTICLE III.

At each annual election there shall be elected a board of eleven directors, who shall serve for one year and until their successors are elected. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by the remaining directors as provided by law.

The directors shall choose the following officers, viz., a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer. The offices of Secretary and Treasurer may be combined in one person. The directors may in the exercise of their discretion create the offices of Recording Secretary and Corresponding

Secretary, in which case the Recording Secretary shall keep the records required by secretaries under the laws of California, and the Corresponding Secretary shall perform such duties as the directors may from time to time prescribe. The directors may also appoint a Librarian and such other assistants and employees as may be required, and fix their compensation. The Librarian shall perform such duties as the directors may from time to time impose.

Three active members not holding office shall be chosen by the Board of Directors at least thirty days prior to the annual meeting of the Society for the election of officers, and the persons so chosen shall constitute the Nominating Committee, which shall in writing report and nominate eleven members eligible for election as directors at least fifteen days before said election. The directors shall prepare ballots containing such names, which shall be sent by the Secretary to each of the members at least five days before the election, as prescribed by Article XIV.

ARTICLE IV.

The President, or, in his absence, one of the three Vice-Presidents, or, in the absence of the President and the Vice-Presidents, any member whom the Society may appoint, shall preside at the meetings of the Society. It shall be the duty of the President, or presiding officer, to preserve order, and to regulate the proceedings of the meetings.

ARTICLE V.

The Secretary shall perform the duties of a secretary as prescribed by the laws of California.

ARTICLE VI.

The Treasurer shall receive and deposit in such bank as may be designated by the directors, to the credit of the Society, all donations and bequests of money and all other sums belonging to the Society. He shall keep an account of all money received and paid by him, and at the annual meeting render a particular statement of the same to the Society.

ARTICLE VII.

Candidates for membership may be proposed and voted for at any meeting of the directors. The vote shall be by ballot, and a majority of the directors present shall be required for election. Persons so elected must qualify within thirty days from date of notification by payment of the prescribed dues.

ARTICLE VIII.

Each active member shall pay annual dues of Ten Dollars, due on the second Monday of January of each year, in advance. Each active member shall on his election pay into the treasury the sum of Ten Dollars, which shall be in lieu of the annual dues for the year of his election. Any failure on the part of a member to pay his dues within six months after the same shall have become payable may be considered by the Board of Directors as a resignation.

The directors shall have authority to invite membership, and upon the acceptance of such an invitation the person so accepting shall be deemed a member upon the payment of the dues herein provided.

ARTICLE IX.

The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the fourth Friday of January in each year, at such place in San Francisco and time as the President shall designate, and at least three weeks' notice shall be given of such meeting. A special meeting may be called by the President, or, in his absence or disability, by one of the Vice-Presidents, or in the absence or disability of the President and the Vice-Presidents, by the Secretary on the written request of five active members; the object of such meeting shall be stated in the notice by which it is called; special meetings shall require five days' notice. The annual election shall be held at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE X.

Five directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, and twelve members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE XI.

No papers or manuscripts shall be published by the Society without the consent of the directors. Any motion to print an address or other paper read before the Society shall be referred to the Committee on Publication, which shall report to the directors. The Committee on Publication may make suggestions to the directors from time to time, with reference to the publication of such papers as in their judgment should be published; this committee shall have the care, direction and supervision of all publication. Members of the Society shall receive the publications of the Society free of charge.

ARTICLE XII.

It shall be the duty of the directors in case any member shall endanger the harmony, welfare, or good order of the Society, to call a special meeting of the Society; and if at such meeting, after an examination of the charges and hearing the accused, who shall have personal notice of such proceedings, it shall be proposed that the offending member shall be fined, suspended or expelled, a vote by ballot shall be taken, and if two-thirds of the members present shall vote in favor thereof, the offending member shall be fined, suspended or expelled as the case may be.

ARTICLE XIII.

Meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held upon the call of the President, or, in the absence or disability of the President, by one of the Vice-Presidents, or in the absence or disability of the President and the Vice-Presidents, by the Secretary upon the written request of any three directors. Notice of the time and place of such meeting shall be given by the Secretary, at least forty-eight hours before the holding of such meeting.

ARTICLE XIV.

The notices called for in Article IX and Article XII, or any other notice to the active members, shall be given by the Secretary by mailing the same in the United States mail, postage prepaid, in a sealed envelope addressed to each active member at the last known place of residence or business of such member.

The notices called for in Article XIII and Article XVI and any other notice to the directors shall be given by the Secretary by mailing the same in the United States mail, postage prepaid, in a sealed envelope addressed to each director at the last known place of residence or business of such director.

ARTICLE XV.

At the annual meeting to be held for the election of officers the following shall be the order of business:

1. Reading of the minutes of the last meeting.
2. Election of officers.
3. Reports and communications from the officers of the Society.
4. Reports of the directors and of committees.
5. Miscellaneous business.

ARTICLE XVI.

The By-Laws may be amended by the directors at any meeting of the Board of Directors provided that the object of such meeting shall be stated in the notice by which it is called and provided further that such amendment is assented to by at least six of the directors.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY 1852-1922.

When the California Historical Society was revived in 1886 for the second time, a statement was prepared which gave a short account of its previous appearances on earth, together with an account of the organization of a new California Historical Society in the spring of 1886.

It seems appropriate to furnish the members of the California Historical Society at its third reincarnation with a continuation, giving the history of the 1886-1893 period. The only source which we have for this is a scrap book kept by the late A. S. Hubbard, who was Secretary at the end of its active existence and continued as nominal Secretary until his death. We will preface this account by quoting what was written in Part I of the Papers of the California Historical Society about the first and second Societies.

"With respect to its social life, California, after its acquisition by the United States, became in a certain sense the heir of two civilizations. The desire of the immigrants of English stock to preserve the materials for the history of the Spanish antecedents of this Society was manifested, as early as 1852, in the formation of a California Historical Society. [Note] This Society was incorporated April 29, 1852, under the name of the 'Historical Society of the State of California.' The first Directors were: S. J. Field, J. B. Moore, H. W. Halleck, R. Greenhow, J. G. Marvin, Alex. S. Taylor, P. B. Reading, Pablo de la Guerra, Wm. J. Shaw."

Notwithstanding the fact that the writer of this article states that this Society was incorporated April 29, 1852, the office of the Corporation Commissioner in Sacramento informs us that no record of such incorporation is to be found, and we have lately made a search through the columns of the San Francisco Herald for the months of April to September, 1852, inclusive, without finding any trace of its existence or its activity, although we found references to the organization of the San Francisco Philharmonic Society, with the notorious Henry Meiggs as President, and of the Pacific Pioneer Yacht Club of San Diego, of which Major McKinstry was commodore or president. The California State Librarian also informs us that the Library has no records of the existence of this organization.

Nevertheless that some such organization did exist seems certain, as Mr. Doyle, the President of the second Society, must have been responsible for the statement, and he certainly knew the facts.

It seems that another effort along these lines was made about 1866, as we find in the San Francisco Directory of 1870, page 844, the following:

"Ethno-Historical Society: Organized Aug. 23, 1866.

Its workings to be divided into three sections, viz: Ethnology, History, Geography:

Officers: John W. Dwinelle, President; Louis R. Lull, Recording and Corresponding Secretary; Joseph W. Winans, Treasurer; J. W. Dwinelle, John T. Doyle, H. H. Haight, J. W. Winans, and Louis R. Lull, Trustees."

We have no record of its activity or any other record of its existence.

The introduction continues: "This Association, however, left no important record save of the fact of its organization and incorporation. The knowledge of the efforts of individual citizens, particularly of Mr. Hubert H. Bancroft, in collecting and preserving the early records of the inhabitants of this region, has doubtless operated to make associated effort seem unnecessary. A private collection, however, although freely accessible to scholars, does not meet the demand which every civilized community ought to make for a complete and permanent record of its origin and history. It is subject to the vicissitudes of private fortune, and is always liable to be broken up and scattered through the market. The need of an association incorporated under the laws of the State for the collection and permanent preservation of the data of our history has been often pointed out, but perhaps never more clearly and forcibly than by Mr. John T. Doyle in an address delivered 'at the inauguration of the new hall of Santa Clara College,' August 9, 1870."

Mr. Doyle, who was interested in the litigation to secure the Pious Fund for the Catholic Church in California, had accumulated a large fund of knowledge and incidentally copies of many manuscripts concerning the early history of California, and seemed to feel that some organization should be effected for collecting and preserving this early material. We quote his own words:

"It is for the reasons mentioned that so many of the relations of early discovery in America, are from the pens of ecclesiastics; that numerous facts and evidences which the archives of the civil government fail to supply, and which would otherwise have perished, have been brought to light from the libraries of the convents and colleges of Spain and Mexico, and that points of early colonial history, long in doubt, have been set at rest by the authentic narratives and reports of the early missionaries, made to the religious houses of which they were members. A great mass of these, of unknown, but undoubted richness, yet remains in manuscripts, hid away in dusty crypts and chambers of the religious houses now fast going to decay. They throw light not only on our early history, but on that of all the vast part of America which once acknowledged the domain of Spain. These materials of history are perishing day by day; once gone they can never be replaced. It seems to me that the present occasion, which brings together a large assemblage of intelligent and cultivated people to this place, so intimately associated with the history of the past and the hopes of the future, is a proper one to suggest an effort toward the recovery and preservation of these precious materials.

"There are many gentlemen in the State who have already devoted some attention to this subject, and whose studies and efforts have not been without valuable results. But we want organized and co-operative effort, and as no nucleus of such an organization can be more appropriate or afford greater advantages for the purpose than this college, founded on the site, and succeeding to the history of the ancient mission of Santa Clara, I take the liberty to suggest to the Reverend faculty the organization of such a body—a California or Pacific Historical Society, whose object it shall be to collect, preserve, and from time to time make public the interesting records of our early colonial history. It would gather about it all persons of the State whose tastes lead to such inquiries, and concentrate all their information into one focus; it would possess peculiar advantages of obtaining from abroad valuable materials for that history, and founded under such auspices would possess a prestige which would guarantee permanence, stability, and success—

'Possunt qui posse videntur.'

"There is a peculiar appropriateness in this, too, from the fact that the earliest colonists of California, the first mission-

aries who succeeded in effecting a lodgment on the peninsula, were the Jesuit Fathers. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, they were engaged in the effort to reduce all the west coast of America to Christianity, and became the earliest explorers of Sonora, Sinaloa, Arizona, New Mexico and Lower California; their labors in this vast field of missionary enterprise and geographical research are but imperfectly known; the records of them remain in manuscript, but enough has been made public to show the value of the rest, and I trust yet to see the whole of them brought to light through the instrumentality of such an organization as I have suggested."

The result of Mr. Doyle's address was the formation of an association, which it is stated was duly incorporated under the name of the California Historical Society. However, it is to be said that there is no more record in the Corporation Commissioner's office of the existence of this Society than there is of the one said to have been incorporated in 1852. The probabilities are that in both cases they simply effected organization and did not actually proceed to incorporate. Very little is known about this Society. A notice of it appears in the San Francisco Directory of 1872, page 907:

"California Historical Society:—Incorporated July 14, 1870. Number of members, twenty-five (25). Annual meeting at College of Santa Clara on day of commencement.

"Objects:—Cultivation of the history, antiquities and ethnology of the west coast of America, and the publication of early relations and documents connected therewith.

"Office:—323 California St.

"Officers:—Rev. A. Varsi, John W. Dwinelle, Charles H. S. Sawyer, Tiburcio Parrott, and John T. Doyle, Trustees. Ralph C. Harrison, Secretary."

The Society succeeded in producing two important works. The "*Noticias de la Nueva California*" of Father Palou, was printed in four volumes by Edward Bosqui at the expense of Mr. Joseph A. Donohoe. One hundred copies were printed, and we understand that most of them were ultimately disposed of by Mr. Donohoe with his compliments. The second publication was the "*Reglamento para el Gobierno de la Provincia de Californias*," printed from a copy in the archives in the office of the United States Surveyor-General. This seems to have

been a joint production, and one hundred and fifty copies were printed. At the time of the formation of the third Society in 1886, most of these were still on hand and were turned over to the new Society, and we understand were accidentally destroyed by fire. It is a melancholy fact that this reprint is in consequence almost as rare as the original, very few copies ever having been distributed.

It is apparent that the existence of the Society was almost unknown, and at any rate, if it had been known it was considered as defunct, as in 1883 a suggestion was made by Dr. George Mooar in an article on "Family and Local History" read before the Berkeley Club, November 22, that a California Historical Society should be formed. The Club appointed a committee to consider the feasibility of organizing such a society, but nothing further came of this suggestion of Dr. Mooar.

The real factor in the organization of the third Society was Edward S. Holden, who came to the University at the end of 1885, as President. He knew nothing about the preceding efforts of 1852 and 1870, but with some others formed a new association under the same name. However, they soon found that Mr. Doyle and Mr. Jarboe had been interested in a preceding Society and forces were joined and a Society organized and duly incorporated. The certificate of incorporation bears the date of March 6, 1886. At the first election Mr Horace Davis was elected President and Prof. Bernard Moses, Secretary. The other Directors were Messrs. Joseph A. Donohoe, John T. Doyle, John R. Jarboe, Ralph C. Harrison, and Father Varsi, who had been members of the second Society, and Messrs. Edward S. Holden, J. DeBarth Shorb, William Norris and William Ashburner. Mr. Joseph A. Donohoe was Treasurer, and Messrs. Holden, Shorb and Ashburner, Vice-Presidents. Part of this year Prof. Irving Stringham served as Secretary pro tem during the absence of Prof. Moses. Meetings were held in May, June, September, November and December, 1886, and January, 1887. The following papers were read:

May meeting: "Data of Mexican and United States History." By Prof. Bernard Moses.

June meeting: "Methods of Historical Research." By Mr. Fred B. Perkins.

September meeting: "The Employment of Indians in the Revolutionary War." By Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis.

November meeting: "The Identification of the Landfalls of the Early Spanish Navigators on the Coast of California, 1539-1603." By Prof. George Davidson.

December meeting: "The Local Units of History." By Prof. Martin Kellogg.

January meeting: "Brief History of the 'Pious Fund' of California." By Mr. John T. Doyle.

The by-laws provided that the annual meetings be held on the third Tuesday in February. Therefore the first annual meeting took place February 15, 1887. Mr. Davis had previously resigned as President, and a new election was held at which all the former officers were re-elected except that Mr. John T. Doyle was elected President. The Treasurer presented a statement showing that he had \$478.20 on hand, and the Printing Committee stated that a contract had been entered into for the publication of the proceedings. During the ensuing year, 1887, the following papers were read, meetings having occurred monthly except in June and July:

"The First Phase of the Conquest of California," by Prof. William Carey Jones, February 15.

"Early Overland Travelers and Explorers: Who was the First?" by Albert J. LeBreton, March 15. [We assume this paper was read because a notice was sent out calling a meeting, but we have seen no actual account of the meeting.]

"The Development and Early Realization of the College Idea in California," by Dr. S. H. Willey, April 19.

"A Chapter in the Early Governmental History of San Francisco," by Prof. Bernard Moses, May 17; and at the same meeting a very interesting letter was read from General W. T. Sherman in acknowledgment of his election as an honorary member.

"Contemporary History: a Revision of Retrospects," by Mr. F. B. Perkins, August 16.

"A Sketch of the Early History of Santa Clara College," by Rev. A. Varsi, October 18.

"On the Establishment of the Boundaries of the Pueblo of San Francisco," by Dr. E. R. Taylor, November 15.

We have found no record of the meetings of September, December or January.

During this year there was quite an animated discussion at the meeting of October 18, in regard to a proposed action about intervening in the selection of the bronze statuary under the Lick bequest. According to the newspaper accounts of the meeting it was a rather warm affair, and finally a special meeting was called for November 1, to consider the matter. At this latter meeting the excitement had evidently died out or else it was rainy, because there was no quorum present, and the few that did appear decided that it was best not to mix up in the affair.

February 21, 1888, the second annual meeting was held. At this meeting Mr. John T. Doyle was re-elected President, Mr. Joseph A. Donohoe, Treasurer, and Prof. William Carey Jones became Secretary. Messrs. Jarboe, Norris and Father Varsi appear as Vice-Presidents, and Judge J. V. Coffey as Treasurer. At this time the Society had about two hundred members, had a balance on hand of \$601.15, and Volume 1 of the Papers had already been published. The Society was very inactive in 1888, at least we only find records of meetings in February, March, April, June and November. At the annual meeting in February, Mr. Theodore H. Hittell read his paper, "Introductory Chapter to Papers on William Walker, the Filibuster," which he was supposed to have read in January, which induces us to believe that there was no meeting in January. The following papers were read during the year:

"Prehistoric California," by Dr. Lorenzo G. Yates, March 20.

"Early Trapping Parties in California," by Hon. J. J. Warner, April 17.

"Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina," by Prof. William Carey Jones, June 12.

"The South Revisited," by Prof. Joseph LeConte, November 13.

The next notice of a meeting which we find is that of the annual meeting, February 12, 1889, at which time Mr. S. E. Moffett read a paper on "American Relations with Samoa." At

this time the Society had \$318.80 in the treasury, had debts of \$178.98, and dues that were delinquent to the amount of \$500.00.

March 12, Prof. George Davidson read his famous paper on the "Identification of the Anchorage of Sir Francis Drake on the Coast of California," but we find no other notice of a meeting until December 12.

The annual meeting was scheduled for February 11, 1890, but was not held then, probably for lack of a quorum, as a special meeting was held on February 22, at which Mr. John R. Jarboe was elected President, Prof. George Davidson, Mr. William Norris and Father Varsi, Vice-Presidents; Mr. Joseph A. Donohoe, Treasurer, and Col. A. S. Hubbard as Secretary. Judge Coffey, Dr. E. R. Taylor, Prof. Moses and Messrs. Horace Davis and Ralph C. Harrison were the other Directors.

Papers were read during the year as follows:

"Some Traces of the Early History of Astronomy," by Prof. W. T. Welcker, March 11.

"Recollections of Early Theatricals in San Francisco," by Mr. John Quincy Adams, a Stevenson volunteer, April 8.

"The Sioux Campaign of 1876," by Capt. Charles A. Woodruff, May 13.

June 10, Dr. George L. Fitch was scheduled to read "Hawaiian Volcanoes," but there is no record of the meeting.

"An Argonaut's Reminiscences of a Voyage to the Pacific Coast in 1849," by Mr. James E. Gordon, September 16.

At the October meeting Judge F. W. Van Reynegom was to have read a paper on "Early Days in San Rafael," but on account of the small attendance, the meeting was postponed to November 9. At this time the Judge's address was interrupted by a noisy political meeting outside, so the meeting had to be adjourned.

November 11, the Hon. John M. Burnett read a paper on the "Early History of the Pueblo de San Jose."

December 9, the Hon. Robert A. Thompson read "The Two Journeys of Jedediah S. Smith to California."

At the January meeting Mr. Edward English Cheever enter-

tained the members with "A Voyage from Boston, Through the Straits of Magellan, to San Francisco, in 1849."

The annual meeting was to have taken place February 10, 1891, but on account of the small number present, it was postponed to March 10. At this meeting Mr. Jarboe was re-elected President, Mr. Donohoe, Treasurer, and Col. A. S. Hubbard, Secretary. The Directors, including the Vice-Presidents, were Judge Coffey, Prof. Davidson, Hon. Horace Davis, Father Varsi, and Messrs. R. C. Harrison, William Norris, E. R. Taylor and Bernard Moses, besides the officers. The Treasurer's report showed that there were \$440.57 on hand and \$525.00 unpaid dues. The report stated that the expenses for the year had been \$513.95, and that for five years \$696.35 had been expended on publications. There were about 160 members. At this meeting, A. W. Bishop, Postmaster of Oakland, was to have read an article on the "Mission of San Jose," but not being present, Dr. Davidson read a paper on the "Discovery of Humboldt Bay."

Apparently there was no meeting in April, but May 12, Mr. Theodore H. Hittell read his address on "The Life of George Bancroft."

September 8, Mr. Charles James King entertained the Society by reading a number of the letters of his father, James King of William, to his family in the East, 1848-1851.

During the late spring or summer the Society had obtained quarters for the first time in the California Academy of Sciences, 819 Market Street, almost all the preceding meetings having been held in Parlor A in the Palace Hotel.

At the November meeting, Prof. William Carey Jones read the "Journal of a U. S. Soldier to California in 1846-47." The soldier was Judge Walter Murray of San Luis Obispo, who came out with Stevenson's regiment.

At the January 1892 meeting Mr. Bishop read his postponed article on the "Mission of San Jose."

The annual meeting was held February 8, 1892. The Secretary reported receipts for the year, \$1032.50, disbursements, \$480.50, leaving a balance of \$552.00, and stated that the Society had 120 members. At the meeting a paper written by Mr. Charles H. Shinn on "Early California Schools" was read.

Apparently there was no quorum at this meeting for the election of officers, so an adjourned meeting was provided for May 10, but there is no record of what happened at this meeting, beyond the fact that Mr. John Vance Cheney read a paper on Walt Whitman. There is no record of an election of officers this year, probably those in office simply continued.

The next notice is that of the annual meeting of February 14, 1893, and at this meeting Judge James V. Coffey was elected President; Directors: Judge John R. Jarboe, Messrs. Horace Davis, William Norris, James A. Donohoe, Prof. Martin Kellogg, Hon. John Reynolds of San Jose, Hon. N. W. Blanchard of Santa Paula, Hon. J. M. Corcoran of Mariposa, Hon. A. P. Catlin of Sacramento; and Col. Hubbard as Secretary. It is probable that the meeting was not held on February 14, but on February 22, as there is a notice of an adjourned meeting on that date. This notice refers to the resignation of the President, from which it seems evident that Judge Jarboe had resigned. This is the last notice of any meeting of the Society to be found in Colonel Hubbard's scrap book, and it seems probable that there has never been an election since 1893.

From the last combined statement of the Treasurer and Secretary, presented at the annual meeting, February 10, 1891, we gather some interesting figures, as this included a resumé of the operations of the Society from the start. From this it seems that the total receipts of the Society for the five years up to that date had been \$2871.15, out of which had been appropriated for printing Parts I, II, and III, \$1696.35, leaving a balance of \$1174.80 for the current expenses. As the Society had on hand in cash the day of the report, \$440.57, it appears that the total operating expenses for the five years had been less than \$700.00, exclusive of printing the collections. Thirty-two papers had been read at forty-two regular and special meetings.

In 1903 an effort was made to revive the Society. This idea seems to have been suggested by the meeting in San Francisco of the American Historical Association, and the persons most interested in the movement were some of the active members of that Association. A meeting was held at the University Club on February 23, 1903, at which were present Professors Davidson, Morse Stephens and Max Farrand, Rev. W. A. Brewer, Judge Coffey, Messrs. Robert A. Thomp-

son, Horace Davis, and Col. Hubbard. It was decided to get out a circular calling the attention of the public to the advisability of reviving the Society, and early in March the circular appeared. Appended was a list of signatures headed by those of Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California, and David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University. One substantial suggestion was made, namely, to reduce the dues from five dollars per year to three dollars per year; but this did not seem sufficient inducement to secure any sufficient support to proceed with the organization, as certainly nothing came of this movement.

For the last few years many laments have been heard over the fate of the preceding Society, and over the fact that the state was not able to support one, but no one seemed willing to make any effort to get the Society on its feet again until recently. In January of this year several seemed to become suddenly interested in the idea, and at a luncheon at the Pacific-Union Club on February 13, given by Mr. C. Templeton Crocker, it was decided to proceed with the work, provided sufficient funds could be secured to guarantee the operations. At this luncheon there were present besides Mr. Crocker, Mr. Alfred Holman, Mr. John S. Drum, Dr. J. W. Robertson, Mr. C. O. G. Miller, Mr. Thomas Barbour, Mr. H. R. Wagner and Mr. Samuel Knight. At a subsequent meeting Mr. E. S. Heller and Mr. Wagner were appointed a committee of two to proceed with the actual work of reorganization, and in the meantime an active campaign was undertaken for the purpose of securing a guarantee of sufficient funds.

As the old Society still maintained a nominal existence, with Mr. T. W. Hubbard as Secretary, it was considered advisable by the committee on organization to revive this, rather than attempt the formation of an entirely new one. A sufficient number of members of the old Society were found to make a formal request for a meeting, which was held on March 16. At this meeting some forty-two new members were elected, and the meeting then adjourned until March 27.

On this day the adjourned meeting was held as a luncheon at Marquard's restaurant, and a board of eleven directors was elected to serve until the next annual election in January, 1923. Some twenty-five members were present, and much enthusiasm was displayed at the prospect of getting the Society on its feet again.

April 3 a meeting of the Directors was held, officers were chosen and a Publication Committee appointed. Amendments to the By-Laws were proposed, and these were finally practically entirely rewritten, and the new ones were adopted by the Board, April 7. Authority was given to obtain suitable quarters, which have been obtained in the Wells Fargo Building at Second and Mission streets, Room 508.

May 5 a meeting of the Society was held at the Palace Hotel, at which a luncheon was served. Following this a paper was read on "The Discovery of California," by Mr. H. R. Wagner, and this was followed by a general discussion, largely directed to obtaining the views of the members as to the immediate policy to be pursued. Unanimous sentiment prevailed that the Society should begin, as early as possible, the publication of a serial, to be known as the California Historical Society Quarterly.

PUBLICATIONS

First Epoch:

The first Society published nothing, or at least nothing has survived.

Second Epoch:

Noticias De La Nueva California, Escritas Por El Rev. Padre Francisco Palou. Tomo I. [California Historical Society's Publications.]

San Francisco. Imprenta De Eduoardo Bosqui Y Cia. 1874.
Four volumes, 8°.

Vol. I. xx, 270 pages. Views of the City of San Diego, 1873; Mission of San Diego, 1873; Commercial Bank San Diego, 1873; Olive Orchard and Palms at the Mission of San Diego.

Vol. II. 301 pages. Views of Mission of San Buenaventura; Horton's Bank, San Diego, 1873; The Harbor of San Diego, 1873; Court House, San Diego, 1873; and a Garden in San Diego, in February.

Vol III. 315 pages. Views of the Mission of San Louis Rey, 1842; Ground Plan of the Mission of San Louis Rey; Mission of Santa Clara, 1849; Mission of Santa Barbara—the Corridor; College of Santa Clara.

Vol. IV. 253 pages. Views of the Custom House, San Francisco, 1846; Mission of Santa Barbara; Ruins of the Mission of San Carlos; Ruins of the Mission of San Carlos [another view, from the front.]

Issued in heavy paper wrappers with same title in an edition of 100 copies.

Reglamento Para El Gobierno De La Provincia De Californias. Aprobado por S. M. en Real Orden de 24. de Octubre de 1781. [California Historical Society's publication.]

En Mexico: Por D. Felipe de Zuñiga y Ontiveros, calle del Espiritu Santo, año de 1784.

Re-impreso en la imprenta del Colegio de Santa Clara, [Cal.], 1874. 68 pages. 8°.

150 copies printed, but not issued until after August 1875.

Third Epoch:

Papers of The California Historical Society. Vol. I. Part I. San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1887.

A list of the officers and active members xv, Introductory [xvi]-xxxii, 94 pages of text.

This number contains the following separate articles:

The Local Units of History. By Martin Kellogg.

Data of Mexican and United States History. By Bernard Moses.

History of The Pious Fund of California. By John T. Doyle.

The First Phase of The Conquest of California. By William Carey Jones.

Papers of The California Historical Society. Vol I. Part II. History of The College of California. By Samuel H. Willey, D. D. San Francisco. California Historical Society. 1887. 440 pages, comprised entirely of Dr. Willey's article.

Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on The Coast of California in the Year 1579. By Prof. George Davidson, Ph.D. Sc.D. United States Coast and Geodetic Survey.

California Historical Society Publication. [Part III.] Read before the Society, March 12, 1889.

San Francisco, Bacon & Company, Printers, 1890. 58 pages, 15 maps.

George Bancroft and His Services to California. Memorial Address, Delivered May 12, 1891, Before The California Historical Society, by Theodore H. Hittell. [Part IV.]

Published by The California Historical Society, San Francisco. 1893. 20 pages.

MISSION, PRESIDIO AND PUEBLO

Notes on California Local Institutions Under Spain and Mexico.

The irresistible appeal of heroism, adventure and romance has long focused popular attention on two sharply contrasted periods of California History—on the growth and glory of the Spanish Missions; on the virile days of '49. Between the two lies the story of Mexican California, when democratic ideals attracted the imagination of an emancipated but untrained people, while their ineptitude for self government, and their passion for political intrigue frustrated all their efforts for national advancement.

The documentary material on the pre-American régime must be sought in the official archives of California, Spain and Mexico, and historians are working diligently in all these fields. Although the San Francisco fire of 1906 destroyed many original sources, their loss can partly be made good by the copies and abstracts in the Bancroft Library at the University of California; county archives, also, still contain some pre-American records. All this material is being used again and again, as different students analyze and reassemble it according to their special themes. Bancroft, first of all, presented it with extreme minuteness in the footnotes to his *History of California*, and his references will always serve as an invaluable key to the original documents.

Many lines of research attract the student of this period. One, of great importance, is the development of everyday civic life and organization among the people of California during the stormy years of Spanish and Mexican administration. The topic is considered by Bancroft in various sections of his exhaustive history, and it has attention in F. W. Blackmar's *Spanish Institutions of the Southwest*, and J. B. Richman's *California Under Spain and Mexico*. An excellent discussion of certain aspects can be found in a doctoral dissertation, *From Alcalde to Mayor*, by James R. Robertson, now professor of history at Berea College. This thesis, presented to the University of California in 1908 is, unfortunately, still in manuscript.

But with all that has been written on the formative years, no one has yet told a straightforward, definite story of the

genesis of the towns, and the processes of civil growth. The sketch that follows seeks to indicate what can be constructed from material that has already been the fruit of research in the archives of the Spanish and Mexican periods.

From whatever angle one approaches the beginnings of California, the white walled Missions dominate the picture. In that long line of establishments, from San Diego to Sonoma, there was everywhere a definite, organized community life, authoritative and patriarchal, single minded in its ecclesiastical ideals, productive of industry and material prosperity. This life was based and developed on the theory that in two generations, at longest, the Christianized Indians would acquire the simpler arts of civilization, and a practical capacity for community life. When that time should come, civic self government should supersede ecclesiastic tutelage.

Supporting the Missions were the four presidios, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey and San Francisco. They were distinct in their official life and under military control while military control should be needed, although, like the Missions, they were destined to future reorganization upon a civic status. If the Indian neophytes of the Missions provided unpromising material for independent citizenship, the riff-raff soldiers of the presidios were but a few degrees better. The officers, of gentler blood, formed a more aristocratic circle, and held themselves superior to priest as well as to common soldier.

The strategic positions occupied by the presidios were not well fitted for agricultural development, and separate farming communities were required to supply provisions. The establishment of these centers illustrates one of the marked differences between the advance of the Spanish and American frontiers. The pioneer settlement of the Americans was haphazard, chosen by necessity, or in accordance with the preference of individual frontiersmen. The Spanish settlement was a deliberate creation by authorities who estimated the needs of the public service, surveyed available situations, and disposed their civil groups with the same foresight that had dictated the location of the military posts.

In accordance with this careful system the pueblo of San José was founded November 29, 1777.¹ It was a civil community from the very first, but the exact status of early

¹ H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 312.

pueblos was not defined until a new and important reglamento on the government of California was drawn up by Governor Neve on the first of June, 1779.² The second pueblo, Los Angeles, was founded in September, 1781.³ The third civil settlement was Branciforte, founded July, 1797. This was technically called a villa, and its organization differed somewhat from the two pueblos, as it was designed to serve as a point for coast defence as well as industrial colonization.⁴ Robertson says that it followed the "Plan of Pitic," devised for certain outposts in Mexico, where Indian hostilities demanded military preparedness. In spite of brilliant hopes for its future, Branciforte soon became a neglected, disorderly and ill reputed town.

The Spanish pueblo was a very definite, well developed civic unit.⁵ Even in the formative days of California it was laid out on a standardized plan, with its plaza and official center, its surrounding house lots, or solares, and its outer ejidos, or commons. The actual farms, suertes, were assigned from the land best fitted for agriculture, and beyond them the dehesas, pasture and timber, stretched to the municipal boundaries. Four square leagues of land was the customary extent of a California pueblo, and a certain portion of that was retained in public ownership for purposes of revenue, and for the needs of later settlers. The exact definition of these public lands, and the laws regulating their disposition became matters of the utmost importance in their bearing on land titles at a later period, and the carelessness with which boundaries were originally marked gave rise to much confusion and litigation.

As a body politic the normal Spanish pueblo had ample privileges of self government, and elected its own chief magistrates and town council. In large towns the ayuntamiento (council) might have as many as ten regidores (councilmen), and a sindico, or attorney. The chief magistrates were the alcaldes, one or two in number, according to the size of the town. The alcaldes were members of the council; the first or

² Bancroft, California, I, 333-338; J. W. Dwinelle, Colonial History of San Francisco, Addenda IV, 3-8.

³ Bancroft, California, I, 344.

⁴ Bancroft, California, I, 564-571; J. R. Robertson, From Alcalde to Mayor, 19.

⁵ Pueblo organization and administration are discussed by Richman and Blackmar. Dwinelle defines many terms, Colonial History, 7-12. The treatment is especially good in Robertson's thesis, From Alcalde to Mayor.

superior alcalde presided at the meetings, was the responsible executive of the municipality, and exercised judicial functions of great importance.

Neve's regulations for the early California pueblos provided that they should be furnished with ordinary alcaldes and other municipal officers, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, but that officials should at first be appointed by the governor. Local records show that in due time the towns elected alcaldes and two regidores, but throughout the Spanish period the governor actually continued his direct control by appointing special *comisionados*, with superior authority to that of the representatives of the people.

During this era the three villages struggled through trying times. The colonists, for all their carefully organized system, lacked the spirit that made the American pioneer a founder of community life within the wilderness. They worked without enthusiasm at their agricultural tasks and they often incurred official reprimands for disorder and dissipation. The story can be followed, in interesting detail, through the footnotes to Bancroft's annals of San José, Los Angeles and Branciforte, in the first and second volumes of his *History of California*.

Mexico began life as an independent nation in 1821. In April, 1822, the officials of California declared their adherence to the new government. It was important to send at once a deputy to the Mexican Congress, and the first general election in California was held within a few weeks. Five electoral districts were designated, one for Los Angeles, and four for the presidios and the communities within their several jurisdictions. San Francisco included four missions, the pueblo of San José and the villa of Branciforte: Monterey embraced six missions, Santa Barbara five, San Diego four. From the records accessible to Bancroft, he gathered that within each electoral district separate elections were held at presidios, pueblos, and Missions (the Mission Indians participating), and that the men thus chosen met at the chief town of the district and selected one elector for the provincial gathering. The final meeting was held at Monterey, May 21, when the congressional deputy was elected.⁶

In September a special *comisionado* arrived from Mexico to guide the people in developing the new constitutional meth-

⁶ Bancroft, *California*, II, 454.

ods of government.⁷ He interested himself especially in the establishment of a departmental legislature, and in fostering self government in the local communities.

Even prior to the independence of Mexico California had been entitled to a legislative assembly by the Spanish constitution of 1812. None had been organized, but now it was decided to create a diputacion without further delay. The five electors who had represented the local districts in choosing a congressional deputy were again summoned to Monterey, and on November 9 they organized the first legislature of California. Some changes of personnel were made at once, and a sixth member added to the house. Subsequent years brought modifications of title, membership and parliamentary regulations, but under one aspect or another the successors of this body functioned until the conquest of California by the forces of the United States.

The self governing prerogatives of the pueblos were distinctly strengthened by the new régime. The ayuntamientos of San José and Los Angeles, hitherto deficient in their quota of members, were increased by the addition of a *sindico* and a secretary, and established on a more effective basis. At the same time the *comisionados* were removed, and the local magistrates freed from their supervision.⁸ As for Branciforte, the population was so small that the town was provided with a sub *alcalde*, and attached to the civil jurisdiction of San José.⁹

Two other steps of the utmost importance were presently taken. One was the transformation of the military presidios into civil pueblos—the other was the secularization of the Missions. Both courses were adopted with the avowed intention of furthering the growth of institutional self government.

The change in the status of the presidios was gradually accomplished. Robertson says that in spite of the ill success of Branciforte, the same model of organization was followed in the presidial pueblos. In the process of transformation there were some mixtures of military and civil authority, and some passages of jealousy and friction, but by 1835 civil control was everywhere established, sometimes with a compromise by which

⁷ Bancroft, California, II, 455-463.

⁸ Bancroft, California, II, 462. In Los Angeles a *comisionado* still exercised certain functions even after this date (*ibid*, 559-561).

⁹ Bancroft, California, II, 626.

the military commander was elected *alcalde*, or left with jurisdiction over the soldier part of the population.¹⁰

At the presidio of Santa Barbara the first *ayuntamiento* was elected in 1826, although civil status was doubtful until legislative action of the *diputacion* in 1834.¹¹ Monterey elected a full *ayuntamiento* in 1827.¹² the first *ayuntamiento* in San Diego was installed in 1835.¹³

The establishment of municipal government in San Francisco is a subject that involves discussion of the entire system of Spanish municipal organization. It is much too technical for detailed treatment in this article. Civil organization is held to have commenced with an election in December, 1834, when the governor ordered the residents of the "county of San Francisco," with those of Contra Costa, Sonoma and San Rafael, to elect an *ayuntamiento*, which should reside at the presidio of San Francisco, and exercise the constitutional political functions of such a body.¹⁴ The *alcalde* was entrusted with customary judicial authority, and the commandant of the presidio was restricted to actual military responsibilities.

This council was quickly superseded, for a census disclosed that the "population of San Francisco de Asis" warranted an *ayuntamiento* for the town proper, and one was presently elected. The second body had jurisdiction over the same outlying population, and Dwinelle calls it a "composite *ayuntamiento*," i. e.: the *ayuntamiento* of a *pueblo* to which were joined other small populations. He distinguishes the first as an "aggregate *ayuntamiento*," composed of several populations, each too small to have a council of its own.¹⁵ The exact *pueblo* status of San Francisco became a celebrated point of controversy at a later date, when the Land Commission considered the claim of the city to four square leagues of *pueblo* land.

After the change to civil status all the presidios declined in military equipment, and finally lapsed into a pitiable condition of ruin and neglect.

Secularization of the Missions, long anticipated, was made

¹⁰ Robertson, *From Alcalde to Mayor*, 19-20.

¹¹ Bancroft, *California*, II, 572; III, 655.

¹² Bancroft, *California*, II, 611.

¹³ Bancroft, *California*, III, 615.

¹⁴ Bernard Moses, *Establishment of Municipal Government in San Francisco*, 18.

¹⁵ Dwinelle, *Colonial History*, 48, 49, Addenda XXIII, p. 37.

mandatory by a decree of the Mexican Congress of 1833. The result was a tragedy from every point of view. Any policy based on the ideal of self government among the Mission Indians was foredoomed to failure, and although Governor Figueroa, who was charged with carrying out the decree, made conscientious efforts to build up regular pueblo institutions on the Mission foundations, final results showed the futility of such an undertaking. Some community groups were established, with more or less of the functions of pueblo government, but their records are unsatisfactory and confused. With the final sale of Mission lands, their former sites became private ranches, and several Indian pueblos ceased to have independent existence.

The net result of municipal organization in the pre-American period can be gathered from the brief list of communities entitled to representation in the last legislative assembly, elected October, 1845.¹⁶ These were the original pueblos of Los Angeles and San José, the villa of Branciforte, presidial pueblos of San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey and San Francisco, and, in addition, Sonoma, San Juan Bautista, San Juan Capistrano and San Luis Obispo. The four last mentioned were outgrowths of the old Mission establishments. When the status of early pueblos was reviewed during the sessions of the United States Land Commission, the pueblo standing of Sonoma was recognized, and that of San Luis Obispo was rejected. No claims were presented that involved the status of other Mission pueblos, nor of Branciforte, and the pueblos formally recognized by the Commission were Sonoma, San Francisco, San José, Monterey, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles and San Diego.¹⁷

Having in mind this brief outline of the beginnings of the different pueblos, it will be of further interest to trace the internal administration of municipal affairs. It is usually said that within the pueblos of California the alcaldes were the dominating and arbitrary authorities, but, strange to say, a strict interpretation of institutional history shows that in California the importance of the alcalde fell far below the popular imagination.

We have seen that during the Spanish period the alcaldes

¹⁶ Bancroft, California, IV, 539-540; Archives of California, Legislative Record, IV, 89-91; MS in the Bancroft Library.

¹⁷ Bancroft, California, VI, 566-569..

of the three civil communities were obliged to yield precedence to the comisionados appointed by the governor.

After the separation from Spain there came fifteen years when institutional government was fostered: old ayuntamientos were strengthened, new councils were established in the former presidios and in some of the secularized Missions, and alcaldes, in general, were allowed their constitutional privileges.

But during this time Mexico was not finding her experiment in federal organization altogether satisfactory. A strong reaction towards centralization set in, and in 1836 and 1837 laws were enacted that seriously curtailed the self governing privileges of small communities. These were no longer permitted to elect their magistrates, the ayuntamientos were abolished, and municipal authority was vested in a justice of the peace who was appointed by the prefect of the district, and directly responsible to the local sub-prefect. Elected officers were allowed only in the capital of a department, ports with a population of four thousand, interior towns of eight thousand, and towns which had ayuntamientos previous to 1808.

The effect of the laws of 1837 was to deprive California towns of alcaldes and ayuntamientos, and place them under a centralized prefecture system. Two districts were created by the junta (legislative assembly), and the line of division placed at San Luis Obispo.¹⁸ Each district had a head town, and was under the authority of a prefect appointed by the governor, and approved by the superior government. The districts were again subdivided into partidos which were under the charge of sub-prefects appointed by the prefects. The sub-prefects nominated justices of the peace for the towns of their partidos, and appointment was made by the prefect of the district. The justices, "under subjection to the sub-prefect," exercised certain "faculties and obligations" that pertained to the alcaldes and ayuntamientos of larger towns.¹⁹ Governor Alvarado said in a message of February 16, 1840,²⁰ "There is no Ayuntamiento whatever in the Department, for there being no competent number of inhabitants in any of the towns (pueblos) as provided by the Constitution, those then existing had to be dis-

¹⁸ Bancroft, *California*, III, 585.

¹⁹ See Digest of the Laws of 1837, in J. Ross Browne, *Report of the Debates . . . on the Formation of a State Constitution*, Appendix, pp. xxxi-xxxiv.

²⁰ Dwinelle, *Colonial History*, Addenda, L, p. 70.

solved; and only in the Capital there ought to be one of such bodies." Monterey, then, was entitled to elect the constitutional representative magistrates, but the records indicate that no advantage was taken of the privilege; the ayuntamiento, like those of other towns, was discontinued, and affairs placed in the hands of a juez de paz.²¹

The prefecture system was temporarily abolished in 1844. Santa Anna was then in control of national affairs, and had promulgated the "Bases of Tacubaya", a new scheme of political organization.²² This change gave the governor of California an increase in power,²³ and the incumbent, Manuel Micheltorena, ordered that in December, 1843, ayuntamientos should again be elected in Monterey and Los Angeles, and first and second alcaldes should be elected in San Diego, Santa Barbara, San Juan, Branciforte, San José, San Francisco and Sonoma.²⁴ The new system went into effect on the first of January, 1844, and continued until July, 1845. In the meantime Santa Anna fell from power, Micheltorena was displaced by a new governor, the organization of 1837 was reaffirmed by the legislative assembly, and the prefecture system restored.²⁵

In this readjustment the First District, Los Angeles, had the partidos Los Angeles, Santa Barbara and San Diego: the Second District, Monterey, was divided into the partidos of Monterey and Yerba Buena. Monterey, alone, was given a prefect: other partidos had sub-prefects. The municipal organization granted by Micheltorena to Los Angeles and Monterey was, however, confirmed, and the two towns retained the full pueblo equipment of ayuntamiento and alcaldes. Justices of the peace were to have charge in other communities, and in each partido (other than Monterey and Los Angeles), there was to be a municipal junta (assembly), consisting of the justices of the peace and two citizens, presided over by the sub-prefect. The local records of the smaller communities are so incomplete that it would be exceedingly difficult to evolve a distinctive study of the work of the juez de paz. Broadly speaking, his duties corresponded to those of an alcalde. In some respects

²¹ Bancroft, California, III, 676. "Local Annals," as analyzed for this decade, show the universal adoption of the prefecture system.

²² T. H. Hittell, History of California, II, 325.

²³ Hittell, California, II, 334.

²⁴ Dwinelle, Colonial History, Addenda LVII, p. 85.

²⁵ Bancroft, California, IV, 532-533.

he had greater initiative, because there was no *ayuntamiento* to decide on local regulations. On the whole, the direct supervision of the sub-prefect made the justice distinctly subordinate to the higher authorities. This system remained practically unchanged for another twelve months, and was, therefore, in force at the date of the American occupation, July 7, 1846.

For these two years and a half full pueblo organization directed the local affairs of Los Angeles and Monterey. The characteristic functions and privileges of *alcaldes* and *ayuntamientos* can legitimately be portrayed against the background of these two municipalities, but they cannot be transferred to any other town in California, and to designate the local administration of the period as the "alcalde system" is a grave misnomer. It was a centralized "prefecture system", with local autonomy only in the two most important communities.

This is to speak according to the letter of the law. In actual practice it appears that the people clung tenaciously to the time honored title of "alcalde," and justices were often addressed after that fashion. The testimony of old residents, as given in the case of *The United States vs. José Limantour*, shows that in the jurisdiction of San Francisco, at least, the citizens made little distinction between the years when they were ruled by *alcaldes* of their own selection, or justices under subjection to the sub-prefect. Travelers almost invariably called the magistrates *alcaldes*. Even historians as a rule overlook the fact that after the enforcement of the laws of 1837 *alcaldes* disappeared entirely until 1844, were then generally reinstated for only eighteen months, and were finally abolished altogether except in Monterey and Los Angeles. In spite of the niceties of documentary criticism, the *alcalde* and the *ayuntamiento* have been enshrined as the characteristic local institutions of California.

What then, shall we say of the *alcalde*? That, in truth is another story, for tradition, and statute, documentary record, and travelers' gossip provide rich material for reconstructing his picturesque and delightful figure. He was called upon to present in his own person an example of well regulated demeanor and attention to business; to encourage industry, to restrain vice, and to punish crime.²⁶ He presided over the

²⁶ See the admonitions of Governor Borica to an *alcalde* prior to 1800, Hittell, *California*, I, 594.

deliberations of the ayuntamiento, he poured oil upon the troubled waters of domestic maelstroms. He had great authority in the distribution of public land, he drew up contracts, he safeguarded the rights of orphans. He received the laws and orders made by higher authority, then summoned the citizens with the beat of a drum, and promulgated the new regulations by word of mouth.²⁷ When neighbors fell out and invoked the law, their first recourse was to the alcalde, who conducted a trial of conciliation. Each side selected an arbitrator, the dispute was thoroughly aired, and judgment rendered by arbitrators and alcalde. No costs attended this hearing, which was designed to give prompt justice without the burden of expense. The verdict, however, was not binding, and either party might demand a more formal trial. The alcalde presided over the "verbal processes," trials of minor civil and criminal suits, with an enlarged board of arbitrators who rendered a binding verdict.

An elaborate system of higher courts was authorized for California by constitutional enactment, and some appointments appear to have been made. It is doubtful, however, that the judges ever performed any effective service.²⁸ In the absence of superior tribunals, the ranking, or first alcaldes in California were authorized to hold courts of first instance for the trial of cases of major importance. This function was especially defined in the orders of Governor Micheltorena, in 1843,²⁹ and upon it was based the most important judicial position of the Mexican alcalde, and of the American alcaldes who served during the period of transition.

The alcalde's judicial authority could extend far beyond the corporate limits of his pueblo, and Dwinelle cites original documents that define the terms applying to his "jurisdiction."³⁰ It can readily be seen that the alcalde was a person of importance—even his silver headed cane, sent by the hand of a subordinate, was potent to summon the citizens to his presence. He was a busy magistrate, also, but he had only

²⁷ Reminiscences of R. F. Peckham, in *San José Pioneer*, July 7, 1877, This custom explains the lack of collected or printed statute law that astonished the Americans.

²⁸ Bancroft, *California*, IV, 531; Frederic Hall, *History of San José*, 169; W. H. Davis, *Sixty Years in California*, 105; Willoughby Rodman, *History of the Bench and Bar of Southern California*, 32.

²⁹ Dwinelle, *Colonial History*, Addenda LVII, p. 85.

³⁰ Dwinelle, *Colonial History*, Addenda XXXIII, p. 51.

honor, not salary, for his recompense, and acceptance of the office was compulsory.

The duties of the ayuntamientos were such as might be expected from a town council that directed municipal affairs. The limits of this article will not permit a discussion of any especial functions, of financial methods, of the picturesque "judges of the plains," and "judges of the water." Neither can we speak of the great ranchos, and life as it developed there. An end must be made. But first a word of interpretation.

We have traced the civic institutions of California for nearly seventy years. They were well conceived, well adapted to the needs of a colonial outpost. They were fairly well administered, and yet at the close of Latin-American rule we find a scant dozen civic centers, without physical comforts, or community ambitions, with no pride in the adventures of the past, with no impulse toward improvement in the future. Political unrest, revolutionary intrigue, personal and sectional jealousies absorbed the energies of the citizens. They were strangers to the impulse that leads the frontiersman of another race to put his labor, his sweat, his hope, his life itself into the soil of a virgin land. With all their traditions as conquerors, and the fine organization of their practiced systems, they might have founded a prosperous colonial life upon the labor of gentle and teachable natives. When the Indians failed them, their whole scheme crumbled. Pride and indolence forbade them to labor with their own hands, and all the industries of the Missions withered into ruin. In the garden spots of a generous country, the Californians lived on rude and meager fare. Their mighty ranchos gave them beef, and beef alone. They developed no life that brought northward fellow countrymen to share in upbuilding their towns and strengthening their borders. California had no voice that attracted new settlers from the mother country, yet at the same moment California called aloud to men of courage and energy from all the adventuring nations of the earth!

When the change of flags came, in 1846, international law prescribed that local municipal institutions should be perpetuated. As we have seen, the prefecture system was actually in vogue, but this the Americans ignored altogether. Following the precedent they found at Monterey, they placed *alcaldes* in charge of the other towns, whether large or small, with coun-

cils, in some cases, to act in concert with them. Thus the Spanish tradition, rather than the Mexican system, bridged the gap between Latin and Anglo-Saxon, and alcaldes ruled in California until the days of the commonwealth.

Mary Floyd Williams.

THE DISCOVERY OF CALIFORNIA

The discovery of California would probably have attracted no more attention than the discovery of the Tres Marias except for the fact that some pearls were found. The peninsula is extremely arid, composed almost entirely of mountains, and with a small number only of narrow valleys that can be cultivated. It suffers from a deficient rainfall, and was practically entirely abandoned until over 150 years after the discovery. Several attempts at a settlement were made but failed, probably for the reason that there was no excuse for remaining there. It is a curious fact that in spite of all the talk about pearls there is no record that Cortes took away any pearls, and still less Ulloa, whom I do not remember to have even mentioned them. The first serious attempt at pearl fishing was made in 1615 by one Tomas de Cordona, who made a contract with the King and sent out his nephew, Nicolas, with Juan Iturbi. They stopped on the Venezuelan coast to get some pearl divers, and there is no doubt that this company succeeded in getting some pearls, but it is probable that the returns were never commensurate with the expenses. The pearl oyster is found along the Gulf side attached to the rocks under water, and usually at some depth. Occasionally after a very heavy storm numbers of oysters which had been loosened by the force of the waves were washed up on shore, and at such times, which occurred perhaps once in fifty or a hundred years, a number of pearls were found. In the early days the Indians used to roast such oysters as were found, in order to open them, and by this process the pearls were discolored. In spite of the meager returns, the tradition was maintained in Spain that the peninsula was very rich, and it was later supposed that the Jesuits had found gold there. As a matter of fact there is very little payable mineral on the peninsula, active explorations undertaken in the nineteenth century having developed only one silver mine, which paid very well for a while, and one copper mine, the famous Boleo, belonging to the Rothschilds of Paris, and still being worked. Outside of a few spots the peninsula probably contains a smaller population than it did at the time of its discovery, many Indians having died off for one reason or another, their places not having been supplied

by Mexicans owing to the extremely barren character of the country and lack of exploitable resources.

We know very little about the discovery of California; almost everything connected with it being a matter of conjecture. When it was discovered and by whom, who applied the name and when, to what was the name originally applied, and the derivation of the name, all have question marks after them, some large and some small. In recent years some writers have assumed that some of these questions have been satisfactorily answered and have indulged in very positive statements, for which I find, however, no warrant. I have made a study of the discovery period lasting from 1533-1540, based on the original materials so far as they were available to me, with the intention of incorporating the substance of them in a book to be published some day on the sources of the history of California and the Southwest, and I take pleasure in extracting from this work such parts as I think will prove interesting.

First I shall call attention to the sources of our knowledge of the discovery. The principal ones are the communications of Cortes himself and the allegations of Nuno de Guzman in the famous process at the court of Spain, published in the Pacheco and Cardenas Collection, Vol. XV, pages 300-408. An extensive expediente on this proceeding exists, most of the papers being dated 1540-41, and a number of them were published. Cortes' own communications consist of letters to the Emperor and the Audiencia of Mexico, his famous Memorial of July 8, 1539, and other papers, which will be found in Navarrete's "*Colleccion de Viages*," Vols. IV and V, Pacheco and Cardenas Collection of Documents, Vol. XII, pages 451-58, and Vols. XIV and XVI, Smith's Collection of Documents on the History of Florida, the "*Escritos Sueltos de Cortes*," published in Mexico in 1871, and a document in the "*Colleccion de Documentos Ineditos*," Vol. IV. Father Mariano Cuevas in his "*Cartas y otras documentos de Hernan Cortes*," Seville 1915, has printed a number of documents which shed considerable light on the activities of Cortes at this period but do not help us particularly to a solution of the questions still unanswered.

The first printed account is to be found in Lopez de Gomara's *Conquista de Mexico*. The printing of this work was begun in the year 1552 but was not finished until 1553. As far as the writing of it is concerned, it seems to have been

finished in 1551 or 1552, as it contains a reference to Velasco being sent as viceroy to Mexico in 1551. The main part of the work, however, was written before 1545. Lopez de Gomara also wrote the "*Chronica de los Barbarojas*," the introduction to which is dated December 5, 1545. In this he states that the History of Cortes will soon be finished. For all practical purposes this work ends at 1540 at the time of Cortes' going to Spain, a few chapters recording events after that date not containing any information even regarding Cortes' suit before the Council with Guzman, De Soto and Alvarado. It is probable that his account of Cortes' expeditions to California and the north was derived from Cortes himself, although there is an occasional statement which might throw some doubt on this. At any rate he gives a connected account which is the source of most of the statements made by modern writers.

The account published by Herrera in 1615 is taken almost bodily from Lopez de Gomara, except for the Ulloa expedition, which he copies from Ramusio.

Ramusio, in Vol. III of his Collection of Voyages published in Venice in 1556, gives an account of the Ulloa expedition written by one Francisco Preciado. Nothing is said as to where Ramusio got the original, which probably was written in Spanish, but I feel rather confident that the account had been printed in Spanish in some form now lost.

Bernal Diaz has a few remarks to make about California in his recollections, published in 1632 but actually written before 1570, or about that time.

In 1529, October 25, Cortes made an *asiento* with the Empress for discovery in the South Sea, and then went to work in earnest. Beside giving him rights to any islands discovered in the west, he had rights of discovery on the mainland, and this was the main cause of his difficulties later with Guzman and his claims in 1540 to the right of discovery of the lands found by Niza.

In 1532 his ships were ready, and his first expedition under Diego Hurtado de Mendoza set out from Acapulco in May. The instructions to Hurtado are published in *Escritos Sueltos* 196-205. Hurtado went ashore in the northern country near the Rio Fuerte with most of his men, and they were killed by the Indians.

Meantime Cortes was building other vessels to go to the assistance of Hurtado, and in February he wrote they would leave in March, but by delays of one kind or another they did not leave Santiago near Tehuantepec until October 30, 1533.

One of the vessels commanded by Grijalva, after being separated from the Capitana commanded by Diego Becerra, made a voyage up the coast and then returned to Acapulco, and someone wrote an account of the voyage which is still extant. Smith Doc. 163. P. and C. XIV, 128-42.

The other vessel's movements are involved in great obscurity. Becerra was killed during a mutiny headed by the pilot, a Basque whose name, according to a document in Cuevas, was Ortuño Ximenez de Bertandona. Ximenez took command and landed the wounded and the Franciscan fathers who accompanied the expedition on the Jalisco or Colima coast, and then sailed away to reach what was supposed to be the bay of La Paz in California, where he and most of the crew were killed by the Indians. A few survivors got back to Chametla, or possibly Matanchel, and were seized by Guzman. In a letter dated February 8, 1535, printed in *Escritos Sueltos* 260, Cortes states that he sent full accounts of both expeditions and received no answer. In his letter he states that only by a miracle in escaping the vigilance of Guzman had a survivor of the last expedition reached him with the news that the Capitana had come to Guzman's country, that Becerra and seven men had been killed, and that the treacherous pilot with the rest had been killed by the Indians of the islands they had discovered, and that on account of the good news they brought of the land, Guzman had taken the ships and contents and tried to send the ship himself to the island but failed as she was wrecked, probably at Purificacion near Colima. July 24, 1534, an agent of Cortes, one Alonso de Zamudio, had appeared at Compostella to interrogate Guzman about this ship. Guzman said that the survivors spread reports about finding gold and pearls, which is probably the good news Cortes referred to. P. and C. XIV, 439. As a result of this expedition Cortes made complaint to the Audiencia against Guzman [P. and C. XV, 300 et seq.] and Cortes and Guzman made charges against each other, both giving their accounts of what happened, but no original statements were produced from any of the survivors. Guzman stated distinctly that the sailors who survived told him it was an island and that Ximenez called it Santa Cruz.

This island which Ximenez discovered is supposed to be the peninsula of California; and this belief is sustained by Cortes' statement in his memorial of 1539, although there he says it was the place where Becerra had been. This statement of Cortes is the only evidence that Ximenez had previously been in the bay of La Paz, and after all, the statement does not even prove that, as Cortes only refers to Becerra; nor does the statement, if properly examined, prove that even Becerra had discovered the bay of La Paz or the island to which Cortes referred, as he does not identify distinctly his land of Santa Cruz with the island to which he refers as the place where Becerra had been. As the omission of Ximenez' name can hardly be a slip of the pen, it raises the question as to whether Becerra himself had not discovered the island before being killed, or if this is not meant, Cortes must refer to some other island. When Cortes took possession of Santa Cruz he said nothing about Becerra nor Ximenez, and in fact in his letter to Cristóbal de Oñate from Santa Cruz, May 14, [Cuevas 171] he says he gave the name because they arrived on the day of Santa Cruz, and not, as Bancroft says, because Ximenez was killed there on Santa Cruz day. The only definite statement that I have seen anywhere that Ximenez had been at Cortes' Santa Cruz and was killed there is to be found in Lopez de Gomara. Bancroft says that Cortes found remains of Ximenez' party at Santa Cruz, but I have been unable to find such a statement in any of Cortes' writings.

Whatever Ximenez discovered, it seems to be the fact that Cortes, on his expedition which left the mainland about the middle of April, 1535, knew where he was going, having probably with him some of the sailors who had been on the previous expedition. On May 3 of this year he landed and took possession of what was the mainland of the peninsula. He named the spot Santa Cruz, from the day on which the landing was made, and proceeded to form a settlement. It is very natural, from the position of Lower California opposite the mainland, that Cortes should have considered this part of the peninsula, at least, to have been an island; and it has generally been supposed that the subsequent use of the word "island" in connection with California refers to this plausible supposition. Nevertheless there is a very considerable amount of evidence that the island of California, as it was known later, was not the peninsula at

all but some island lying off the coast, or land thought to be an island.

The auto of judicial possession of May 3 still exists in the archives, and accompanying it is a small map, reproduced in Winsor II, 442, and in Richman. Only the lower end of California is shown, but the Sinaloa coast is marked to 26°, or higher, to the Rio San Pablo y San Pedro. Land was first seen to the south of the entrance to the port, and Cortes named the range of hills, San Felipe. Sailing up, they discovered an island, obviously Cerralvo, and later the two off the entrance to the bay of La Paz, which he named S. Miguel (afterwards known as Espiritu Santo) and S. Christobal. There is not extant any contemporary account of this voyage of Cortes, only numerous references to it in Cortes' Memorial published in the Documentos Ineditos Vol IV, page 211, in the documents known as "Probanza" in P. and C. Vol. XVI, and in Vol XV in the "Proceso." Richman is of the opinion that the original California was either Cerralvo Island or the island of Espiritu Santo, the small island at the mouth of the bay of La Paz.

Diaz del Castillo tells us that Cortes left Santa Cruz and went to discover other lands and found California, which is a bay. As the map filed by Cortes with his auto of possession only shows the land to the south of the bay of La Paz, he must have gone in that direction or else back to the mainland. Cortes took back to Mexico from what he calls the land of Santa Cruz, some Indians, to be taught Spanish so that they could tell him what they knew about the land to the north—at least that is what Cortes means.

The expedition of Cortes was a lamentable failure from every point of view. Great hardships were encountered, many of the friendly Indians and servants died of hunger, and even some of the Spaniards, and there is nothing to indicate that pearls in any substantial quantity were found. Still less, of course, was any accumulated treasure discovered; and although it is possible that indications of minerals were found, subsequent developments on the peninsula have demonstrated that no mines rich enough existed to have been a subject of exploitation at that time, even if the expedition had happened to stumble on them. Certainly there was nothing discovered to warrant any further exertion in that direction, and the subse-

quent expedition of Ulloa, sent out by Cortes in 1539, had entirely different objects in view.

This expedition, which left the mainland in July, 1539, was a voyage of exploration, not for scientific purposes but for the purpose of reaching some point in the north where it was hoped that communities existed which were in possession of gold or silver. Such expeditions were probably founded upon the story of Cabeza de Vaca. He seems to have found something like a permanent Indian village somewhere in the northern part of Mexico, and he also seems to have heard of permanent settlements farther to the north. It must not be forgotten that at this time the whole Spanish world was filled with stories of the wonderful results achieved by Pizarro in obtaining an enormous amount of booty from the Inca towns and the Inca graves. There was no particular reason why, if such communities existed in Peru, they should not exist in the northern part of Mexico; and any stories about permanent settlements, whether of houses of stone or not, were bound to awaken the hope that silver and gold would be found there. The Viceroy had set on foot a scheme of search, and Cortes, who had certain rights of exploration in the Pacific to the north of the country discovered by Guzman, prepared shortly after the expedition left, the "Memorial Al Emperador Sobre Que No Se Le Embarace," in which, after setting forth a short history of his explorations, he protests against any attempt being made by the Viceroy to interfere with his discoveries. With this memorial he sent to Spain three trustworthy agents, and in his instructions to them he urges that they get speedy action and see that the Emperor sends an order to the Viceroy so that it will arrive by the month of April, 1540. The object of this was to prevent the Coronado expedition.

Escritos Sueltos, 290-299.

Ulloa sailed to the north, but found himself in a pocket, and rounding the gulf of California it was found that Lower California, as we know it today, was a peninsula, and that not even the lower part of it was an island. The expedition proceeded, therefore, to sail around the peninsula in order to obtain nothing by going up the west coast. Just how far Ulloa finally sailed we do not know, but a little north of the island of Cedros is as far as the accounts of the expedition which have survived show the party to have gone. One of the vessels

returned from the island of Cedros, and Ulloa with the other continued the voyage. No statement appears to be extant as to what happened to him, but it is practically certain that he returned later.

There are two accounts of this expedition in existence—one a manuscript account in the nature of an official report written by the notary, Pedro de Palencia, to Cortes, still unpublished, and the account written by Francisco Preciado in Ramusio, in Italian. I have not seen the report of Palencia, which is entitled: "Testimonio de los descubrimientos que hizo el Capitan Francisco de Ulloa por orden de Hernan Cortes en la costa Norte de Nueva Espana, con una relacion de su viaje desde Acapulco hasta la Isla de los Cedros, Mejico, 29 de Mayo, 1540." It is found in the Arch. Genl. De Indias Est. I, Caj. I, Leg. 1-20. The date, 29th of May, 1540, is the date of the legalization of the copy in Mexico City. From statements made by Richman it appears that it is substantially the same as the Preciado account. This latter account appears translated into Italian in Ramusio III, 339-354, and is entitled: "Relatione Dello Scoprimiento che nel nome di Diova à far L'armata dello Illustrissimo Fernando Cortese, Marchese di Valle con tre naui, chiamata, l'una Santa Agata, di grandezza di dugento quaranta botte, l'altra, la Trinita, di grandezza di settanta, & la terza san Tomaso, di quarata, dellaquale armata su Capitano il molto Magnifico Caualliero Francesco di Vlloa habitator della città di Merida."

The account does not purport to be an exact translation of an account written by Preciado, but to be taken from an account, the original of which has not survived. Who the writer was we do not know, but in spite of the fact that several writers have suggested that he was a friar there is little to indicate this and plenty of evidence that he was not, but more likely a soldier. There are some indications that there are interpolations in the Italian text. This account in Ramusio was translated by Hakluyt, and will be found in Vol. III, pages 397-424, and a comparison of the translation with the Italian original shows that Hakluyt also made some interpolations, although in the main the translation is a very faithful one.

The stay of Ulloa in California was purely incidental. Landings were made in several places, apparently with no other object than to get some information out of the Indians.

The expedition had along the Indians who had been taken by Cortes to Mexico to learn Spanish, but I do not find in the narrative that any Indians were found who could understand them. As a result of the expedition California may be said to have been pretty fully discovered. The shore of the peninsula on the east side had been skirted and also the west side for quite a considerable distance towards the north. The land was determined to be a peninsula and not an island, and as nothing was found on it except rocks and a few wild Indians, interest in the country ceased for a long period.

Failing to get any satisfactory replies from his communications to the Emperor, and his relations with the Viceroy becoming more and more strained, Cortes went to Spain himself in 1539, and in 1540 presented to the Emperor his famous "Memorial sobre agravios". In this he claims that Hurtado had discovered the land in the north which Marcos de Niza had discovered, and that when he was in Santa Cruz he had full news of this land, which was somewhat farther on in the same region of the coast; but as he had no one who could understand the language of the Indians, he could not find out all the details about it, and therefore he had taken to Mexico some Indians, who, after they had learned the Spanish language, gave him further particulars about the land. He further adds that when he came back he told Father Marcos de Niza about what he had found out, because he had expected to send him in one of his ships in prosecuting the conquest of the said land. He adds that the friar communicated this information to the Viceroy, with whose license he himself went to make a discovery of the same land. When the Father returned, Cortes says he claimed that he had arrived in view of this land, which Cortes denies, and says that all that he told was what he had learned from him and which he himself had learned from the Indians. *Escritos Suelos* 299.

About this time began the famous litigation in Spain between Cortes, Guzman, De Soto, and Alvarado, on the right of discovery in the new land. An extensive expediente exists, part of which has been published in P. and C. XV, pages 300 et seq. under the name of "Proceso del Marques del Valle y Nuno de Guzman y los adelantados Soto y Alvarado sobre el descubrimiento de la Tierra Nueva." Among the documents published are an auto of possession by Cortes of Santa Cruz, May 3, 1535, page 307; petition by Lopez on behalf of Cortes,

March 9, 1540, page 316; auto of possession of the island of Ramos and similar autos for the islands of Nuestro Senora and La Madelina, in March, 1532, by Guzman, page 320; account by Diego de Guzman, July 28, 1533, of what he found at Teta Muehla, fifteen leagues beyond Petatlan, pages 322-338; Guzman's testimony about the Cortes expedition, page 344; Guzman's statement about the survivors of the Ximenez party, spreading the story that there was much gold and pearls, page 347. May 25, 1540, the fiscal Villalobos passed an opinion that none of the parties had any rights. August 12, Cortes in answer makes the contention that he had made the discovery of Cibola, himself, page 347. May 13, 1541, the proceedings were still pending, the council giving thirty days more. [The last document published.]

May 9, 1540, Hernando de Alarcon set out from Acapulco in command of two ships, on a voyage to the north as an auxiliary expedition to the Coronado expedition. It is not the purpose to examine this voyage at this place, but simply to call attention to the chief pilot, Domingo de Castillo, who after his return made a map of California, and the eastern shores of the gulf as well. The original of this map has disappeared, and we only know it through a copy published in Lorenzana's edition of the letters of Cortes, Mexico 1770. The map is reproduced in Winsor II, 444. There is just a possibility that this Castillo may have been the pilot of the Santa Aguada of the Ulloa expedition. In the Preciado account this man appears as Giovanni Castiglione, or in another place, Castigliano. He arrived with the Santa Aguada at Santiago de Buena Esperanza, April 18, 1540. As Alarcon stopped there a few days after May 9, it is possible that he obtained this man as pilot. It is hardly likely, however, as the christian names are different, one being Giovanni, and the other Domingo. However, whether the men be the same or not, the map ascribed to Domingo de Castillo contains the results of the Ulloa expedition as well as those of that of Alarcon. The main interest for us in this map is the fact that as it appears in Lorenzana it contains the name "California" as the name of the lower part of the peninsula.

In Niza's "Relacion siniestra", as Cortes calls it, Niza says that in the twenty-five or thirty leagues beyond the Rio Petatlan he found nothing except some Indians from the island where Cortes had been, and certifies that it is an island and not the mainland as some suppose. He further adds that it was half

a league from the coast. He also adds that there were some other Indians who came from a larger island farther on, who had mother of pearl but no pearls. We have no record of Cortes having been at any island on the Sinaloa coast at this point, except a statement made by him in the "Memorial al Emperador" of 1539, where he says, referring to the possession of the land that he had discovered, that he had discovered it, not only with the ship of which Hurtado was captain, but at the time that he himself was in it. This is a little ambiguous, and should probably be interpreted in connection with his statement in his "Memorial sobre agravios" of 1540, where he says that he arrived at the land of Santa Cruz, which is very near the land discovered by Hurtado and next to it, and that no other one had arrived there except the said Hurtado. This statement of Niza seems to furnish some support for the statement of Cortes that all that Niza knew had been learned from him.

By Whom Was the Name Given and to What Was It Applied?

Professor Chapman in his recent book on the History of California, page 66, advances the opinion that Ximenez gave the name on his discovery in 1533 or 1534. He himself gives no reasons whatever for his opinion, but only some by way of explanation why the name was not used after having been given; all of which seem very fanciful.

No one has yet discovered that Cortes ever used the name even as late as 1540 or 1541. Not only is this the case, but the name will not be found used by any of the witnesses in the proceedings between Guzman and Cortes, nor by Guzman himself. A considerable number of documents has been unearthed bearing on these quarrels, and so far the word "California" has not been found. This in itself is extremely strong evidence that the name was not in use before 1540, and further, that it had not been applied by any of the parties connected with the proceedings.

In investigating this matter let us proceed backwards, so to speak. In 1556 the name was undoubtedly in use, as we find it in Ramusio. In 1552 it was used by Lopez de Gomara. We do not know exactly when he finished his book, but the last part of it certainly was finished after the death of Cortes in 1547, and the main part of the book was finished before

1545. It is probable, therefore, that the word was in use, or known to him at least, in 1547. In 1543 we have an account of the Rodriguez Cabrillo expedition in which the author states that July 2, 1542, they sighted California. There are several manuscripts of this account in existence, none of which are signed, from which it appears that they are all copies. The copy that was printed by Buckingham Smith was made from a manuscript copy in the Muñoz collection. The expedition returned to Navidad on April 14, 1543, and obviously the report was prepared some time after that date, as it does not seem to be the original log of the voyage. The use of the name "California," therefore, as of July 2, 1542, or April 14, 1543, is not entirely above suspicion; but nevertheless I think that there is a fair probability that the writer of this account knew the name when he set out on the expedition in July, 1542.

Castillo's map of 1541 has the name "California" lengthwise on the lower end of the peninsula, and is usually accepted as proof positive that the name was so applied at that time, that is, 1541. There is always a possibility, however, that the name was added by Lorenzana himself, and unless we had the original map with the name on it we could not be positive that Domingo de Castillo so knew it. No other map that I have seen shows the name "California" in such a way as to be applicable to the whole peninsula or even the southern part thereof until one made in the latter part of the sixteenth century. This fact throws considerable doubt on the use of the word in the Castillo map.

In Preciado's account in Ramusio, the word "California" occurs three times—twice as applied to an island, and once without any addition to indicate to what the word was applied. The account does not state where "California" was, nor does it appear in the narrative that the expedition went to "California." At least no mention of seeing such a place is made.

On November 10, while going south along the Gulf coast, the statement is made that the ship was fifty-four leagues from California, a little more or less. Professor Chapman in his book tells us that there is a similar statement in the Palencia account; only there "Santa Cruz" appears instead of the word "California," and thus Professor Chapman draws the conclusion that "California" was the same as "Santa Cruz"; from which he draws the further conclusion that the place where Cortes and

Ximenez had been was therefore called California, as another name for Santa Cruz. From a careful inspection of the narrative I have not been able to determine at just what precise point the ship was located on November 10, nor even approximately. On October 29, the vessels had left the bay of La Paz, and while going out through the channel the Trinidad went ashore. After getting her off, they had contrary winds and heavy storms from the southwest. The vessel finally took refuge between the islands of Jacome, San Felipe, the Island of Pearls, and the mainland; and on the 7th they began again their southern voyage. From this it would appear that the vessel was somewhere between the bay of La Paz and the southern point of California, and the ship might have been fifty-four leagues from the bay of La Paz on November 10. However, the account proceeds to add that on the 10th they went to the Isola de Perlas, which was round and covered with trees, and shortly thereafter they were in the "porto de santa Croce." This statement puzzled me very much, as I could not believe that they were back again in the bay of La Paz. At least it seemed extremely unlikely.

I then noticed that on the return voyage of the Santa Aguada from the Island of Cedros, the vessel arrived at the "punta de porto de santa Croce." I began to suspect that there were two places named Santa Cruz. A further examination of the text shows that in the unquestionable allusions to the bay of La Paz where Cortes had been and where the expedition stopped on its way down the coast, the place is referred to as the "porto de Santa Croce," and in all the other places where the name is found it is spelled "santa Croce" (with a small "s"). Preciado tells us that when they came to the "porto de santa Croce" on the return trip, they found a number of whales—a phenomenon which has been noted almost invariably by all visitors to the waters of the south end of the peninsula, especially near Cape San Lucas. Whether this port of "santa Croce" was under Cape San Lucas or Cape Pulmo it is difficult to say, but I think it probable that it was under Cape Pulmo from the fact that when the expedition started out and crossed from the mainland, they went to this same "porto de santa Croce" before proceeding on their northern exploration. The southeastern point sometimes appears in later maps as the "Cabo de Santa Cruz." Therefore it seems highly probable that whether the word "California" was used in the original narrative of Pre-

ciado or was interpolated by Ramusio, it was intended to apply to a port at the southern end of the peninsula, and this conclusion is entirely consistent with the statement in Bernal Diaz.

The result of the various statements in the Preciado account about Santa Cruz and its location was to introduce into the cartography of the period, great confusion.

The earliest map that seems to be extant showing the name "California" is the Gutierrez map of 1562, reproduced in Miss Putnam's "California The Name," where it applied apparently to the southeastern point, that is, the point which was afterwards known as Cabo de la Poria and is now known as Cape Pulmo; and indeed, there is considerable evidence that this cape, or an island near there, was what was first called by this name. For instance, in the account of the Rodriguez Cabrillo expedition, July 2 they sighted "California." July 3 they anchored at the point of "California." From here they sailed to Port San Lucas in one day. Again on the 25th he says that they saw some trees, the first that they had seen since leaving the point of "California." It must not be supposed that he means by the "point of California" the point of the peninsula of California, but Point California, as we would call it now. Bernal Diaz de Castillo states in his narrative that "California" was a bay, and from his description it was obviously the bay between Cape Pulmo and Cape San Lucas, probably what was afterwards known as the Bay of San Jose.

The next map that I have seen with the name is the Mercator map of 1569, where the southeastern point is called "California Alys Punta de Ballenas"; and from this time up to the end of the century whenever the name "California" is found on the map it is applied to this point, although sometimes the point is called "Santa Cruz." All this indicates great confusion in the minds of cartographers, probably produced by reading the different published or unpublished accounts in which the same confusion is found. This statement on the Mercator map is a reflection of that made by Lopez de Gomara in his "Historia General de Indias," chapter 12, where he says, in the description of California, that [trans.] "from Miraflores to the Punta de Ballenas, which others call California, is 220 leagues." By Miraflores he meant some point near the mouth of the Colorado River, as shown on Castillo's map. So far as I know the southeastern point of California was not generally known as

Punta de Ballenas, although one map later than that of Mercator has that name applied to the same point. The name was sometimes applied, however, to what is now known as Cape San Lucas. It is probable that Lopez de Gomara had confused the two points, but the main thing is that he says that it was called by others "California;" in this coinciding with other statements and with the few maps which attached that name to what is now known as Cape Pulmo.

It is to be noted that all the early maps show California as a peninsula, with very few places named. As a matter of fact the earlier maps are better than the later ones inasmuch as on these the port of Santa Cruz is marked exactly where it should be, on the bay of La Paz, while on the later ones it does not appear at all or is transferred to one of the capes at the southern extremity.

There is a preponderance of evidence to the effect that the name "California" was applied between 1840 and 1850, and even later, to this southeastern point. That it was once called an island can probably be explained by the fact that the point itself is a very bold one with hills rising to a considerable height just inland; behind this to the west is a low valley, the land then rising to a still greater height west of this valley. Coming from the north or south, therefore, at a little distance the elevated ground to the east of the valley might appear to be an island. I can discover no proof whatever that at any time was the name "California" applied to the port in the bay of La Paz where Cortes took possession May 3, 1535.

After having examined all the known documents bearing on these expeditions except the report of Palencia of the Ulloa expedition, and all the maps I can find bearing on the subject, I have reached the following conclusions:

First, That the discoverer of California is unknown, and also the time of discovery; but I think it probable that the discovery was actually made by Ximenez some time in the latter part of 1533 or early 1534.

Second, That Ximenez probably discovered the point which was afterwards known as the Punto or Cabo de California and is now known as Cape Pulmo, and that the name California was first applied to this point or the adjacent region. From the fact that he found some pearls I first thought this theory

was unlikely, as I did not believe that pearls were found so far south, but I have since discovered in the accounts of Lower California written in the nineteenth century that it is distinctly stated that Cape Pulmo is actually the southern limit of the pearl oyster.

Third, Lopez de Gomara to the contrary notwithstanding, I conclude that Ximenez was never in the bay of La Paz, or at least there is no other evidence for it.

Fourth, That the bay of La Paz is actually where Cortés arrived, and on the shores of which he attempted to make a settlement.

Fifth, That the time when the name "California" was first applied to anything on the peninsula is unknown, but that the word was certainly in use in 1552, and probably in 1542, assuming that the narrative of the Rodriguez Cabrillo expedition was written immediately after the return in 1543; and further, that if we can take this document to be strictly contemporary, that the word "California" on the Castillo map as found in Lorenzana may have been placed there by him in 1541 when the map was stated to have been made. I consider that the use of the name in the Ulloa narrative as found in Ramusio is highly suspicious, having probably been interpolated by Ramusio himself when the account was translated, a short time before 1556.

Sixth, We do not know by whom the name was given, nor for what reason.

In attempting to reconcile the various conflicting statements I present the following theory as to the sequence of events during the discovery period:

California was discovered probably in the early part of 1534, by Ximenez, although there is some possibility that Becerra himself may have done so previously. Ximenez discovered the southeastern point now known as Cape Pulmo, and which he probably thought to be an island from the peculiar configuration of the land. Here he was killed, and from here the survivors carried back a few pearls to the Sinaloa coast. He named the island, or the place, Santa Cruz, but for some time afterward this projection from the coast was supposed to be an island.

When Cortes took possession of the country he made a settlement on the bay of La Paz which he called Santa Cruz,

and he even included under this name all the country from that point north. Either during this expedition or some time later, in order to distinguish his settlement from the *santa Cruz* at the southeastern point, the name of the latter was changed to California, and in this way the cape came to be called Cape California, or the Point of California. How much territory was included under this name it is impossible to say, but probably very little, as it was not the custom for individuals to give names to districts or provinces, but only to specific localities. The extension of the name to the peninsula seems to have been very gradual and not to have definitely taken place for over fifty years afterward; and it is probable that this extension was made by European geographers. Indeed there is a possibility that the name California, itself, was applied by some cartographer as a name to replace the *santa Cruz* at the southeastern point to distinguish it from the *Santa Cruz* founded by Cortes himself, and that therefore such substitution took place either in Mexico City or Spain.

The Derivation of the Name "California" as Applied to the Island or Peninsula So Called

A number of theories have been advanced as to the origin of the name as applied to the peninsula so called. We are obliged to content ourselves with a theory only, inasmuch as we have no contemporary account of the name being given, and therefore still less for the reasons for giving it.

The first author that I have found who discusses this question is Father Andres Burriel in the first pages of his *Noticia de la California*, that is the work usually known as *Venegas*. He rejects the supposition, which seems to have been the common one at that time, that the word was made up from two Latin words—"calida fornax". He remarks that the conquerors hardly had sufficient knowledge of Latin to manufacture a name from Latin words, and that even if they had they were not accustomed to give such names to their conquests. He therefore considered that the name was born of some occasional circumstance such as the misunderstanding of some Indian words, and indeed this always remains a possibility until we have some definite information to the contrary. Nevertheless it is to be remembered in this connection that if

such were the origin it implies a previous knowledge of the word "California," a knowledge which we can readily understand was very likely to have been current amongst educated Spaniards at the time of the discovery.

This brings us to consider the second theory, namely, that the word was derived from the "California" of the *Sergas de Esplandian*, a romance of chivalry, popular in the days of the conquest. It is not at all likely that the California Indians had any name at all either for the peninsula or for the islands lying off the coast, but it is possible that the Spaniards, who knew nothing whatever of the language, might have misunderstood some expression of an Indian as indicating a proper name for a place which sounded sufficiently like California to immediately suggest that name.

George Ticknor in his *History of Spanish Literature* gives an account of both the *Amadis de Gaula* and the *Sergas de Esplandian*, and it is probably from this work that Edward Everett Hale obtained the idea that the word "California" had been transferred from this romance as a name for the peninsula which now bears that name. At any rate he propounded this very plausible theory in an article read before the American Antiquarian Association, April 30, 1862. Dr. Hale, however, was of the opinion that the name had been applied because of some connection between the story of the Amazons of the original island and the gold and precious stones supposed to have been found therein, and the fable current in Mexico of an island somewhere in the north inhabited only by women.

The first edition of the *Sergas* is usually stated as having been issued in Seville in 1510, and the authorship is attributed to Garcia Ordoñez de Montalvo, who many assert was also the real author of the *Amadis de Gaula*. As used in this romance the word "California" is applied to an island, of which Calafia was the queen, and of which the chief product seems to have been griffins, a nondescript animal with the head of a bird and the body of a lion. They evidently also had wings, as they were able to fly. The inhabitants of the island were black women, and their weapons were made of gold, which, together with precious stones, was abundant in the island, no other common or base metal being found.

Ordoñez de Montalvo is supposed to have written the *Sergas* shortly before 1500, and it has been suggested that the

incident of Calafia and her griffins did not appear in the work as first written, but was inserted because of some remark of Columbus in regard to an island which he had heard of inhabited only by women; but this seems to be only a further speculation about a subject which is to a certain extent all speculation. It seems a little far fetched to drag in Columbus and a supposed island off the north coast of South America to explain a reference in a romance of chivalry, the action of which took place, in the Levant.

The facts are that prior to the discovery of California there were stories afloat in Mexico about an island called Ciguatan, which was supposed to be inhabited only by women like the Amazons. This island was somewhere north of the land that had so far been discovered, and of course as explorations to the north were advanced the location of the island was also advanced. When the news was brought back to the mainland that some pearls had been found on what is now the peninsula of California, or some island off the coast, it was perhaps natural to connect this find with the story of the island inhabited by the Amazons who also were supposed to have had gold and precious stones, and in this way the name "California" came to be applied to the new discovery.

As I said, this is a plausible theory and today is the almost universally accepted one. In fact it is almost assumed by some writers to be a fact and not a theory. It is true, of course, that there was no island either there or near the mainland of Sonora or Sinaloa inhabited only by women, still less was there any gold to be found on any such island, or griffins, and the sole point with which this theory agrees with the facts is in the discovery of some pearls. Whether this was sufficient in itself to suggest the use of the name must remain, for the present at least, a supposition, although from all the circumstances it seems to be a very reasonable one.

A recent suggestion has been made by Ruth Putnam that the name was applied in derision by someone connected with the Alarcon expedition, that is to say, in derision of the grandiloquent schemes of Cortes. This explanation seems to be very far fetched, and not at all consonant with the methods of applying names to places by the Spaniards. Indeed, from whatever point we look at it, the application of this name cannot be reconciled with any of the known methods of naming

places adopted by the Spanish conquerors. I only recall one other possible example of the use of what might be called a fancy name, and that is not strictly an analogous case. Ponce de Leon named the peninsula opposite Cuba "Tierra Florida," and the name survives today as "Florida." This is a very unusual name, but it is not quite like the use of the word "California," as what he meant by the expression was "the land of flowers." It is sometimes suggested that the name Amazonas for the river is another example of an adaptation of a name from mythology, but this was not the name under which the Spaniards knew the river, as it was named by them the "Marañon," and the Amazons were only supposed to live on it.

There are two theories as to the origin of the word "California" as used in the *Sergas de Esplandian*. It seems that the word "Califerne" is to be found in the *Chanson de Roland*, where it is used in connection with Africa. This would indicate a possible derivation of the word from "caliph". According to the advocates of this theory, this word was imported from the *Chanson de Roland* into the *Sergas de Esplandian*, where it appears as "California," and the queen of the island, "Calafia," is therefore a female caliph.

The other school, of which perhaps Dr. Davidson was the chief exponent, derives the word from the Greek roots—"kallos"—beauty, and "ornis"—a bird, the "f" being inserted for euphony. It is to be noted in support of Dr. Davidson's theory, that there are a number of words in the *Sergas* which bear a suspicious resemblance to each other and indicate that they have been formed on the same plan, all having as a basis the word "kallos"—beauty. It must not be forgotten that the author of the *Sergas* stated that the work was written in Greek.

There seems to be no means of deciding which one of these theories is the correct one, and future writers will no doubt continue to accept the particular solution which is the most attractive to their own tastes.

In the agony column of one of the San Francisco morning papers recently appeared a letter signed "Greek," in which it was stated that the word "California" was found in Homer, and that the word was a perfectly good Greek word, being made up of two Greek roots meaning "good" and "to bring,"—that is to say, "bringing good things." The writer did not mention

in what part of Homer the word is found, so I leave it to some diligent student to search in the many pages of Homer to find out exactly where it occurs.

H. R. Wagner.

ADVENTURES OF THE PLAINS

(1856) The San Francisco Daily Chronicle of January 21, February 5 and February 16, published in three installments an article entitled "Adventures on the Plains," written by one Charles Cardinell, who was a member of Captain Parker H. French's California express train of 1849, which left New York May 13 on the steamship Georgia. The expedition proceeded by way of Havana and New Orleans to Lavaca, Texas, and after numerous difficulties reached San Antonio in early July. Leaving on the 15th, they passed west by way of Castroville and Fort Clinton, crossing Devil's River and the Pecos, and arriving in El Paso on the 18th of September. It here developed that French had been drawing against Howland & Aspinwall on a letter of credit which apparently was a forgery—at least he was using it without authority. At this time there were two hundred and thirty passengers and hired men at El Paso without any means to get to California. On the 20th a meeting was held of the entire company, which decided to take possession of the property and sell it. The company divided the proceeds and split up into various parties to make their way overland to California as best possible.

The preceding account is taken from a "Journal of the Sufferings And Hardships of Capt. Parker H. French's Overland Expedition To California, Which Left New York City, May 13th, 1850, By Way Of New Orleans, Lavacca And San Antonio, Texas, El Paso, On The Rio Grande, The River Gila To San Diego On The Pacific, And Landed At San Francisco, December 14." The account was written by William Miles of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in a letter forwarded to his brother, Wesley Miles, who had it printed in the form of a pamphlet in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, in 1851. When a copy of this pamphlet turned up a few years ago, it was reprinted by the Cadmus Book Shop in 1916 in an edition of two hundred and fifty copies.

Cardinell begins his narrative at El Paso with the breaking up of the party, and he then proceeds to detail his experiences while on the way from El Paso to San Diego, giving a much fuller account of this part of the journey than that contained in Miles' narrative.

According to Miles' account Cardinell came from Belleville, Canada, West, and in that account we find his name signed to a statement of the fight at Carletus [Corralitos], of which Cardinell gives a full account in his own narrative.

Mrs. C. A. Dolph of Portland, Mr. Cardinell's daughter, has kindly furnished us with the following interesting account of her father:

Charles Cardinell, the writer of the article, taken from his intensely interesting diary, relating his harrowing experiences of the seven tragic months occupied in crossing the plains, was born in Ontario, Canada, at his parents' country home between the bay of Quinty and Lake Ontario, on November 19, 1822, and died in Portland, Oregon, August 22, 1907. His parents were James Cardinell, born in Quebec, and Delila (Darling) Cardinell, born near the Bay of Quinty, Ontario. In 1845, in Belleville, Ontario, he married Miss Jane Blaind of that town, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. W. K. Blaind. Her father was a professor of Latin and Greek. Mr. Cardinell received his education in Belleville, making an especial study of architecture, which he followed as a business much of his life.

In 1849, like so many of the young men of that day, he was possessed with the desire to reach California, the land of the newly discovered gold mines. The excitement of this wonderful discovery was felt quite as much in Canada as on the American side, hundreds of young men casting away good stable lines of business or professions to rush madly to the gold fields—Charles Cardinell was one of these. His experience, like that of thousands of others, was a series of making money and losing it, but his love for architecture and building served him in good stead, for in addition to mining he erected many buildings in Tuolumne County and also in Solano.

In 1867 he moved with his family from California to Portland, Oregon, and there engaged in erecting buildings for others and a few for himself.

During the last thirty-two years of his life he was afflicted with partial paralysis, but the same indomitable courage shown during the hardships he related in crossing the plains was manifest during all those years. His wife, a most estimable woman, died in Portland in 1894. Two of his four children died in infancy. The two who survived him are Mrs. C. A.

Dolph of Portland, Oregon, and Charles B. Cardinell, living at present in Missouri.

He personally watched his own interests—being able to walk but little, he was driven daily about his buildings taking care of the most minute details. He was considered by some, especially those carrying but little responsibility, peculiar, in that he exacted every farthing coming to him, but he was equally punctilious in paying to others every penny he owed them. His giving was so unostentatious that many in his city thought he did but little; those of his household, his family and old servants, knew differently—they particularly were well remembered at the time of his death.



No. I.

Left New York on the 13th of May, 1849, for Port Lavaco, Texas. We arrived at El Paso near the end of September, after a long and tedious journey. Here our company of about 250 was broken up. The passengers becoming tired of so much delay took possession of the train and sold it. The amount of money taken for wagons, mules, harness, etc., would pay but twenty per cent on the demands against French. My demands being at this time \$200 gave me according to the percentage allowed, \$40, for which I drew a mule, valued at \$45, and paid the five dollars difference. I also bought another mule from a private individual, and supplied myself with plenty of provisions and clothing.

I now joined a dozen of the old company, and we made our way to Corlitaio, a Mexican town about 130 miles west of El Paso. Having arrived there, we unpacked our animals, led them to water and were engaged in washing their backs which were already becoming sore from the effect of the packs. But now a sudden yell or war-whoop of many voices broke upon our ears, and soon there appeared, to our surprise, French at the head of men, all mounted and well armed, each having a six-shooter in his right hand, and on his left shoulder a rifle. On they came, charging upon us at full speed, whooping and yelling like so many savages.

They fired upon us, and the balls were whistling about our

heads in every direction. My companions were falling to the earth on every side of me, with awful groans, in the last agonies of death. This lasted but a short time. French received a ball in the wrist, which passed out near the elbow, shattering his arm to pieces. One of our party, by the name of Wright, was shot through the neck. He died instantly. Another one, named Nelson, while in the act of stooping to lift a comrade from the ground, was shot through the back. He died in a few hours. Another, named Cooper, was shot through the thigh; and another, an old man, also of our party, by the name of Holmes, had both arms shot off. The groans of the wounded and dying were most affecting. There was no surgeon. French robbed us of our animals, and left us destitute. Graves were dug and our departed comrades were rolled in their blankets, and buried side by side on the spot where their blood was shed.

We remained at this place three days, in consequence of not having animals to proceed. In the meantime, the Alcalde becoming alarmed at the company's proceedings, fearing lest they would take the town, sent a dispatch to Janos for a company of Mexican Lancers. A portion of these, when they arrived, he placed at the entrance of the town to prevent other parties from coming in until ours had departed.

At length, after much entreaty, together with the Alcalde's influence, I obtained again one of my animals. Some others of the party also obtained theirs. I packed my animal with as much as he was able to bear; the remainder of my property I was obliged to carry myself. With this burden I traveled all day, the distance of 25 miles to Janos, where I was so fortunate as to obtain a horse. We now proceeded on our journey to Santa Cruz, a distance of 200 miles, arriving there just late enough to escape trouble, as 300 Apaches had just left after committing depredations of every savage nature upon the place and its inhabitants, shooting some of the males and taking some of the females prisoners. They also took away their horses, cattle, sheep, &c.

After leaving Santa Cruz and following Cook's route, we came to a deserted town named Tubac on the 19th of October, where we remained until Monday morning to recruit ourselves and our animals. On Monday we made a march of 30 miles to a watering place, where we encamped for the night. During our journey, being scantily supplied with water, we suf-

ferred very much. I offered a dollar for a pint, but was unable to obtain it. On Tuesday morning we again started, and after traveling a few miles, I and two or three others had some difficulty with our animals in consequence of the packs becoming loose, and we were left some distance behind the company, when we met a large party of Pimo Indians, who kindly offered to conduct us to water, which offer we gladly accepted. After following them a long distance up a mountain, we at last came to a spring, where the Indians left us. We remained there until near night, cooking and eating our supper. The sun was about two hours high when we left and proceeded on our journey. Following the trail in our winding way we passed through a deep valley, and after traveling a short distance we came upon several trails leading in several directions. We followed the one which we thought the company in advance of us had taken, for two hours after dark, when we encamped for the night. I was apprehensive at this time that we might be on the wrong trail, as I had noticed what appeared to me a much larger one breaking off to the left.

The next morning, at dawn of day, I arose, and awakening one of my companions, we held a short consultation, when I concluded to take a short cut across the prairie and examine the trail between us and the mountain, which I had noticed the previous evening. So, shouldering my gun, I left my comrades with my animals and baggage, and directed my steps in a south-southeast direction. After walking about five miles I came upon the trail that I was in quest of, but found it was the wrong one, as the foot-marks on it were in an easterly direction. I then endeavored to retrace my steps, but after traveling two or three hours, I found I had lost my way. I instantly became so excited that I hardly knew what I was about. I began calling my companions' names at the top of my voice, hoping they would hear me, but in vain. I continued running in every direction, and calling till my throat was so sore that I could call no more; and then I discharged the load in my gun. I continued running all day, under the scorching rays of an almost vertical sun. About sunset I struck a trail, which I followed nearly all night, when I came to a deep hole in the bed of a river, which I examined for water. I descended to the bottom, though it was eight or nine feet deep. After digging in the quicksand with my hands for a while, I found water,

which I dipped up with my powder pouch, holding a half pint. I drank it full fourteen times, and thought it the sweetest water I had ever tasted. After quenching my thirst I lay down to rest, but my mind was laboring under such intense excitement that I was unable to sleep.

No. II.

In about two hours day began to dawn, when I arose, filled my gun barrel with water and continued following the trail. About noon I came to a Pimo Indian village. I asked for bread and was presented with a water-melon. I asked for corn, and he gave me two or three small ears, for which I gave a pair of stockings which I happened to have in my pockets. I related to the Indians, as well as I was able by signs, my troubles, and offered my coat, pants, shirt and boots, to any one that would go with me and look after my animals and baggage. But no one would go. I then agreed to give a mule in case we should find them. To this an Indian agreed, and taking his bows and arrows, a dozen small ears of corn and a gourd of water, he was equipped for the journey.

We started back on the same trail we came in on. Before proceeding far he told me I had better leave my gun, as it would be useless to me. He hid it in some bushes. We then marched forward till dark, when we came upon the water holes in the bed of the river. Here we ate the corn, and slept about two hours. Then we arose and followed the trail until daylight, when we came to the place where I supposed my animals might be near. We examined one trail after another till 2 o'clock, in vain. The Indian becoming tired and hungry, muttered and expressed his unwillingness to search any further. I told him to lend me his gourd and I would go up a mountain which he had pointed out to me, for water, and he might go home, while I remained until night searching for my animals. He then wanted four dollars for his trouble. I offered him two dollars, but he would not accept that sum. I being wholly in the savage's power, was obliged to give him what he asked. I had still one dollar remaining, and had only about a thousand miles to travel before I could reach the land of gold. The scoundrel would not lend me his gourd, but he would give it to

me for the dollar which I had left, or for my coat. I refused his generous offer, and went off, leaving him sitting on the ground in ill humor.

I then walked about three miles up the mountain for water, quenched my thirst, and taking off one of my boots, filled it to carry with me, and resumed the search. But in a short time my foot became wounded and sore, lamed by walking among the sharp rocks, showing prints of blood at every step. I bound it with my neck-kerchief, and searched in vain till night. Becoming discouraged I gave up the search, and hungry and faint, I once more started for the village. It was late in the night when I again came to the old water places, where I slept until daylight.

In the morning I started again, but before walking an hour was overtaken by my Indian guide, who came upon me like a mad dog, saying he had been searching all night until his moc-casins were worn through, with nothing to eat. He wanted my other dollar. I refused to give it, and attempted to leave him—when springing upon me like a tiger, he laid hold of me and demanded the dollar. I begged of him not to take it, as it was all I had, and I wanted to buy bread with it. I told him I had nothing to eat, no clothes, no animals, was far from any white man, and had a long way to go. But my entreaties were all in vain. I again attempted to leave him, when he placed his bow and arrow in a position to shoot me, and I was obliged to give it up to him. He still appeared dissatisfied, and taking hold of me again took my neck-kerchief from my neck by force. After examining it, growling about the blood upon it and the holes worn through it, he tied it about his waist, and let me go.

The Indian then went towards the village, I keeping about twenty yards behind him. On coming to the bushes where my gun was hid, I found that it had been taken away. I said nothing until we came to the village; but when I asked him for it he only laughed at me. Several elderly Indians stood by looking at me, as if I had been a wild beast or a complete menagerie. To them I made complaint respecting the loss of my gun. After talking with each other for a long time, they finally brought it from a wigwam, broken. I offered to sell it to them for bread or penoles. No one seemed to care for it. I then offered it for my hat full of corn, but could not get it.

They would give me corn, penole or musquite bread, for my coat, pants or boots. But these I could not part with, owing to the severe cold and the snow. I examined my pockets for something to sell them for bread, but found they had been picked of everything—comb, glass, gloves, and several trinkets that I had. I then resorted to my pants, and taking out my purse to sell them, on examining it to show them the quality, I fortunately found ten gold dollars, which being so small I had hitherto overlooked. At the sight of these my heart leaped for joy, and I again felt rich. One of these I offered for my hat full of corn; but no, they would give it to me for my coat, and insisted upon it. Finding I still refused, they turned up their noses, and went off each one to his wigwam, leaving me standing like a sign-post, almost dead with hunger.

It was already four days since I had eaten anything except the few small ears of corn and the water melon before mentioned. I stood motionless for a while considering what to do. I saw no alternative but to direct my steps toward San Diego. But a distance of five hundred miles lay before me before I could expect to see the face of a white man or anything that pertained to civilization; and how was I to proceed with nothing to eat? Starvation stared me in the face. I stepped forward to a wigwam where I saw an Indian drying corn and offered a dollar for my hat full, but he refused. I then fell upon my knees to him, holding the hat in one hand and the dollar in the other, begging of him to give me corn, but he still refused. In this posture I remained for fifteen or twenty minutes, continuing my supplications and imploring his mercy. He at last filled my hat with the corn, and took the money, telling me to go on and in a little while I should come to another town where I could get much corn. I was not aware of another village being near or I should not have humbled myself as I did. Taking off my coat and turning the corn into one of the sleeves, I proceeded on my way, and after traveling about six miles, I came to South Pass about ten o'clock in the evening. I told the Indians of my loss, and described to them the place. I then prepared my supper of parched corn, and lay down on the ground to sleep, but could not, in consequence of the pow-wow that was kept up in a wigwam near me. I also suffered severely from the cold nights, having on nothing

but a cotton shirt and a thin pair of pants. My coat sleeves being occupied as corn sacks, I could only enjoy the skirts.

In the morning I arose, eat a handful of mashed corn, and endeavored to sell my gun. I exchanged it for a small blanket, thin enough to shake beans through, and gave my knife for a gourd to carry water in. I was kindly invited by an Indian, who was enjoying a dish of boiled squash, to breakfast with him. Sitting down near him, I laid down my coat and commenced eating, when the Indian took my coat and put it under him. Seeing his intention, I pushed the dish from me, and endeavored to get the coat. But he shoved back the dish and insisted upon having the coat. I told him no; I could not give my coat for a breakfast. Laying hold of it I pulled with all my might, expecting every moment to rend it in pieces, determined to have some of it. After struggling awhile I succeeded in getting it, and hurried away.

Feeling reluctant to leave without giving another search for my animals, I inquired of an Indian the trail they had followed, and went on it eight miles, when I came to another Indian village. I there related my story and while I was resting a little they proceeded in the search. I had not walked over two miles when an Indian came up in great haste, telling me I was on the wrong trail. Pointing towards a mountain some thirty miles off to the right, he said that it was towards that mountain that the white men had lately passed, and offered if I would give him my coat to take me to the right trail. Being by this time pretty well acquainted with the Indian character I knew he lied, only desiring to get me on the wrong trail that he might get the prize. I told him I wanted neither his assistance nor his company. He then wanted a dollar, still insisting that I should go with him. Leaving him and walking on I soon met about twenty Indians, some mounted and others on foot running and whcoping apparently in great joy. I then had but little hope of recovering my property, as I mistrusted some of them were the same to whom I had explained my circumstances the evening previous at Santa Rosa. However, I continued following the trail until night came on, when I lay down to sleep.

During the night another Indian came up in great haste, telling me to go with him for water. I replied that I was tired and would not go. He then lay down near me.

In the morning I started and soon arrived at the watering

place, the Indian keeping with me. Here I rested, and having eaten a handful of corn, proceeded again. I had not gone far when the Indian abruptly asked me for a dollar. I told him I had none; and when he asked me where I was going, I told him I was hunting for my horse and mule. He said he would give me a horse for ten dollars. But after trying this and several other plans in vain, to find out whether I had any money about me, he said he would go no further with me unless I would give him my coat or shirt, and pointing in every direction, made signs of many trails and left me; and I was very glad of it. By this time, my water-gourd becoming empty, I began to be very thirsty. I still proceeded over the prairie under a scorching sun. When near night my eyes rested upon the spot where I had left my animals and baggage. Nothing was left but a string which I had used for tying my blankets, and the stake to which my animals had been tied. The grass, as far as their halters would reach, was plucked up, and the ground was pawed by the poor hungry creatures. The Indians' tracks were fresh and plainly to be seen, indicating that they had not long been gone.

I then directed my steps towards the mountain where a few days before I had obtained water. My fevered palate was already swelling in my throat with burning thirst. It was late in the evening when I came to the mountain. After searching some time in vain for the path to the water, I endeavored to climb the mountain where I was; but while climbing up a steep cliff I fell and cut my leg. Still wandering about in the dark, endeavoring to find the path, I struck a trail leading towards another mountain. This I followed for the distance of several miles without success, nearly dead for water. Then I commenced retracing my steps, and walked all night: but in the morning I found myself far from the watering place. Towards this I again turned, but it was near noon when I came to the foot of the mountain. Again I attempted to climb it, where I supposed the water might be found; but becoming weak and faint I fell, wholly unable to go further. Thus I lay nearly an hour, expecting every breath would be my last. A light refreshing breeze springing up, I began to revive, and with great exertion I succeeded in divesting myself of my boots and the little clothes I had on, in order that I might feel the air. After sufficiently recovering my strength to stand, I again

put on my clothes and crawled to the spot where I supposed the water to be. It was not the place I expected to find, but a ravine in the mountain about nine feet wide and fifty feet deep. At the head of this ravine I could see the water trickling down the rocks into a basin at the bottom. Rejoicing at this discovery, I crept down the sides of the mountain, and following up the ravine I drank my fill, and feasted on corn until near night, when with reluctance I left this beautiful fountain to search for the trail leading to the village. I walked two or three hours after dark, not finding it. So I lay down to sleep.

In the morning I directed my steps across the plain, toward a mountain, near which I knew a trail led to the village, which, when I found it, I again followed until I came to the water hole in the river bed. There I found some friendly Pimos, one of whom let me ride on his horse, behind him, for four or five miles, to rest myself; and so I reached another village which I had not before visited. Next morning I arrived at the other village, where I remained during the forenoon, in consequence of a heavy shower of rain. I obtained shelter in a wigwam. When the rain was over I proceeded five miles further, to the next village, which was the one I had first come to. It was four o'clock in the afternoon of Thursday, the 31st of October, when I left there, following the trail direct north, seventy-five miles.

No. III.

[Here there is an evident omission in the diary.]

One Indian was smoking tobacco through a piece of reed, blowing the smoke with all possible force through his nostrils upon the bare back of the sick Indian, at the same time pressing it with a cloth as if to smother the smoke upon his back to prevent its escape. He continued this process from one end of the body to the other for about fifteen minutes, when another Indian took his place, going through the same process. During this time all except the one engaged in smoking, were singing at the top of their voices a song to the tune I had heard at Santa Rosa. The performance was kept up all night. I could not sleep for the noise until daylight, when they all dispersed except two or three, who lay down to sleep. I then obtained a

few hours repose. I was very sleepy, having traveled day and night for the last seventy-five miles. When I awoke I started again, following Cook's wagon route five miles, when I came to another village. Here it commenced raining, and I got shelter in a wigwam, where I remained until next morning. I bought my hat full of mesquite bread, for which I gave my last gold dollar. Tying it in my coat, I proceeded through deep mud six miles to another village. Here I was conducted by an Indian to the "captain," and told that he was a kind-hearted man, and would assist me to anything I needed. At this news I was much pleased, but on coming to the chief's wigwam, I found a fool of a fellow sitting on the ground with some three or four others playing cards, who did not seem inclined even to speak to me. I asked for something to eat, and they gave me mesquite bread, of which I already had plenty. But although it was little better than saw-dust, my craving appetite compelled me to eat it. I waited for him to get through his game of cards, thinking that he might be induced to give me some provisions for my journey. In the meantime they handed me a package of papers or recommendations to read, that had been given to him by leaders or captains of companies who had passed. He felt very proud of them, although he could not read a word. One or two of them recommended him to Americans that should happen to pass through there, as a good interpreter and an accommodating fellow; while the rest made game of him, saying he was accommodating as long as he was well paid. After waiting about two hours, and becoming completely disgusted, I left and proceeded on my way towards San Diego, which was still 400 miles distant.

The weather now began to grow much colder, with occasionally a heavy fall of rain. The nights were extremely cold, with very hard frost. A lonely traveler, I would walk all day until dark, and then being very tired, would lie down and fall asleep. Perhaps in an hour I would wake up, shivering with cold. I would then rise, throw my coat over my shoulder, travel until I became warm and tired, and again lie down to sleep till I could endure the cold no longer. Again I would rise, and walk on; and in this way continue traveling day and night, suffering with cold and hunger.

My clothes consisted of a thin cotton shirt, and pair of

pants which had become so rotten and torn that I had to tie strings about my body and legs in several places to keep them together. In my coat I still used to carry my parched corn and musquite bread. Frequently at night when I lay down to sleep the prairie wolves would come prowling about me, and I would be obliged to get up and throw stones at them to drive them away.

It was about 12 o'clock, when becoming very thirsty I left the road to go to the river Gila for water, when passing through some bushes I suddenly came upon a drove of sheep. I was overjoyed at the sight, as I had been informed by some Indians at Moracopas that white men with a drove of sheep had lately passed that way. Concluding that I must be near their camp, I called out at the top of my voice, "Americans! Americans!" and continued calling, but received no answer. I went further towards the river, thinking the camp could not be far off, and continued calling as before, but in vain. I began to think the Indians had killed the owners of the sheep. I then lay down till morning. At daylight I arose, and after searching an hour in vain for the camp, drove the sheep to the road and continued on my way, driving the flock of sixty sheep before me. Having traveled about two hours I stopped, and after sawing on the throat of a sheep with a sort of knife about three inches long, that I had picked up, succeeded in killing it. I could not stop for a fire, and had no means of procuring one; but falling on my knees, I laid hold of the raw flesh about the neck with my teeth, like a dog, and satisfied my hunger to some extent before it had fairly done kicking. After tearing and pulling, not having a knife that I could cut with, I at last opened the carcass and tore out the entrails. I ate up the kidneys, and shouldering the carcass, took the heart and liver in my hand to eat as I walked along.

Continuing on my journey, I drove the rest before me. I was just eating the last of the heart when I came up to the camp of white men, and found that they were the owners of the sheep. They had three thousand, which they were driving to California, and were very thankful to me for bringing up the rest of the drove. They gave me good bread and meat, which I ate till I nearly killed myself, as I had been living fifteen days on very small quantities of parched corn. Then I gathered sheepskins and sewed them together, and made me a

comfortable covering. Mr. Devoe, the leader and owner of the sheep, gave me a good mule to ride as long as I chose to remain with him, and twenty dollars in gold, with plenty to eat. We lay still four days, to recruit the animals, this being the first grass they had found since leaving the Pimo Indian village.

We arrived at the Colorado, Monday, November 18th.

On Tuesday, the 19th, with three or four others, I went to a deserted Indian rancho, and gathered a quantity of beans. It was eight miles from our camp. Five of Mr. Devoe's party getting tired of so much delay and slow traveling, and anxious to get through to the journey's end, were now preparing to leave the company and to go ahead. I purchased an old horse from a Mexican; one man gave me a pair of pants, another a shirt and another a bag to carry my provisions in. Mr. Devoe gave me a camp kettle, about thirty pounds of corn meal, and a sheep—two-thirds of which I gave to some of my party.

On the 22nd we left the ferry, traveled sixteen miles, and encamped at another place on the Colorado. Next day we drove sixteen miles more, to some wells. As a forty-five mile desert now lay before us, we started at 11 o'clock, but my horse broke his lariat and got away. The rest left me. I searched for my horse till daylight in rain. So leaving behind me my saddle, sheepskins, and other things, I started on the Sandy Desert with a pack of eight pounds weight on my back. This pack soon became an enormous weight. The sand being knee-deep, I had to rest every fifteen minutes. So I continued on until noon, when, becoming so fatigued that I could not lift my pack to my shoulder, I was obliged to throw away half of my corn meal, half my beans, half of my meat, all my parched corn, and musquite bread and a shirt. In the afternoon the wind blew almost a hurricane, driving the sand in my eyes, and almost blinding me. At times I was obliged to lie down and cover myself with my blanket to keep from suffocating. The whole road on the desert seemed almost covered with the carcasses of dead animals, the stench from which was terrible. Late in the evening I came to a camp of soldiers, bound for the Colorado. They gave me supper, and expressed astonishment at my pack. After resting two or three hours, I again started, and by morning arrived at another camp of soldiers, also bound for the Colorado. In a short time the rest of the

company came in that had left me on the other side of the desert. I must have passed them in the night. The Captain gave each of us two days' rations of hard bread and pork, and also to me, a letter to his family in San Diego.

Next morning I shouldered my pack, and marched, with the rest of the company, twenty miles to water. The next day we traveled thirty miles to water, and the day following twenty miles. Then we left the main road and took a trail over the mountain, twenty-two miles to Williams' ranch. In this valley we remained one day and two nights. The mountain tops were covered with snow, and it was so cold that we had to get up and walk about till morning in order to keep from freezing. Thence we followed a trail to a Mexican ranch, twenty miles; to Don McGillo's ranch, twelve miles; to the Mission, twelve miles; and to San Diego, six miles. I reached San Diego on Thursday, December 5th, seven months from the time I left home.

Chas. Cardinell.

DOCUMENTARY

We propose to begin, in this the initial number of our Quarterly, the publication of a series of documents relating to the conquest of California in 1846. Mr. H. H. Bancroft in his History of California presented a very thorough study of this period, but reproduced very few of the original documents on which the History was based, and some of the most important of these we propose to print.

The recently discovered papers of Lieutenant E. M. Kern, bought by Mr. Henry E. Huntington at an auction sale last year and known as the Fort Sutter Papers, consist largely of documents referring to the Bear Flag revolution. Mr. Charles Templeton Crocker has in his collection a number of papers formerly belonging to Rear Admiral Sloat, many of which also refer to this movement, and most of which have never been published.

The fourth document contained in this number is one of the original proclamations signed by William B. Ide at Sonoma, June 15, 1846. This document is now in the possession of Mr. Henry E. Huntington, and by his kind permission we are permitted to publish it, together with a facsimile reproduction. The rest of the papers printed in this number are from the Sloat manuscripts in the possession of Mr. Crocker, and from the Bancroft Library.

[Bear Flag Papers—60. Bancroft Library.]

We, the undersigned, members of the Republican party in California, having taken Gen. M. G. Vallejo, Lieut. Col. Victor Prudon and Capt. D. Salvador Vallejo, as prisoners Plede ourselves that in so doing or in any other portion of our actions we will not disturb private property molest themselves their families or the citizens of the town of Zanoma or its vicinity our object alone being to prevnt their opposition to thegners of theof the liberation

(Rest torn)

[This fragment, which formerly belonged to General Vallejo, is probably the first form in which this guaranty was written, but not proving entirely satisfactory, the signatures were torn off and it was replaced by the following.]

[Bear Flag Papers—19. Bancroft Library.]

We the undersigned having resolved to establish a government up on republican principles in connexion with others of our fellow citizens and having taken up arms to suport it we have taken three Mexican officers as prisoners, Gen. M. G. Vallejo, Lieut Col. Victor Prudon and capt D. Salvador Vallego, having formed and published to the world no regular plan of Government feel it our duty to say that it is not our intention to take or injure any person who is not found in opposition to the cause nor will we take or destroy the property of private individuals further than is necessary four our immediate support.

EZEKIEL MERRITT
R. SEMPLE
WILLIAM FALLON
SAMUEL KELSEY

[In Semple's handwriting.]

[Bear Flag Papers—61. Bancroft Library.]

Consta pr la presente qe habiendo sido sorprendido pr. una numerosa fuerza armada qe me tomo pricionero y á los gefes y oficiales que estaban de guarnicion en esta plaza de la qe se apoderó la expresada fuerza, habiendola encontrado absolutamente indefensa, tanto yo, como los Sres. oficiales qe subscriben comprometemos nuestra palabra de honor, de qe estando bajo las garantias de pricioneros de guerra, no tomaremos las armas ni a favór ni contra la repetida fuerza armada de quien hemos recibido la intimacion del momento y un escrito firmado qe garantiza nuestras vidas, familias é intereses, y las de todo el vecindario de esta jurisdiccion mientras no hagamos oposicion.

Sonoma, Junio 14 de 1846.

Vor. Prudon.

M. G. Vallejo

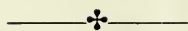
Salvador Vallejo

[In handwriting of Salvador Vallejo.]

[Translation.]

The present witnesses that,—having been surprised by a numerous armed force which took me prisoner and the chiefs and officials who were in garrison in this place which the force alluded to took possession of, finding it absolutely undefended, I, together with the officials who subscribe their names, promise on our word of honor that being under the guaranties of prisoners of war we will not take arms either in favor of or against the armed force referred to, from whom we have received this moment an intimation and a signed writing which guarantees our lives, families and interests, and those of all

the inhabitants of this jurisdiction, as long as we do not make any opposition.



[From the original in Mr. Huntington's Library.]

A PROCLAMATION

To all persons, Citizens of Sonoma, requesting them to remain at peace, and to follow their rightful occupations without fear of Molestation.

The Commander in Chief of the Troops assembled at the Fortress of Sonoma give his inviolable pledge to all persons in California not found under Arms that they shall not be disturbed in their persons, their property or social relations one to another by men under his command.

He also solemnly declares his object to be First, to defend himself and companions in Arms who were invited to this country by a promise of Lands on which to settle themselves and families who were also promised a "Republican Government," who, when having arrived in California were denied even the privilege of buying or renting Lands of their friends, who instead of being allowed to participate in or being protected by a "Republican Government" were oppressed by a "Military Despotism". who were even threatened, by "Proclamation" from the Chief Officer of the aforesaid Despotism, with extermination if they would not depart out of the Country; leaving all their property, their arms and beasts of burden, and thus deprived of the means of flight or defence. We were to be driven through deserts, inhabited by hostile Indians to certain destruction. To overthrow a "Government" which has seized upon the property of the Missions for its individual aggrandizement; which has ruined and shamefully oppressed the labouring people of California, by their enormous exactions on goods imported into this country; is the determined purpose of the brave men who are associated under his command.

He also solemnly declares his object in the Second place to be to invite all peaceable and good Citizens of California who are friendly to the maintenance of good order and equal rights (and I do hereby invite them to repair to my camp at Sonoma without delay) to assist us in establishing and perpetuating a

Proclamation

To all persons, Citizens of Sonoma, requesting them to remain at peace, and to follow their rightful occupations without fear of molestation.

The Commander in Chief of the troops assembled at the streets of Sonoma gives his irrevocable pledge to all persons in California through desert, inhabited by hostile Americans to certain destruction. No overthrow a Government which had seized upon the property of the Mission for its indignant agrarian element; which has ruined and shamefully represented the laboring people of California, by these enormous exactions on goods imported into this country; in the determined purpose of the brave men who are advised under his command.

the inhabitants of this jurisdiction, as long as we do not make any opposition.



[From the original in Mr. Huntington's Library.]

A PROCLAMATION

To all persons, Citizens of Sonoma, requesting them to remain at peace, and to follow their rightful occupations without fear of Mollestation.

The Commander in Chief of the Troops assembled at the Fortress of Sonoma give his inviolable pledge to all persons in California not found under Arms that they shall not be disturbed in their persons, their property or social relations one to another by men under his command.

He also solemnly declares his object to be First, to defend himself and companions in Arms who were invited to this country by a promise of Lands on which to settle themselves and families who were also promised a "Republican Government," who, when having arrived in California were denied even the privilege of buying or renting Lands of their friends, who instead of being allowed to participate in or being protected by a "Republican Government" were oppressed by a "Military Despotism". who were even threatened, by "Proclamation" from the Chief Officer of the aforesaid Despotism, with extermination if they would not depart out of the Country; leaving all their property, their arms and beasts of burden, and thus deprived of the means of flight or defence. We were to be driven through deserts, inhabited by hostile Indians to certain destruction. To overthrow a "Government" which has seized upon the property of the Missions for its individual aggrandizement; which has ruined and shamefully oppressed the labouring people of California, by their enormous exactions on goods imported into this country; is the determined purpose of the brave men who are associated under his command.

He also solemnly declares his object in the Second place to be to invite all peaceable and good Citizens of California who are friendly to the maintenance of good order and equal rights (and I do hereby invite them to repair to my camp at Sonoma without delay) to assist us in establishing and perpetuating a

• *Discrepancies*
 I call freedom, & depend of no man, regarding them
 to remain as friends, and to better their neighbor
 we shall find without fear of contradiction.

The Commissioner in Chief of the United States at the U.S. of America gave his honorable pledge to all freedom in California that he would send them they shall not be disturbed in their freedom their property or civil relations one to another by men under his command.

The above statement declares his object to be
strictly to defend himself and sympathize in any
wherever involved for this country by a promise
of reward on which to settle himself and families
to be here also promised a "Republican Government"
who to him having arrived in California were denied
even the privilege of buying or renting lands of
their friends, in the instead of being allowed to
participate in or being protected by a "Republican
Government" were oppressed by a Military Dicta-
torship, who were even threatened, by "Proclama-
tion" from the Chief Officer of the Federal Gov-
ernment, with extermination if they made not total
out of the country, leaving all their property, which
could not be sold or passed, and their defense of
the mind of the whole defense. We were to be driven
through deadly, insatiable by hostile and cruel to
certain destruction. It was then a Government
which had decided upon the property of the Mission
for its own use and a guarantee of its own had
been and shamefully violated the sacred
rights of God's people, by their immoral and
on great unfulfilled and their country as the de-
moral property of the Government who are where
that under their command.

He also solemnly declares his object in the de-
-voted place to be to invite all peaceable and good
-Citizens of California who are friendly to the
-maintenance of good order and equal rights
(and I do hereby invite them to repair to my camp
-at Sonoma without delay) to assist us in estab-
-lishing and perfecting a Republican Govern-
-ment.

The other testimony obtained from the de-
-cent, like to be to create all possible and great
-testimony of criticism in it are friendly to the
-minds, service of good ideas and equal heights
(and I am briefly, to give them to be a for any com-
-at of course without delay) to actually in addi-
-tioning and for the study a of the public in the in-
-sistent which shall be used to all, and used, to begin
-liberty, which shall be used and for the same;
-which shall be used and used for, and the
-and the, which shall be used and used, by the
-for more, to be in the and the same.

He further declared that he believed from the
testimony of two witnesses; the favor of Heaven
and the prayers of those who are bound for and
absolved with him, by the miracle of still vi-
sitation, by the love of truth; and by the influ-
ence of Heaven for his hope of success.

He further declared that he believed that a sin-
ner would be preserved and kept from sinning in his
bondage, much more in the world, the people, who are
generally so wicked and evil. What did Dickinson say
to Bradford, the officers are the servants, and
the clergy their servants. Sign William B. Dole.

June 10th 1846.

"Republican Government" which shall secure to all; civil and religious liberty; which shall detect and punish crime; which shall encourage industry virtue and literature; which shall leave unshackled by Fetters, Commerce, Agriculture, and Mechanism.

He further declares that he relies upon the rectitude of our intentions; the favor of Heaven and the bravery of those who are bound to, and associated with him, by the principle of self preservation; by the love of truth; and by the hatred of tyranny—for his hopes of success.

He further declares that he believes that a Government to be prosperous and happyfying in its tendency must originate with its people who are friendly to its existence. That its Citizens, are its Guardians, its Officers are its Servants, and its Glory their reward.

Signed William B. Ide.

Head Quarters Sonoma

June 15th 1846

There seems to be some doubt as to just who was the head of the party which captured Sonoma on the morning of June 14. Ezekiel Merritt was the ostensible leader, but John Grigsby seems to have been the chief of the party, which for some reason or other he did not seem to care to command in person; so when he was actually elected captain after the capture and there was some dissention among the men, he declined to serve, and William B. Ide was chosen. At the time of this election there was evidently some radical difference of opinion, first, not only as to what was intended to be accomplished, but second and most important at the moment,—what was the next step to pursue?

There are a number of accounts of what took place, most of them written long afterwards, and most of them being more or less biased by afterwards conceived ideas as to the real object of the movement. In the afternoon of the 14th, Merritt, who was the original leader, Grigsby, who was probably the real leader, Semple, who was one of the most prominent men in the movement, and six or seven others, went to Fort Sutter with the prisoners. During the night of the 14th, or early morning of the 15th according to Ide himself, a proclamation was prepared. So far as known at the present time, only one copy of the original now is in existence. It is probable that a number were made, most likely written by various members

of the party, but presumably all signed by Ide. Several of these proclamations were copied at the time or shortly afterward, and the copies which now exist show various differences, chiefly in spelling, punctuation, and the use of capital letters, which differences may have arisen either in copying the first one by different people, or else in the copying afterwards of these first proclamations prepared at Sonoma. The copies as we know them appear with different dates—15th, 17th, and 18th. Just why some were dated the 17th and 18th is hard to tell, as they do not present any modification of sufficient importance to entitle them to be redated. The following copies are noted in Bancroft:

Larkin's Official Correspondence, II, 69-71—June 15:72—
June 18.

Sawyer's Document Manuscripts, 49-51—June 15.

Oregon Spectator, July 14, 1846. (Printed). June 15.

San Francisco Alta, January 20, 1866. (Printed from one
of the originals, at that time in the California Pioneers'
Society.)

Other copies are as follows:

Sloat's Manuscripts, dated June 17, in Missroon's handwriting, and another dated June 18th.

Original sold in New York, American Art Galleries, December 6, 1921.

Biographical Sketch of William B. Ide, (printed) page 138.

An examination of these various copies discloses the fact that there are no differences between those dated June 15, except differences in spelling, punctuation, and the use of capital letters, with two exceptions: in the Sawyer copy the word "happyfying" is omitted in the last paragraph, leaving a space, and in the Larkin copy the word appears as "happy", with a comma after it; in the copy in the Spectator and the one which is in the Sawyer documents, the word "commander" is added after William B. Ide's signature. These differences, however, do not indicate any intentional change in the original document but have obviously occurred in transcribing copies from the originals which in themselves may have differed in these respects.

The copy in the Sloat manuscripts dated the 17th is the

same as the original except that the word "not" has been omitted before the word "depart" in the third paragraph, obviously through negligence in copying.

In the Sloat manuscripts there are two copies of this proclamation dated June 18th, one attached to Guerrero's statement, published hereafter, and the other having at the bottom in a different handwriting "The flag used by the above named party, is white, red border,—large Star, and a grizzly bear." This is a slightly different form of the proclamation, apparently rewritten with an attempt to improve the English. There is only one important change, and that is in the fourth paragraph, at the end, which reads as follows: "which shall secure to us all, civil and religious liberty, which shall encourage virtue and literature which leave unshackled by fetters. Agriculture Commerce and Mechanism." It is written in the first person after the first two paragraphs, and in the last paragraph the words "in its tendency" are omitted and "happy" is used for "happyfying."

In Ide's Biographical Sketch there is a copy of the proclamation which differs considerably from the original, indicating that Ide had made certain changes at the time he wrote his letter to Senator Wombaugh. Wombaugh was a member of the California senate which convened January 5, 1852, and it is therefore certain that the letter was written some time between that date and the time of Ide's death in December of the same year. The differences consist, principally, in the insertion of the word "religion" after "property" in the first clause, the use of the expression "our women and children" in place of "himself" in the second clause, the insertion in the third clause of these words, "by its treachery in the bestowment of public lands", and in the fifth clause of the words, "upon the wisdom and good sense of the people of California". None of these expressions occur in the original or in any of the copies which we have examined, and we are forced to the conclusion that Ide edited the document when he copied it for his statement made to Senator Wombaugh.

As a matter of interest, we insert herewith a copy of the one which was printed in the *Alta California* of January 20, 1866. This was certified to by L. L. Lull as being in Ide's own handwriting and with his proper signature. According to another printed certificate, signed by Manuel Castro, the procla-

mation had been sent to him and remained in his possession until some time not stated.

[Alta California, January 20, 1866.]

A PROCLAMATION

To all persons Citizens of Sonoma requesteng them to remain at peace and to follow their rightful Occupations without fear of Molestion.

The Commander in Chief of the Troops assembled at the Fortress of Sonoma gives his inviolable pledge to all persons in California not found under armes, that they shall not be disturbed in their persons their property or Social relations one to another by men under his comand.

He also solemnly declairs his object to be first To defend himself and company in armes who ware invited to this country by a promise of lands on which to settle themselves and families who were also promest a Republican Government who when having arived in California were denied even the priveledge of bying or renting lands of their friends, who insted of being allowed to participate in or being protected by a Republican Government were opprest by a Military Disposition who were even threatened by proclamation forom the Chief Officer of the aforesaid Dispotism with extermination if they would not depart out of ther country leaving all their property their arms and beasts of burden and thus deprived of the means of flight or defence, we ware to be driven through desarts inhabited by hostile Indians to certain destruction. To overthrow a Government which has seized upon the property of the Mission for its individual aggrandisement which has ruined and shamfully oppresed the people of California by their enormis exactions on goods imported into his country is the Determined propose of the brave men who are associated under his Comand.

He solomly declairs his object in the second plase to be to invite all peace and good citizens of California who are friendly to be maintainance of good order and equal writes (and I do hereby invite them to repair to my camp at Sonoma without delay) to asist us in establishing and perpetuating a Republic Government which shall secure to all civil and religious liberty which shall detect and punish crime encourag industry virtue

and literature which shall leave unshackled by Fetters Commerce agriculture and mechanism.

He further declares that he relies upon the rectitude of our intentions, the favor Heaven and the bravery of those who are bound to and associated with him by the principle of self preservation by the love of truth and by the hatred of tyranny for his hopes of success.

He further declares that he believes that a Government to be prosperous and happyfying in its tendency must organize with its people who are friendly to its existence its citizens are its guardians its officers and its servants and its glory their reward.

(Sined) WILLIAM B. IDE
Comder

Head Quarters Sonoma
June 15th 1846

[From Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts, with Bartlett's signature but in another handwriting.]

Statement of the interview between El Senor Don Jose de la Rosa, and Commander Jno. B. Montgomery Comr. U. S. Ship Portsmouth by Lieut. W. A. Bartlett U. S. N. Interpreter, by order of Commander Montgomery.

Don Jose de la Rosa on coming on board the Ship desired to inform Capt. Montgomery, that he brought information from Don Guadalupe Vallejo Military Comr. of Sonoma "which he desired to give the moment Capt. Montgomery could receive him.

On being received by Capt. Montgomery I was directed to act as interpreter when Senor de la Rosa proceeded to deliver his message, which I wrote as follows.

Don Guadalupe Vallejo desires to inform Capt. Montgomery of the proceedings which took place at Sonoma "Yesterday Morning. At 5 A. M. there arrived at Sonoma a party of about eighty men, as they said from the Sacramento, they at once took forcible possession of the place; and posted themselves in the Cuartel" then made prisoners of Genl. Vallejo, Capt. Don Salvador Vallejo, and Lieut Col. Don Victor Prudhome, all of whom are Officers of the Mexican Army.

Then a Mr. Merritt, who appeared to have the command, or exercise the authority with the party; handed the Genl. a Convention "demanding of him the surrender of all the arms and Government property in Sonoma and that the Officers above named should remain Prisoners in Sonoma," which place they should not leave.

The Genl. replied that he must surrender to the force in Arms, and did so surrender when the party demanded further, that all the above named Officers should go with them to their camp on the Sacramento River.

Genl. Vallego then requested them to show their authority or determination (*abajo que plano*) and as they said they were Americans he desired they should exhibit their authority from the Govt. of the U. S. They replied that they did not come under the authority of the U. S. but having seen a proclamation of Genl. Castro threatening to drive all foreigners out of the Country, they had taken up arms in self defence.

They then made prisoner of the Alcalde "and told him that if any person in the place or neighborhood attempted to notify other places of this act, or raise a force to oppose them, they would at once shoot the Officers they then held prisoners. The Alcalde was then set at Liberty, but told, if he did not present any opposition to them, he would also be shot.

Genl. Vallego desired to inform Capt. Montgomery of these facts; and to ask of him to use his authority or exert his influence to prevent the commission of acts of violence by this party, inasmuch: as they seemed to be without any effectual head or authority, to this end he hoped for an Officer to be sent to the place, or a letter that would have the effect of saving the helpless inhabitants from violence and anarchy.

Senor Don Jose de la Rosa was directed by Genl. Vallego (at 11 AM. yesterday) to come with this message, but could not leave untill 3 PM.

A few moments past 11 the party left a garrison of 25 Men at Sonoma protected by seven pieces of Cannon, the others with the Prisoners left for the Sacramento.

Reply of Commander Montgomery to the Message of Genl. Vallego.

Sir: You will say to Genl. Vallejo on my part that I at

once and entirely disavow this movement as having proceeded under any authority of the U. S. or myself, as the Agent of my Govt. in this country or on the this coast. It is a movement entirely local and with which I have nothing to do, nor can I in any way be induced to take part in the controversy which belongs entirely to the internal politics of California.

If they are Americans as they avow themselves they are beyond the jurisdiction of the laws and officers of the U. S., and must now take all the responsibilities of the position in which they have placed themselves, being answerable to the laws of Mexico and California.

I have now for the first time heard of this movement, and in making the most positive disavowal for myself and my Govt. having in anywise instigated or aided this, I also disavow the same on the part of Captain Freemont U. S. Topl. Engineers, now in the country for scientific purposes.

If my individual efforts can be at any time exercised to allay violence or prevent injury to innocent persons it shall be exerted, but not as an officer of the Govt. of the U. S. I cannot have anything to do with either party. They must take the responsibilities of their own acts. From what has already transpired, I think it clear, that no violence will be committed on any one who is not found with arms in their hands.

You will assure Genl. Don Guadalupe Vallejo of my sympathy in his difficulties, but I cannot possibly interfere in the local politics of California.

Senor de la Rosa then thanked Capt. Montgomery for his sentiments and sympathy stated that all was distinctly understood and translated and that he would place this statement in the hands of Don Guadalupe Vallejo at the earliest moment.

I hereby certify that the proceeding statement is a fair translation of the Message, and reply read to Captain Montgomery, and Senor de la Rosa.

(Signed) WASH.TON A. BARTLETT
Lieut.

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Sausalito June 15th 1846.

Copy of Mr. William B. Ide's Letter

[From Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts, probably in Bartlett's handwriting.]

Sanoma, June 15th, 1846,
Our present Head Quarters

Dear Sir/

I beg leave to inform you by express, of a change in the Political affairs of Sanoma, and the Sacramento Valley; which has taken place within the last week. With the circumstances which led to this change, you are doubtless acquainted: viz, the hostility of the Spaniards to the American emigrants. About 40 days since a proclamation was issued by the Spaniards ordering all Foreigners to leave the country, and forbidding them to take any of their property with them, at the same time threatening them with extermination should they presume to remain in the Country. The immigration to the States was gone; the company for Oregon had left us. There was now no alternative but to die silently, and singly by the hands of our enemies or fly to meet the foe. Information had reached the upper end of Sacramento Valley (where I resided) that 200 Spaniards were on their way up the Valley for the purpose of destroying our wheat, burning our houses and driving off our cattle. Aroused by appearances so shocking, a very few of us resolved to meet our enemy (being encouraged by the known presence of Capt. Freemont's command in the Valley) and dispose of our difficulties in the best possible manner. The 200 Spaniards proved to be a band of horses (about 200) guarded by a Spanish Officer and 15 Men, being driven up the Valley as far as Capt. Sutters, thence across the River for the lower settlements for the declared and expressed purpose of being mounted by Soldiers and sent back to enforce said Proclamation. In self defence those few men (viz 12) seized the moment and pursued those horses, captured their guard and drove the horses to the neighborhood of Capt. Freemont's Camp. Still writhing under the dreadful necessity above alluded to we pursued our way both Night and Day adding to our number a few true hearts to the number 34 men, until the dawn of the morning of the 14th inst when we charged upon the Fortress of General Guadalupe Vallego, and captured 18 prisoners (among whom were 3 of the highest Officers in the Californian Govt. and all the Military Officers who reside in Sonoma (8 Field Pieces, 200 stand of arms, a great quantity of Cannon, Canister, and Grape Shot, and a little less than 100 lbs of

powder (quite too little to sustain us against an attack by the use of cannon). By the Articles of Capitulation it was contemplated we were to be provisioned by the generosity of our Captured Genl, while we can keep possession or while opposition renders possession necessary. By another arrangement of cannon and fieldpieces, we have strengthened our position and continue to hold it, under the authority of twenty four well armed men and (as we have good right to believe) the rule of the People. The Alcalde we discharged under a new appointment, the Soldiers were set at liberty, and the said Officers were escorted by ten armed men to an assylum under the generous protection of Capt. Freemont. This day we proclaim California a Republic, and our pledge of honor that private property shall be protected. With this, as we hear from various parts of the country, the Spaniards are not only satisfied but pleased. We are situated three or four miles North of the North end of the Bay, and are liable to be attacked by an enemy from beyond the bay but would repel any that should be made by the use of small arms. We have not Powder to work our Cannon, and therefore with our small force could not long resist the operation of cannon against us.

Destined as we are to certain destruction should we prove unsuccessful, we have the honor to be your Fellow Country Men, and whether we conquer or perish we are resolved to approve ourselves not unworthy the kindly regards of those who "Build to the honor and glory of the American Flag.

It is our object and earnest desire to embrace the first opportunity to unite our adopted and rescued country, to the country of our early home.

With every consideration of respect and by will of the People. I have the honor to be &c

WM. B. IDE.
Commander in Chief
at the Fortress of Sanoma

To/Commodore Stockton
of the U. S. Navy.

Answer to Mr. Ide

[From Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts, probably in Bartlett's handwriting.]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Sausalito Bay of San Francisco
June 16th 1846.

Sir

On the point of dispatching an officer to Sonoma to confer with you respecting the state of alarm and apprehension into which your sudden movement seems to have thrown the helpless people of Sonoma and the country around, your messenger Mr. Todd arrived and handed me your communication of yesterday addressed to Commodore Stocton but designed, as Mr. Todd said for me. The circumstances therein stated, which has led to the hasty organization of the Foreign population of this part of California in opposition to the constituted authorities, had in part previously reached me through irregular channels not entirely to be relied on; and in respect to which I would only observe as a general rule without direct application or reference to the position in which you stand; that I hold it to be the privilege of all men everywhere, by such proper means as they possess, to counteract the sinister designs of treachery, and resist oppression in whatever form or manner they may be assailed by them, and that a right motive and a just cause, will be always characterized by a mild, tender, and humane regard, for the security of the happiness, proper interests, and privileges of others.

I am most happy Sir, to understand from Mr. Todd, that these (by proclamation) have been guaranteed to your prisoners and the defenceless people within your reach, and and I sincerely hope that whatever may be the future course of the popular government in which you are engaged that this policy may distinguish the conduct of your party as well as that that of your opposers.

Permit me Sir in response to your call for powder for the use of your party to say that I am here as a representative of a Government at peace, (as far as I know,) with Mexico and her province of California, having in charge the interests, & security of the commerce, and Citizens of the United States lawfully engaged in their peaceful pursuits, and have no right or authority to furnish munitions of war, or in any manner to

take sides with any political party, or even indirectly to identify myself, or official name, with any popular movement (whether of Foreign or native residents) of the country, and thus Sir, must decline giving the required aid.

Lieut. Missroon the executive officer of the U. S. Ship Portsmouth under my command, who will hand you this, will explain more fully than the few moments allowed me to answer your letter will permit me to do.

I am Sir Your Obt
Servant

(Signed) JNO. B. MONTGOMERY

To
Willm. B. Ides Esqr.
Commanding the Fortress of Sonoma
Upper California.

Missroon's Mission

[From Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts, probably in Bartlett's handwriting.]

Copy of Order to Lieut Missroon

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
San Francisco June 15t. 1846.

Sir

By an especial Messenger sent to me by Don Guadalupe Vallejo, I am notified of the forcible occupation of the Town of Sonoma by a party of insurgents (foreign residents) of the Country, among whom are said to be some persons from the U. States; and that General Don Guadalupe Vallejo with several other Mexican officers; have been sent Prisoners to the Sacramento—and threatened to be detained as hostages for the quiet Submission of the surrounding Country, leaving their families and other inoffensive persons in and about Sonoma in a state of painful agitation; through apprehensions of violence and cruel treatment from the insurgent party in charge of the town. In consequence of this state of things, General Vallejo has appealed to me, requesting the interposition of any authority or influence I may possess over the insurgents to prevent the perpetuation of any acts of violence on their part upon the defenceless people. I have in my reply to General Vallejo (by his messenger) stated my previous ignorance of the popular movement in question, distinctly & emphatically disavowed all

agency of the U. States Government or myself as her representative in producing it, and disclaimed all right or authority to interfere between the opposing parties, or in any way to identify my movements with theirs. But in Compliance with the urgent calls of humanity, I deem it my duty to use my friendly endeavors with the dominant party to secure (by the favor of God) for the defenceless people of Sonoma that Security of life property & privilege to which all are entitled.

In pursuance of these views Sir, you are directed to proceed in one of the Ships boats to Sonoma, and on your arrival there you will wait on the officer or person commanding the party having possession of the town, and as it is possible he is not fully aware of the extent & nature of the feelings produced in the minds of the population by this recent movement you will inform him of the State of apprehension & terror into which it seems to have thrown them & disclaiming all right or purpose on my part of interference between them & their actual opposers and without touching upon the merits of their course farther than may not be avoided in course of conversation. Be pleased (in such terms as your own sense of propriety will dictate) respectfully to request from me that he will extend his protecting care over the defenceless families of their prisoners and other inoffensive persons of Sonoma, & exert his influence with others in order to secure to them the uninterrupted enjoyment of their domestic & Social privileges.

You will afterwards wait on the Alcalde or presiding civil officer of Sonoma & inform him of what has been done (at the instance of Don Guadalupe Vallejo) communicating any Satisfactory assurances which you may have recieved from the insurgent chief, calculated to allay the general apprehension, after which when Sufficiently recruited you will return to this Ship and render me a written report.

To

Respectfully I am Sir

Lieut. I. S. Missroon

Your Ob't Serv't.

Executive officer

(Signed) JNO. B. MONTGOMERY

U. S. Ship Portsmouth

Commander

Appendage to Mr. Missroon's Order

Dear Sir

As an appendage to the orders handed you last evening, I wish you to endeavor in as forcible a manner as possible, to

represent to the person or persons, of the insurgent party with whom you may confer at Sonoma; and to impress their minds with a sense of the advantages which will accrue to their cause (whatever its intrinsic merits may be) from pursuing a course of kind & benevolent treatment of Prisoners, as well as towards the defenceless inhabitants of the Country generally with whom they may have to do, and endeavor as far as propriety will permit to obtain a promise of kind & humane treatment towards General Vallejo & his companions in their possession as prisoners.

I am Sir Respectfully

Your Ob't. Serv't.

To (Signed) JNO. B. MONTGOMERY
Lieut. I. S. Missroon Commander.
U. S. Ship Portsmouth

Report of Lt. Missroon

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
San Francisco June 17t. 1846

Sir

In pursuance of your order of the 16t. Inst. to proceed to Sonoma, and to endeavor by all proper means in my power, to secure to the females and unoffending portion of the population of that District, some degree of Security for their persons and property during the occupancy of the place by certain Insurgents, chiefly foriegners.

I have the honor to report, in obedience to that order, that I left the Ship on the day of receiving your instructions, and reached the town about Sunset, where I found about 25 men under arms, and having Six or Seven pieces of Artillery, with Several hundred Stand of Arms, the whole party is only thirty five. I waited upon the Commanding officer Wm. B. Ide, and received from him both verbal & written assurances, of his intention to maintain order, & to respect both the persons & property of all persons residing within the limits of his Command, he also handed me a copy of a proclamation which he had issued on the day after his occupation of the town & which I herewith present to you marked A. in which you will observe that these promises of protection are set forth in explicit terms, and which I would remark to you seemed to me to have fully assured the inhabitants of their Safety, although Sonoma is

evidently under Martial law. By this proclamation you will also observe, that California is declared to be an Independent Republic—the insurgent party has hoisted a Flag with a white field, with a border or Stripe of red on its lower part, & having a Star & Bear upon it.

I informed the Commanding officer of the State of terror, into which his movement upon Sonoma had thrown the inhabitants in and about the Yerba Buena as directed by my instructions.

I then waited upon the Alcalde of the place, and informed him thro' my interpreter, that my visit was entirely of a peaceful Character, that it had been induced by a message which my Commander had recieved from the late Mexican Commander General Vallejo, now a prisoner in the hands of the insurgents, asking his (my Commanders) interference for the protection of females & unoffending inhabitants—that assurances of respect & protection were freely me by the Commanding officer of the party under arms, & that I explicitly made it known to him for the information of the Surrounding Country—That my Commander disclaimed any & all interference in the matter, other than what was directed by motives of humanity.

After these interviews, I then called upon the family of General Vallejo, and moderated their distress by the assurances of Safety for the General which I had received and informing them that the prisoners were held at hostages.

Having completed the object for which I went to Sonoma I left the place today with the thanks of both parties, about Meridian & reached the Ship about Sunset;

Before taking my departure, I deemed it best to reassure the Alcalde in order to prevent any necessity for future explanation, which is So apt to grow out of business transacted with Mexicans, especially through an interpreter—I therefore addressed the letter marked B. appending to it the written pledge which I had obtained from the Commander of the foriegners in possession of the Place, and I herewith hand you a copy of it. It only remains Sir for me to add, that so far as I could judge & observe the utmost harmony & good order prevailed in the Camp, & that I have every reason to believe, that the

pledges of kind treatment towards all who may fall into their hands will be faithfully observed.

Respectfully Sir

Your Ob't Serv't

(Signed) I. S. MISSROON

Ist. Lieut. U. S. S. Portsmouth

To

Commander

Jno B Montgomery

Commanding U. S. Ship Portsmouth

Bay of San Francisco.

[The document marked "A" is a copy of Ide's Proclamation dated June 17.]

B.

Sonoma June 17th 1846

Sir

As you were informed yesterday thro' my interpreter my visit to this place is of a strictly mediatorial character and was induced by the application of General Vallejo through his messenger, Senor Rosa, to Captain Montgomery requesting of him to adopt measures for the protection of the females & peaceable inhabitants of Sonoma.

I have the pleasure to assure you of the intention of the Foriegners, now in arms and occupying Sonoma, to respect the Persons of all individuals, and their property who do not take up arms against them, and I leave with you a Copy of the pledge which the Commander of the party has voluntarily given to me, with the view to the pacification of all Alarm.

Respectfully

Your Ob't Servant

Signed I. S. MISSROON

Lieut. U. S. Navy

To

The Alcalde of Sonoma

Pledge

I pledge myself that I will use my utmost exertion, to restrain and prevent the men in arms under my command, (all of whom present acknowledge my authority and approve of forbearance and humanity,) from perpetrating any violence, or in any manner molesting the peaceable inhabitants in person or

property of California while we continue in arms for the liberty of California.

(Signed) WM. B. IDE
Commander

Sonoma June 17th 1846.

Witness to the above Signature
I. S. MISSROON
Lieut. U. S. Navy
and Executive officer of the
U. S. Ship Portsmouth.



[From Larkin's Documents IV, 158. Bancroft Library.]

[Original.]

Vice Consulate Yer Buena
June 16th 1846

My Dear Sir,

This moment hearing of a courier about to start for Monterey I hasten to inform you of the receipt of your letter announcing the arrival of the Congress at the Islands on the 13t May—and of H. B. Mts. Ship Juno at Monterey. Within the last two or three days there has been a popular movement among the foreign residents of this country in the vicinity of the Sacramento—and Sonoma is now occupied by a company of the Insurgents commanded by Mr. William B. Ide an American from the U. States. The two Vallejo's and several other officers of note have been sent prisoners to the Sacramento, with every assurance of protection & humane treatment from their captors who profess to have been moved to this seeming act of violence only with a view to their own safety and by a proper regard to the success of their future operations (whatever they may be. I understand also from good authority (having been visited by couriers from both sides) that the strongest guaranties have been given by Proclamation—by the Insurgent's for the security of life, property & priviledge to the families of their prisoners—and to all other persons remaining quiet and inoffensive in their conduct throughout the Country—under denunciations of the severest punishment upon offenders in this respect—and also I am told that strict orders has been given to deal kindly & humanely with the prisoners in charge—this I have from a Mr. Todd the Messenger sent to me by Mr. Ide—the other Messenger alluded to was Don Jose de la Rosa—from Genl. Vallejo,

both of whom left me this morning in one of my boats for Sonoma. I am happy to find there is a probability of Commodore Stocktons arrival on the Coast very soon, and in accordance with the purpose I expressed before leaving Monterey—hope to leave here about the 25th Inst. for that port. We are all well onboard—Make my respectful salutations to Mrs. Larkin And believe me

Sir Your Obt Servt
JNO. B. MONTGOMERY
Commander

To
Thos. O. Larkin Esqr.
Consul of the U. States
at Monterey Calafornia

Written in haste—



[From Larkin's Documents IV, 160. Bancroft Library.]
[Original.]

Yerba buena June 17th 1846.

Sir

This is to inform you of what has taken place in Sonoma, it appears that on the 14th instant about forty men, said to be Americans, entered the town of Sonoma and took charge of the arsenal (if it may so be cald) a person by the name of Ide is in command, they have taken as prisoners Dn. G. Vallejo, S. Vallejo, V. Prudon, and J. P. Leese, it appears verry strange to me, that they should take Mr. Leese prisoner when he is known to be an American and a Friend, I Suppose that there is a something going on that we know nothing of, as Captain Montgomery has written you, I shall not say anything about what message he has received, and what answer he made, we are now in a critical situation, and if the Portsmouth was not here I am sure things would not go on as easy as they do, you must thinck it strange that you have not received this news from me sooner, but it is not my fault ever since the news came here I have been trying to get some one to take you a letter, but without success until my backaro returned here who takes a pass port from this place for Santa Cruz, so that he may not be waylaid weather I am Justifiable in sending you this courier I do not know, but if such news is not of enough account to send one, you will oblidge me by informing me, it is not my fault every one that I have tried to get, have refused, for, or in, fear of being prest by J. Castro, and made soldiers of,

I have agreed to pay the boy \$30. and have already paid him part, he will return by the way of Santa Cruze, unless you wish him to return direct, Mr. Gillispie left here a few days since with supplies for Captain Freemont and according to what he said when he left ought to be back in three or four days, I was told to day that Dn. Jose Castro is at Santa Clara preparing to go up the Sacramento to put things to rights, it is a great pity for the Mexican nation that they have not got some more such patriotic officers as Captain Hinckley pretends to be, I called on him yesterday as the request of Capt Montgomery to pay him a visit which Capt M. wished to make, in the course of conversation, he mentioned the Calafornians were fools if they did not immediately take as many Americans, prisoners, as were taken in Sonoma by the Americans, and keep them until the others were given up, I then mentioned, that I thought that he would have some difficulty to find so many, real Americans in the place, he then answered that they might possibly take me for one to commence with, and so on, Captain Montgomery, merely told, that he should be very sorry to see any thing of the kind take place, for it would only be putting him to some trouble, the answer however was to the point and Captain H. hailed in again, I really wish that Captain Hinckley's office would be taken from him, he only does all the injury he can here, and is the greatest enemy that Americans have in this country, he is continually making disputes between those that arrive here and the authorities, yesterday there was a Mr. Lasaros Everheart who applied to the Alcalde for a passport to Monterey and was refused, he immediately called on me to assist him in getting one, I called on the Alcalde and he said that as he had come from Monterey without one that he might return without one and that at Sanchez's farm there were men placed to see that no one passed, so he had better not attempt to go without one, he wishes you to get him one from Monterey so that he may return, I am sure that it is from Hinckley's advice that he was refused for I heard him say that he thought that he was one of the same gang at Sonoma about the knife you wrote, I send you one and wish you to accept of it, I have picked it out, and it is one I would carry myself no more at present, hoping to hear from you soon

I Remain Your Obt Servt

WM. A. LEIDESDORFF

T. O. Larkin Esqr.

U. S. Consul, Monterey

[From Departmental State Papers Tom. VII, pp. 58-9 Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

1846. Junio 16. Sta. Clara.

Comdte. gral Castro—Bando militar

Compañeros de armas: una legion de aventurs. de los Es. Us. del Norte, han sorprendido la frontera de Sonoma, llegando al extremo de tomar prisioneros á el Sor Comandte. Militar de aquel punto Coronel Dn. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Tente. Cl. Dn. Victor Prudon, capitan Dn. Salvador Vallejo y Dn. Jacobo Pedro Leese Este atentado ha sido sin límites, faltando al derecho de gentes y á todos los pactos y principios establecidos.

Compañeros: esas armas qe soportais en vuestras manos á nombre de la nacion mejicana—á que tenemos el honor de pertenecer, son pa. defender á todo trance esos colores trigantes qe nos unen y qe por ellos han corrido torrentes de sangre; vuestro valor y patriotismo qe teneis ya acreditado no me dejan dudar qe con el mayor entusiasmo marcharémos á romper esa cadena apresora qe deséa enlazarnos.

Soldados; la libertad, el decoro ó independa. y el honor, es uno de los vínculos con qe nos hallamos unidos y debemos defender, por cuyos principios se sacrificará vuestro gefe y amigo.

[Leaf inserted between leaves 60 and 61, written in pencil.]

Santa Clara. June 18. 1846.

“El Ciudadano José Castro, Tente. Coronel de Caballa. del Ejército Mexno. y Comandte Gen. into. del Depto. de Cals.

(Seal of the Comand. Gen. de la Alta Cal.)

Conciudadanos. La política rastrera de los agentes del Gobo. de los Ests. Uns. del Norte en este Depto., han parado ya una porcion de aventureros que osadamente sin respetar el derecho de jentes, comienzan á invadirlo, apoderandose de la plaza de Sonoma soprendiendo en ella al comandte. militar de aquella frontera Coronel Dn. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Tente Coronel Dn. Victor Prudon, Capitan Dn. Salvador Vallejo, y Dn. Jacobo Pedro Leese.

Compatriotas—La defensa de nuestra libertad, la religion

verdadera que han profesado nuestros padres, é independencia nos obligan á sacrificarnos antes de perder estos inestimables dones, desterrar de vuestros pechos toda idea mesquina de resentimientos, bolbed la cara, habrir los ojos, y ved esas familias, é inocentes hijos que desgraciadamente han caido en manos de nuestros enemigos, arrebatando de su ceno, á sus Padres, que pricioneros entre ellos nos llaman en su auxilio. Tiempo es todavia de formar una masa comun é inespugnable llena de justicia, no dudeis que la divina providencia nos dirigirá por el camino de la gloria, por el que no debeis vacilar que en este cuartel grâl con la pequeña guarnicion que lo forma, será el primero que se sacrifique vuestra conciudadano y amigo.

Cuartel grâl en Sta Clara—Junio 18 de 1846

JOSÉ CASTRO."

Dept. St. Pap. VII p 239.

[Note] The above is taken from an original bearing (apparently) Castro's signature; The writing seems to be in Francisco Arce's hand.

[Translation of the Above Two Proclamations.]

[The first we have made, and the second is taken from one in the Larkin Documents, Official Correspondence II, 70-71, as this appears to be the best of several which we have seen.]

Companions in arms: A legion of adventurers from the United States of the North have surprised the frontier of Sonoma, going to the extreme of taking prisoners the military commander of that post Colonel Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Lieutenant Col. Don Victor Prudon, Captain Don Salvador Vallejo and Don Jacob Pedro Leese. This outrage has been without limits, contrary to the rights of people and of all established pacts and principles.

Fellow Citizens: Those arms which you carry in your hands in the name of the Mexican nation, to which we have the honor to belong, are for defending in every extremity the colors of the three guaranties which unite us and for which have flowed torrents of blood; your valor and patriotism which already you have proved do not leave me to doubt that with the greatest enthusiasm we shall march to break this tightening chain which threatens to bind us.

Soldiers: Liberty, decorum, independence and honor, is one of the bonds with which we find ourselves united and which

we should defend, for which principles your chief and friend will sacrifice himself.

"The Citizen, Jose Castro, Lieutenant Colonel of Horse in the Mexican Army, and acting General Commandant of the Department of California.

"Fellow Citizens, the low policy of the Agents of the United States of the North, in this Department have got up a portion of adventurers, that boldly and without respecting the rights of men, have began to invade it, having taken possession of the Town of Sonoma, surprising the Military Commander of that frontier, Colonel Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, Lieutenant Colonel, Don Victor Prudon, Captain, Don Salvador Vallejo, and Mr. Jacob Leese.

Fellow Countrymen, the defence of our liberty, the true religion professed by our Fathers, and our independence, obliges us to sacrifice ourselves rather than lose these inestimable blessings; banish from your hearts all low ideas of resentment, turn your faces, open your eyes, and behold those families & innocent children which have unfortunately fallen into the hands of our enemies; snatched from the bosom of their fathers, who are now prisoners amongst the foreigners & calling loudly on us for assistance. It is yet time for us to form one solid mass: which shall be impregnable, and full of justice, doubt not, but the Divine providence will dictate to us, the way to glory; and at the same time you ought not for one moment to doubt, that in this General Quarters, notwithstanding the smallness of the garrison of which it is composed, that the very first who sacrifices himself, will be your fellow Citizen and Friend.

Head Quarters, Santa Clara; June 17, 1846

(Signed) JOSÉ CASTRO.

And that this may reach the notice of all persons, I command that it be published & circulated, and fixed in the customary conspicuous places.

Monterey, June 22nd, 1846.

(Signed) J. S. ESCAMILLO, Alcalde.

AUCTION SALES OF CALIFORNIANA

The increasing interest in Californiana has been made very manifest during the past season by the appearance in the auction rooms of a number of highly important documents which have fetched very high prices.

The most important lot was that known as the Fort Sutter Papers, sold at the Anderson Galleries, New York, November 28, 1921, and bought for Mr. Henry E. Huntington at \$8,450.00. Strictly speaking, these are not Fort Sutter documents, but the papers belonging to E. W. Kern, who was in command at Fort Sutter, first representing Fremont, and secondly, under the appointment of Commodore Stockton. The collection consists largely of letters addressed to Kern while in command at Fort Sutter, together with some payrolls, receipts, etc. A few important documents were also included, such as Commodore Sloat's manuscript proclamation on taking possession of California, July 7, a letter written by George McKinstry, Jr., dated San Diego, December 23, 1851, and a number relating to the Donner party and the efforts for their relief.

In addition to the documents relating to California, some one hundred and twenty-two in number, are a few relating to Fremont's disastrous winter journey of 1848 and 1849, in which Kern's brother Benjamin lost his life, and a few of 1851 and later date of more interest to New Mexicans than to Californians.

It is rather a too formidable task to give here a full account of the contents of these thirty-nine volumes, containing over one hundred and fifty important documents, but relying upon Mr. Huntington's well-known generosity, we hope that we may be privileged to furnish the readers of the *Quarterly* in the near future with copies of the most important, many of which are certainly of great value.

The history of these documents is very obscure. It is obvious that they belonged to Lieutenant E. M. Kern, as with few exceptions they are all addressed to him or are connected with his office as commandant at Fort Sutter. According to Seymour Dunbar, who wrote the account for the sale, they were lost in the New Mexico mountains for an unknown period.

However, it is safe to assume that they were not lost for very long, and probably they were retained by Kern until his death. It is generally supposed that at one time they were in the possession of Mr. Gunther, a well-known Chicago collector. How they came into the hands of the New York dealer who sold them, we cannot say. Thinking to enhance the desirability of them, he employed Mr. Seymour Dunbar to write a description of their contents, and together with a list of the documents these remarks were printed by the De Vinne Press and elaborately bound with the documents in thirty-nine volumes, making a very ornamental collection. From the description as furnished by Mr. Dunbar, it appears that the most interesting of all the documents in the collection is the letter written by George McKinstry, Jr. to Kern from San Diego. In this, McKinstry, who had been very friendly with Kern while acting as clerk for Sutter, gives a brief account to date of the individuals who were known to them at the period when they were both at Fort Sutter.

The most important single document to be sold was an original proclamation by William B. Ide, dated Sonoma, June 15, 1846, sold by the American Art Association December 6, 1921, for \$530.00—and also purchased by Mr. Huntington. As far as can be ascertained at present, this is the only known original of this proclamation, of which no doubt several were made and signed by Ide. At the time that Mr. Bancroft wrote he was unable to locate an original and was obliged to content himself with various contemporary copies which had been made. It is certain that Ide signed more than one of these proclamations, but just how many we have never been able to discover, nor is it known to whom they were all sent. It is generally stated that Robert Semple was the secretary of the Bear Flag Party, but this proclamation is not in his handwriting nor in that of Ide. As a matter of fact, it is extremely well written and only two words are misspelled. It is obvious that it was not written by any of the frontiersmen who were in a large majority in the party. In another part of the Quarterly will be found a reproduction of this proclamation taken from this copy now in Mr. Huntington's possession.

In the same sale there were two other documents sold, of some interest, namely, the parole signed by Vallejo, Prudon, Leese and Noriega, at Fort Sutter, and an original agreement of enlistment, at Fort Sutter, August 8, 1846, to serve three

months as dragoons, entered into by James Gregson, nine others including John A. Sutter, and twenty Indians.

While numbers of California books have been sold during the past season, nothing new has been discovered, but the rarer items have continued to bring high prices. At the sale of Dr. O'Brien's books, March 27 and 28, 1922, at the Anderson Galleries, the Leonard Narrative fetched \$700.00, the highest price for which it has ever sold; the Palmer Journal, \$250.00; the 1833 Pattie Narrative, \$85.00; the Johnson and Winter Route Across The Rocky Mountains, Lafayette 1846, \$590.00; and Ed. McGowan's Narrative, \$87.50. Aside from these items the California books in the sale were of but little value.

At the same sale at which the Fort Sutter Papers were sold a large number of books of California interest appeared, and high prices were obtained. Marcus Benjamin's Sketch of John Bidwell, Washington 1907, sold for \$81.00; Beschke's Dreadful Sufferings and Thrilling Adventures of an Overland Party of Emigrants to California, \$130.00; Boucard's Travels of a Naturalist, privately printed in London in 1894, and containing an account of California in 1851, \$67.50; the letters from California which appeared in the "Friend" in Honolulu in 1846, and issued with a special title page, \$72.50; Clarke's Travels in Mexico, Arizona and California, Boston 1852, \$85.00; Johnston's Experiences of a Forty-Niner, privately printed in Pittsburgh, 1892, \$106.00,—probably the same copy as sold in the O'Brien sale, where it brought \$150.00. This sale, which was made up of books belonging to a well-known New York dealer, was notable for the extremely high prices obtained for books which cannot even be classed as scarce. As an instance we quote Canfield's Diary of a Forty-Niner, the original edition, which brought \$82.00, and De Witt's Life of Joaquin Murieta, the 1888 edition, which brought \$31.00.

At the sale at the Art Association, March 27, 1922, two broadsides hitherto unknown appeared, both printed in Sonora during the anti-foreign agitation there in July 1850. The first is an appeal written by the editor of the Sonora Herald, probably J. B. Marvin, counselling moderation, and which appeared, together with some advertisements to fill up the page, July 20. The mass meeting took place the following day, the 21st, and the resolutions adopted were printed separately in broadside form in both Spanish and English some time the following

week. A copy in English appeared in this sale and brought \$130.00, while the "Triumph of Law," the one printed on July 20, brought \$45.00.

At this same sale, what purported to be a complete set of Hutchings Magazine brought \$260.00.

California prints have not been as much sought after during the past season as books and manuscripts, and but few noteworthy sales have been effected. A considerable number have appeared in auction rooms, including an especially fine collection at the American Art Association in March 1922. At this sale the well-known view of a stage on the California-Oregon route, with a view of Mt. Shasta in the background, sold for \$230.00; but generally speaking, none of the other views brought anything more than very ordinary prices.

During the season a try-out was made of the San Francisco market by a sale February 4, which was stated in the foreword to contain no "junk." However, if it contained no junk it contained no item of any particular interest. Nevertheless the sale was well attended and the books brought very fair prices.



NEW CALIFORNIA BOOKS

History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851. A study of Social Control on the California Frontier in the days of the Gold Rush. By Mary Floyd Williams, Ph.D. Berkeley, Cal.: (University of California Press) 1921. In two volumes.

In the early days of San Francisco the conditions prevailing and the circumstances surrounding its development did not essentially differ from those of many other primitive western settlements. Governments were formed; courts, banks, churches, schools and similar institutions were established; sand hills were reduced and lands reclaimed; streets and wharves were constructed; commercial and mercantile operations were extended in all directions; some domestic life was assumed and society was gradually brought to some degree of unity.

The population itself was the most remarkable that has ever been assembled at one time. Much of it was transient and unsettled in character. It was pre-eminently a survival of the fittest, and as varied in its features as was the complexion of the coat of that ancient Semite who sometime governed Egypt. In it were men of many nationalities and of all vocations. Assimilation was not necessary as common purpose and interest had brought them together, and whatever may have been the individual ambition, they one and all possessed alike the same spirit. The equalities of social distinctions were easy and the lines were not too tightly strained.

In this singular flotsam and jetsam of shifting population, it is not strange that differences of opinion should have arisen, and less strange that they should have been upon the subject of public morals. Society had experienced a few rude shocks from the misguided efforts of certain gentlemen who were known by the somewhat undignified name of "Hounds." Their labors were not generally appreciated, and in 1851, when violence and outlawry had reached a climax, the reputable and substantial members of the populace organized the great popular tribunal, the "Vigilance Committee." Of its history there have been many fugitive and fragmentary accounts, but none have been systematic.

In her notable work "The History of the Vigilance Committee of 1851," Mary Floyd Williams has treated the subject with consummate ability and rare genius. Herself a Californian, and rich in her heritage of Californian antecedents and traditions, it is happily befitting that she should have undertaken this task.

The earlier of the two volumes in contents is entirely documentary. This great mass of official papers had lain dormant and intact for many years. With infinite patience Miss Williams has arranged them chronologically, edited them and added many footnotes of a most satisfactory character.

The second volume is properly the history of this organization gathered from all of the existing sources. Entirely original work, it is more than a history of the Vigilance Committee. It includes naturally, a history of the formation of society in San Francisco; the incoming population after the Conquest; the establishment of a legal government; the activities of the predatory members of the body politic; the corrupt

officials and the threatened collapse of the law; the organization of the Committee and the attention that it gave to villains in all vestments; its acts and their consequences. All of these are treated in logical clearness and with sane deduction. To the general history are appended several chapters devoted to the sequential of the work of the Committee and of its successors of 1856 and 1877. The author has thoughtfully included a bibliography of unusual character, and each volume contains an admirable index.

The literary style is excellent and the scope of English has more than usual latitude. While rigid in its historical proportions, the author has happily and successfully eliminated the painful aridity that dessicates many works of history, and the volume easily permits fluent reading. Moreover, Miss Williams has a keen sense of dramatic situations, and a very subtle humor which she has gracefully and humanely injected into her work. Some of the historical plots which she has graphically exposed might justifiably add new motifs to the sadly overworked plots of these days of crime and movies.

We have had among us always, the prototypes of the biblical characters of Ishmael and Thomas, and in time doubtless, both of them will bend their destructive and dubious energies to the undoing of this work. But the contention can be neither formidable nor convincing. But few modern books have added much to Californian history, and of that minute number this work is one of the best and most readable that has been offered for many years. As an abiding authority its definite permanence is even now securely established.

Robert Ernest Cowan.



Gold and Sunshine. Reminiscences of Early California.
By Col. James J. Ayers. Boston: (Richard B. Badger), 1922.

Many books of this class are overburdened with generalities. In his work, Col. Ayers has rather deftly avoided them, and happily for that end he had several distinct advantages. He arrived in San Francisco on the *Laura Ann*, in the autumn of 1849, and his recollections are those of a mature man. He completed his book in 1896, and naturally his perspective in the

retrospect was much clearer twenty-five years ago, than it could be today were he with us. The writer was a journalist who in 1851 was one of the founders of the "Calaveras Chronicle." Later, in 1856, he was one of the company that established the San Francisco "Daily Morning Call," which journal still survives. His journalistic experiences elsewhere were wide and his training is evidenced in his book, as in it there is considerable "live news."

The Vigilance Committee, and the Broderick-Terry duel are the two great chapters of the fifties most favored by writers. Col. Ayers was in San Francisco during both of these events, but he has said but little about them, and doubtless such was his intention.

Of lesser known episodes of interest his accounts are more extended. He gives a graphic description of the Chilean aggression in Calaveras in 1849. This was the attempt of the Chileans to monopolize mining, having introduced peons for that purpose. Sanguinary difficulties ensued, and this narrative of Col. Ayers seems to be all that has appeared in print. An account of the establishment of the "Morning Call," is equally interesting.

In 1872, Col. Ayers settled in Los Angeles, where the last quarter-century of his life was passed. He was a well-known, influential, and highly respected character, and he gives us much that is new of the men, life, and events of the south. His death occurred in 1897. There are a few minor errors in the work, but for those who care for the early days of California, this volume cannot fail to hold real and unaffected interest.

Robert Ernest Cowan.



La société californienne de 1850, d'après Bret Harte. Paris, 1921. By Cécile Réau. Published by Ollier-Henry: for sale in San Francisco at The French Book Store.

History is not alone a record of events. The study of man in his social reactions is of the very fabric of history. From this wider point of view it can safely be said that one of the most interesting contributions to the history of early California

has recently been made by a French author, Mlle. Cécile Réau, in her *La société californienne de 1850*, d'après Bret Harte. It is fitting that students here should be aware that the theme and the treatment are of such importance that the University of Paris accepted the book in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor.

The author is a detached professor of the French Ministry of Public Instruction, and she came to California four years ago to fill appointments as teacher at the University of California and Mills College. Attracted by the romance and historical importance of the pioneer period, she looked for books which would best present the life of those stirring times. She found chronological narratives, guides to the mines, personal reminiscences, fragments of local history, but no definite study of the life of the mining regions in the decade of the fifties. So she read her Bret Harte anew, not for the emotional enjoyment of his pathos and humor, but for the ever recurring, sharp and vital pictures of the miners' habits of life and thought.

This book is the outgrowth of her study, and in it Dr. Réau reassembles many scattered allusions, according to their logical connection, and presents them in such chapters as "The Emigration to California; Miners' Camps; San Francisco; Heroes of Bret Harte; Wives and Daughters of the Pioneers; The Children of California; Foreigners, Spanish, Mexican, Indians, Chinese." She has scrutinized her author as the modern critic scrutinizes the classic epics, and reconstructs the life of a period from the pages of tale and poem. It was a daring test, for the final result braved comparison with other contemporary records of unquestioned reliability. Josiah Royce had reproached Harte for his "perverse romanticism"—if that reproach were justified, a composite picture constructed from Harte's many sketches would betray fundamental crudity and distortion.

But the composite picture constructed by Dr. Réau is not distorted. It is, of course, sharply contrasted in its light and shade, it has elements of caricature, elements of melodrama—it is the vision of a poet who saw men and women through his own medium of spiritual discernment. We may have doubted his historical accuracy when we acknowledged ourselves under the spell of his magic. In Dr. Réau's book that spell is broken, not by hostile incantations, but by well ordered methods of critical analysis. Yet Bret Harte's men and women still live,

kin to the men and women of less inspired writers, the children of a unique and heroic era. One may well hope that in due time this delightful and sympathetic study of California society will be made available to the many readers who cannot profit by the edition in French.

Mary F. Williams.



Yours
G Carson-

A RESTITUTION OF DECAYED INTELLIGENCE (More History of the California Historical Society).

Mr. H. R. Wagner,
California Historical Society.

My Dear Sir:

About the year 1605, in England, one Richard Verstegan, deploring the fact that the people of his generation were ignorant of many historical facts which had occurred during a preceding generation, felt it his duty and pleasure to recall to his contemporaries many of these matters, which he proceeded to do in a volume entitled

"A RESTITUTION OF DECAYED INTELLIGENCE".

I am reminded of this work and its peculiar title on reading the publication of the California Historical Society (of March 27, 1922,) in which an outline history of that society and its predecessors of like name is given.

It appears that one episode in the lives of the California Historical Society had escaped the notice of your historian, that is its consolidation with the California Genealogical Society during the years of 1902 to April 18, 1906, and subsequent separation by fire.

The evidence that has survived the fire of April, 1906, covering this fact I beg to submit herewith as a "restitution of decayed intelligence."

This can best be done by quoting from the original Minute Book of the California Genealogical Society, fortunately preserved from the fire and now before me.

Page 1. "On Saturday, February 12th, 1898, at 2:00 o'clock P. M. Col. A. S. Hubbard, T. A. Perkins Esq., Edgar Hobart and Miss Sarah Louise Kimball met with Dr. E. S. Clark in his office at No. 16 Geary Street, San Francisco.

Col. Hubbard was made Chairman and the meeting resolved itself into a Society to be known as the California Genealogical Society."

Page 2. "February 19th, 1898, meeting held at same place

and hour as the meeting of the previous week and completed organization by the election of the following officers, namely:

President: Dr. Edward S. Clark,
 Vice President: Col. A. S. Hubbard,
 Corresponding Secretary: Miss Sarah Louise Kimball,
 Recording Secretary: T. A. Perkins Esq.,
 Librarian: Mrs. Walter D. Mansfield,
 Treasurer: T. W. Hubbard."

This staff of officers continued in office until the death of Dr. Clark on May 29, 1900, whereon Col. Hubbard acted as President until the election of Mr. Herbert Folger at the annual election of 1903.

It was during the time that Col. Hubbard presided that he conceived the idea of consolidating his practically inoperative society, the California Historical Society, with the California Genealogical Society. At the meeting at which the proposal to consolidate the two societies and their libraries was introduced, both Horace Davis and Col. Hubbard spoke in favor of it. To effect the consolidation it was necessary to amend the constitution of the Genealogical Society.

Page 63. Jan. 4, 1902. "Mr. Teggart moved that a committee be appointed to consider the proposition of enlarging the scope of the society, seconded by Mrs. W. D. Mansfield and on a vote the motion carried, whereon the President appointed Mr. Teggart, Mrs. Mansfield and Mr. Robt. E. Cowan as such committee."

Page 66. Feb. 1. "Mr. Teggart chairman of committee on enlarging scope of the society reported that the name of the publication about going to press should be entitled 'California Historic-Genealogical Register.' Report received, and on motion duly made and seconded was duly adopted."

Page 69. Mar. 1. "Mr. Teggart, chairman of committee to enlarge scope of the society, offered an amendment to the constitution as follows:

1st.—Change the name of the society from its present form to 'California Historic-Genealogical Society' and

2nd.—add to objects of the society, 'and California Local History'

and gave notice that he would move the adoption of these amendments to the constitution at the Quarterly General Meeting of the society to be held in July, 1902."

Page 73. July 12. "Under unfinished business, the question of amending the constitution was put to a vote and the amendments were unanimously adopted."

Thus it was that the Historical Society was consolidated with the Genealogical Society under the composite title of "California Historic-Genealogical Society." This state of affairs continued until the fire of April 18, 1906, at which time the entire library of this society was destroyed and it ceased to function until February 16, 1908.

After the consolidation the following circular was prepared and issued, which has the new form of seal showing the composite title:

CALIFORNIA HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

The purposes of this organization are, to collect, preserve, and disseminate information on Genealogy and California Local History; to ascertain the location and condition of the various public and private records, which are or may become accessible to students of Genealogy and American History; and, to aid investigations of this nature by combining the efforts and resources of its members. It seeks to direct public attention to the value of complete and exact records, and to emphasize the necessity of unremitting care in their collection and preservation.

The society will publish and exchange genealogical and historical information.

Meetings are held quarterly on the first Saturday in January, April, July and October of each year.

Members are required to file with the Corresponding Secretary a chart or diagram, showing the various lines of their ancestry, as far as known. Charts will be furnished upon application.

The society is composed of resident, honorary, and corresponding members.

In pursuance of the objects herein mentioned, the society desires your co-operation, and cordially invites you to become a member. May 1, 1903.

Following the fire the first meeting of the society was held at the Fairmont Hotel on Feb. 16, 1908, where a reorganization was effected, officers elected, plans for restoring a library were formed and a determination to live down the disaster of the fire created. After discussion, it appeared that the strictly genealogical section was of the most importance, that a divided interest would be more than the officers could successfully carry on, and that the upbuilding of a new library

would be all that could be successfully accomplished. It was therefore moved and adopted that the society resume its original name of California Genealogical Society, and leave the field open to a future revival of the California Historical Society, as a sister society, whenever time and personnel should be available. The original seal was therefore again used and a circular issued under its original title.

During the existence of the dual form, the society issued one important publication known as publication No. 3, a well-edited and well-printed work of 86 pages, containing the following important items: I. Edward Stephens Clark, M. D., With Portrait, By William E. Loy; II. Spanish Press of California, (1833-1844), Robert E. Cowan; III. The Boston Nation, Zoeth S. Eldredge; IV. The Utility of a Pedigree, Stephen S. Herrick; V. Meles of Hawaii, H. B. Phillips; VI. A California Pioneer, (José Francisco de Ortega and his descendants), Zoeth S. Eldredge; VII. Thomas Pope of Plymouth and His Descendants, Overton Choules Pope; VIII. Notes of the Millikan Family, Millard F. Hudson; IX. A Few of the Descendants of John Wilgus, Edgar Hobart; X. George Hull and Some of His Descendants, Clinton T. Hull; XI. Announcement; XII. Contributions to the Library; XIII. Notes and Queries; XIV. Historical Intelligence including Genealogies in Preparation; XV. Index to Names and Places. This publication is now practically unobtainable, all the reserve stock having been destroyed in the fire.

Very truly yours,

HENRY BYRON PHILLIPS,

Librarian,

California Genealogical Society.

KIT CARSON IN CALIFORNIA

No small amount of Kit Carson's fame is due to his exploits in California. The romantic and stirring interest which surrounds his name was first aroused when his overland and Californian adventures were chronicled in the writings of Fremont and Emory, for whom he acted as guide and scout across the uncharted West.

From his home in Taos, New Mexico, Carson made no less than six journeys to the Pacific, and engaged in events which brought California under the wing of our republic, participating in the Bear Flag revolt and in Fremont's military activities during 1845-46. He guided Kearny's army of the West down the Gila and across the Colorado Desert and played a notable part in the battle of San Pasqual. As official messenger he carried to the States the first news of the acquisition of California, and two years later, news of the gold discovery. He helped establish the direct route across the Great Basin followed by the emigrants of 1846 and the gold rush days. All this gives Christopher Carson a lasting place in the pioneer history of California.

On his first far western journey, in 1829-30, as a junior member of Ewing Young's band of beaver trappers, Carson traversed that part of Arizona and California now crossed by the Santa Fé Railroad, and was one of the first Americans to cover this entire route. But little is known of Young's first expedition. Practically all we have is the short notice by the veteran fur-hunter, J. J. Warner, who wrote of this from hearsay (*Reminiscences of Early California, 1831 to 1846*. Hist. Soc. of Southern Calif. Vol. VII, 1909, pp. 176-193), and the account which Carson himself has left us.

Carson dictated the story of his life as far as the year 1858 to his friend Col. DeWitt Clinton Peters. The original manuscript, in the handwriting of Col. Peters' wife and signed by Carson, was discovered in 1905 by Col. Peters' son among the effects of his brother in Paris. This manuscript, the one which Col. Peters used in writing his well known "Life of Kit Carson," is now in the Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library in Chicago, and we quote from it at length, partly because the fact that Carson accompanied Young has been

questioned in Bancroft's History, and partly because Carson gives a more exact record of Young's route than have Warner and Peters.

Carson says—"I left Santa Fé for Taos shortly after my arrival from El Paso, and got employment of Mr. Ewing Young to do his cooking, my board being the remuneration. In the spring [1828] I once more departed for the States, met a party on the Arkansas, and again returned to Santa Fé. I then was employed by Col. Trammell, a merchant, as interpreter. I accompanied him to Chihuahua and then hired with Robert McKnight to go to the copper mines near the Rio Gila. I remained at the mines a few months driving team. I was not satisfied with this employment, took my discharge and departed for Taos, arrived in August 1828.

Some time before my arrival, Mr. Ewing Young had sent a party of trappers to the Colorado of the West. They, in a fight with the Indians, were defeated, having fought all one day, and gaining no advantage, they considered it prudent to return. Young then raised a party of forty men, consisting of Americans, Canadians and Frenchmen, and took command himself. I joined the party which left Taos in August 1829.

In those days licenses were not granted to citizens of the United States to trap within the limits of the Mexican territory. To avoid all mistrust on the part of the Government officers, we travelled in a northern direction for fifty miles, and then changed our course to southwest, travelled through the country occupied by the Navajo Indians, passed the village of Zuni, and on to the head of the Salt River, one of the tributaries of the Rio Gila.

We, on the head waters of the Salt River, met the same Indians that had defeated the former party. Young directed the greater part of his men to hide themselves, which was done, the men concealing themselves under blankets, pack saddles, and as best they could. The hills were covered with Indians, and, seeing so few, they came to the conclusion to make an attack and drive us from our position. Our commander allowed them to enter the camp and then directed the party to fire on them, which was done, the Indians losing in killed some fifteen or twenty warriors, and a great number of wounded. The Indians were routed, and we continued our march and trapped down the Salt River to the mouth of San

Francisco river, and up to the head of the latter stream. We were nightly harassed by Indians. They would frequently of nights crawl into our camp, steal a trap or so, kill a mule or horse, and endeavor to do what damage they could.

The party was divided on the head of San Francisco River; one section to proceed to the valley of Sacramento in California, of which I was a member, and the other party to return to Taos for the purpose of procuring traps to replace those stolen, and to dispose of the beaver we had caught. Young took charge of the party for California consisting of eighteen men.

We remained a few days after the departure of the party for Taos, for the purpose of procuring meat, and making the necessary arrangements for a trip over a country never explored. Game was very scarce. After remaining three days continually on the hunt to procure the necessaries we had only killed three deer, the skins of which we took off in such a manner as to make tanks for the purpose of carrying water. We then started on our expedition in the best of spirits, having heard from the Indians that the streams of the valley to which we were going were full of beaver, but the country over which we were to travel was very barren, and that we would suffer very much for want of water; the truth of which we very soon knew.

The first four days march was over a country, sandy, burned up and not a drop of water. We received at night a small quantity of water from the tanks which we had been fortunate to have along. A guard was placed over the tanks to prohibit anyone from making use of more than his allowance. After four days travel we found water. Before we reached the water the pack mules were strung along the road for several miles. They having smelt the water long before we had any hopes of finding any, and then each animal made the best use of the strength left them after their severe sufferings to reach the water as soon as they could. We remained two days. It would have been impracticable to have continued the march without giving the men and animals rest they so much required.

After remaining encamped two days we started on our expedition, and for four days travelled over a country similar

to that which we travelled over before our arrival to the last water. There was not any water to be found during this time, and we suffered extremely on account of it. On the fourth day we arrived on the Colorado of the West, below the great Cañon. It can better be imagined, our joy, than described when we discovered the stream.

We had suffered greatly for want of food. We met a party of the Mohave Indians and purchased of them a mare, heavy with foal. The mare was killed and eaten by the party with great gusto; even to the foal was devoured. We encamped on the banks of the Colorado three days, recruiting our animals and trading for provisions with the Indians. We procured of them a few beans and corn. Then we took a southwestern course and, in three days march, struck the bed of a stream which rises in the coast range, has a northeast course, and is lost in the sands of the Great Basin. We proceeded up the stream for six days. In two days after our arrival on the stream we found water. We then left the stream and travelled in a westerly direction and, in four days, arrived at the Mission of San Gabriel.

At the Mission there was one priest, fifteen soldiers, and about one thousand Indians. They had about eighty thousand head of stock, fine fields and vineyards, in fact it was paradise on earth. We remained one day at the Mission, received good treatment of the inhabitants, and purchased of them what beef we required. We had nothing but butcher knives to trade, and for four they would give a beef.

In one day's travel from this Mission, we reached the Mission of San Fernando having about the same number of inhabitants, but not carried on [on] as large a scale as the one of San Gabriel. We then took [a] northwest course and passed the mountains to the valley of the Sacramento. We had plenty to eat and found grass in abundance for our animals. We found signs of trappers on the San Joaquin. We followed their trail and, in a few days, overtook the party and found them to be of the Hudson Bay Company. They were sixty men strong, commanded by Peter Ogden. We trapped down the San Joaquin and its tributaries and found but little beaver, but game plenty; elk, deer, and antelope in thousands. We travelled near each other until we came to the Sacramento; then we separated, Ogden taking up the Sacramento and for

Columbia river. We remained during the summer. Not being the season for trapping, we passed our time in hunting.

During our stay on the Sacramento a party of Indians of the Mission of San Rafael ran away and took refuge at a village of Indians who were not friendly with those of the Mission. The priest of San Rafael sent a party of fifteen Indians in pursuit. They applied for assistance from a village that was friendly, and were furnished with the number they required. They then moved towards the village where the runaways were concealed, demanded them to be given up, which was refused. They attacked the village and after a severe struggle they were compelled to retreat. They came to us and requested assistance. Mr. Young directed me and eleven men to join. We returned to the village and made an attack, fought for one entire day. The Indians were routed, lost a great number of men. We entered the village in triumph, set fire to it and burned it to the ground.

The next day we demanded the runaways and informed them that if not immediately given up we would not leave one of them alive. They complied with our demands. We turned over our Indians to those from whom they had deserted and we returned to our camp.

Mr. Young and four of us proceeded with the Indians to San Rafael. We took with us the beaver we had on hand. We were well received by the missionaries. At the Mission we found a trading schooner, the Captain of which was ashore. We traded with him our furs and, for the money, purchased horses of those at the Mission. Shortly afterwards a party of Indians during the night came to our camp, frightened our animals and ran off some sixty head. Fourteen were discovered in the morning. Twelve of us saddled up and took the trail of the lost animals, pursued them upwards of one hundred miles into the Sierra Nevada. We surprised the Indians when feasting of [f] some of our animals they had killed. We charged their camp, killed eight Indians, took three children prisoners and recovered all our animals, with the exception of six that were eaten, and returned to our camp.

On the first September we struck camp, and returning by the same route which we had come, passing through San Fernando, we travelled to the Pueblo of Los Angeles, where the Mexican authorities demanded our passports. We had none.

They wished to arrest us, but fear deterred them. They then commenced selling liquor to the men, no doubt for the purpose of getting the men drunk so that they would have but little difficulty in making the arrest. Mr. Young discovered their intentions, directed me to take three men, all the loose animals, packs, etc., and go in advance. He would remain with the balance of the party and endeavor to get them along. If he did not arrive at my camp by next morning, I was directed to move on as best I could and on my return to report the party killed; for Young would not leave them. They were followed by the Mexicans, furnishing them all the liquor they could pay for. All got drunk except Young.

The Mexicans would have continued with them till they arrived at the Mission of San Gabriel, then, being re-inforced, arrest the party, only for a man by the name of James Higgins dismounting from his horse and deliberately shooting James Lawrence. Such conduct frightened the Mexicans, and they departed in all haste, fearing that, if men without provocation would shoot one another, it would require but little to cause them to murder them.

About dark Young and party found me. The next day we departed and pursued nearly the same route by which we came, and in nine days we arrived on the Colorado. Two days after our arrival on the Colorado at least five hundred Indian warriors came to our camp. They pretended friendship, but a such large number coming, we mistrusted them, and closely watched their manœuvres. We discovered where they had their weapons concealed, and then it became apparent to us that their design was to murder the party. There were but few of us in camp, the greater number being out visiting their traps. I considered the safest way to act was not to let the Indians know of our mistrust and to act in a fearless manner. One of the Indians could speak Spanish. I directed him to state to the Indians that they must leave our camp inside of ten minutes. If one should be found after the expiration of that time, he would be shot. Before the expiration of the ten minutes everyone had left.

We trapped down the south side of [the] Colorado river to tide water without any further molestation, and up the north side to the mouth of [the] San Pedro. Near the mouth of the San Pedro we saw a large herd of animals, horses, etc.

We knew that Indians were near and, not having forgot the damage these same Indians done, we concluded to deprive them of their stock. We charged their camp. They fled, and we took possession of the animals.

The same evening we heard a noise, something like the sound of distant thunder. We sprung for our arms and sallied out to reconnoiter. We discovered a party of Indians driving some two hundred horses. We charged them, firing a few shots. The Indians run, leaving us the sole possessors of the horses. Those horses had been stolen by the Indians from Mexicans in Sonora.

Having now more animals than we could take care of, we concluded to dispose of them to best advantage. We chose out as many as we required for riding and packing purposes, killed ten, dried the meat to take with us, and left the balance loose. I presume the Indians got them.

We continued up the Gila to opposite the copper mines. We went to the mines, found Robert McKnight there, left our beaver with him. We could not bring it to the settlements to dispose of on account of not having license to trap in Mexican territory. We concealed our beaver in one of the deep holes dug by the miners. Young and I remained a few days at the mines, the balance of the party had started for Taos. Young and I went to Santa Fé. He procured a license to trade with Indians on the Gila. He sent a few men to the mines to get the beaver he had concealed. They got it and returned to Santa Fé. Everyone considered he had made a fine trade in so short a period. They were not aware that we had been months trapping. The beaver was disposed of to advantage at Santa Fé, some two thousand pounds in all. In April 1830 [1831] we had all safely arrived at Taos."

The route from the headwaters of the San Francisco or Verde River in Arizona to the Mohave River in California is not certain. The party probably did not see the Grand Canyon as Peters and Sabin claim. They "discovered the stream"—the Colorado—"below the great Cañon." The oasis which the mules scented the fourth day on the desert was probably along the rivulet called by Sitgreaves, Yampai Creek, near the present stations Truxton and Hackberry. If the trappers had gone farther south they would have encountered many streams and the rough country about the headwaters of Bill Williams Fork

and would have followed this water to the Colorado without striking out into the desert again. If they had gone farther north they would have found no water that the mules could have smelt at any distance. The Colorado was reached four days' march from the Mohave, near the present site of Camp Mohave or the Needles, probably the former, since the dry parts of the Mohave river were reached after traveling southwest.

Carson's statement that the party returned to Taos in April 1830 is an error. The trappers left New Mexico in the fall of 1829 and "remained during the summer" of 1830 in the Sacramento Valley. Bancroft's California manuscript records show that Young was at San José on July 11, 1830, and was near Los Angeles on the way home, October 7. Bancroft also says that the runaway Indians were from the Mission of San José in Alameda county, California, rather than from San Rafael.

But little is known of Peter Skene Ogden's trip into the San Joaquin Valley in 1829. Warner tells us that after the rescue of Jedediah Smith, Ogden was sent out from Fort Vancouver by Governor McLoughlin of the Hudson's Bay Company to proceed up the Columbia and Lewis rivers and to go south until he should find the trail made by Smith on his first trip into the Tulare and San Joaquin Valleys. This was done to tap the beaver country reported by Smith, and to anticipate any future efforts Smith should make in this region with American trappers.

Ogden's journals (reported by Miss Agnes C. Laut in "The Conquest of the Great Northwest") record this expedition as having advanced by way of Salt Lake and the Humboldt River almost to Mt. Shasta, when it was turned back to Fort Vancouver, May 1829, by hostile Indians from the Pit River.

Ogden told these Indians that in three months they would see him again and here his journals end. The San Joaquin trip, mentioned by Carson, is not elsewhere recorded except by Warner, who confused the Great Basin expedition of 1828-29 with this one in the late fall of 1829. Warner says Ogden remained in the valley about eight months, gathered a valuable pack of furs and left for Oregon upon the trail made by McLeod, who had entered the Shasta region the previous year.

Of the eighteen men whom Carson says accompanied Young to California we know the names of only six. A correspondent of *Adventure Magazine* (May 3, 1921) claims that a relative of his, Captain Levi Scott, went with Carson to California "back before the Mexican War."

Young's expedition of 1829 opened the eyes of the Americans in New Mexico to the possibilities of trade with the Californians and furnished the incentive for Young's second trip in 1831-32 and the opening of the Wolfskill or Spanish Trail from Los Angeles to Santa Fé.

After the return to Taos, Carson occupied himself for over thirteen years by hunting and trapping in the Rocky Mountains, and he did not visit California again till the time of the Fremont expedition of 1844. He says of his first meeting with the explorer: "It had been a long time since I had been among civilized people. Went and saw my friends and acquaintances [in Howard county, Missouri], then took a trip to St. Louis, remained there a few days and was tired of remaining in the settlements. Took a steamer for the Upper Missouri and, as luck would have it, Colonel Fremont, then a Lieutenant, was aboard of the same boat." This was just before Fremont's first expedition in 1842, which Carson accompanied as guide and hunter. He joined Fremont again in 1843 at Bent's Fort, having met the expedition quite by accident at that place. He thought he would have a talk with Fremont, and his object as he says was "not to seek employment. . . . But when Fremont saw me again and requested me to join him I could not refuse, and again entered his employ as guide and hunter."

During the exploration of the Great Salt Lake Fremont determined to risk a trip to the island now on the Lucin cut-off and called by his name. He "arranged the India Rubber boat. Myself [Carson] and four others accompanied him. Were landed safely We ascended the highest mountain and under [a] shelving rock cut a large cross which is there to this day.

Next morning started back. Had not left the island more than a league behind when the clouds commenced gathering for a storm. Our boat leaking wind kept one man continually employed at the bellows. Fremont directed us to pull for our lives [telling us] if we did not arrive on shore before the storm commenced we will surely all perish. We done our best and

arrived in time to save ourselves . . . in [an] hour the waters had risen eight or ten feet."

After the arrival at Fort Vancouver Carson continues: "In the meantime Fitzpatrick joined [us]. We started for Klamath Lake. A guide was employed and [we] arrived there safe and found a large village of Indians. . . . We pronounced them a mean, low-lived, treacherous race. Which we found to be a fact when we were in their country in 1846.

Here our guidé left us, and we struck for California. Our course was through a barren, desolate and unexplored country till we reached the Sierra Nevada which we found covered with snow from one end to the other. We were nearly out of provisions, and cross the mountains we must, let the consequences be what they may. We went as far in the snow as we possibly could with animals, then was compelled to send them back. Then we commenced making a road through the snow. We beat it down with mallets. The snow was six feet on the level for three leagues. We made shoes [and walked] over the snow to find how far we would have to make a road. Found it to be the distance afore stated.

After we reached the extremity of the snow, we could see in the distance the green valley of the Sacramento and the Coast Range. I knew the place well, had been there seventeen years before. Our feelings can be imagined when we saw such beautiful country.

Having nothing to eat but mule meat, we returned to the place from which we had sent back our animals, and commenced our work of making the road. In fifteen days our task was accomplished. Sent back for the animals. They had, through hunger eaten one another's tails and the leather of the pack saddles, in fact everything they could lay hold of. They were in a deplorable condition and we would frequently kill one to keep it from dying; then use the meat for food.

We continued our march and by perseverance in making the road (for the wind had drifted the snow and in many places filled up the path which we had made) we finally got across and then commenced descending the mountain. Then we left Fitzpatrick in charge of the main party, Fremont, myself and five or six men, went ahead to Sutter's Fort for provisions.

The second day after leaving Fitzpatrick, Mr. Preus[s],

Fremont's assistant, got lost. We made search for him, travelled slowly, fired guns so that he could know where we were. We could not find him. In four days the old man returned. Had his pockets full of acorns, having had no other food since he left us. We were all rejoiced at his return, for the old man was much respected by the party.

We arrived safely at Sutter's Fort, three days after the return to camp of Mr. Preus[s]. When we arrived at the Fort we were naked and in as poor a condition as men possibly could be. We were well received by Mr. Sutter and were furnished in a princely manner everything we required by him. We remained about a month at the Fort [and] made all the necessary arrangements for our return, having found no difficulty in getting all we required.

About the first of April, 1844, we were ready to depart. During our stay at the Fort two of our party became deranged, I presume from the effects of starvation, and through receiving an abundance. One morning one of them jumped up [and] was perfectly wild. [He] inquired for his mule. It was tied close to him, but he started to the mountains to look for it. After some time, when his absence was known, men were sent in search of him. [They] looked through all the neighborhood, made inquiries of the Indians, but could hear nothing of him. [We] remained a few days awaiting his return, but as he did not come in, we departed. [We] left word with Sutter to make search, and if possible, find him. He done so, and, sometime after our departure, he was found. [He] was kept at the Fort and properly cared for until he got well, and then Mr. Sutter sent him to the States.

We took up the valley of the San Joaquin on our way home, we crossed the Sierra Nevada and Coast Range, where they join,—a beautiful, low pass, continued under the Coast Range till we struck the Spanish trail, then to the Mohave river, a small stream that rises in the Coast Range and is lost in the Great Basin. [We then went] down it to where the trail leaves the Mohave River. [Illegible sentence] We arrived early on the Mohave where we intended leaving it.

In the evening of the same day a Mexican man and boy came to our camp. They informed us that they were of a party of Mexicans from New Mexico, [that] they and two men and women were encamped a distance from the main party herding

horses, that they were mounted, the two men and women were in their camp, that a party of Indians charged on them for the purpose of running off their stock. They told the men and women to make their escape, that they would guard the horses. They ran the animals off from the Indians, left them at a Spring in the desert about thirty miles from our camp. We started for the place where they said they left their animals, found that they had been taken away by the Indians that had followed them.

The Mexican requested Fremont to aid him to retake his animals. He [Fremont] stated to the party that if any wished to volunteer for such purpose they might do so, that he would furnish animals for them to ride. Godey and myself volunteered with the expectation that some men of our party would join us. They did not. We two and the Mexican took the trail of [the] animals and commenced the pursuit. In twenty miles the Mexican's horse gave out. We sent him back and continued on. Travelled during the night, it was very dark. Had to dismount to feel for the trail. By sign we became aware that the Indians had passed after sunset.

We were much fatigued—required rest, unsaddled, wrapped ourselves in the wet saddle blankets and laid down. Could not make any fire for fear of it being seen. Passed a miserably cold night. In the morning we arose very early, went down in a deep ravine, made a small fire to warm ourselves, and as soon as it was light we again took the trail.

As the sun was rising [we] saw the Indians two miles ahead of us, encamped having a feast. They had killed five animals. We were compelled to leave our horses, they could not travel. We hid them among rocks, continued on the trail, crawled in among the horses. A young one got frightened, that frightened the rest. The Indians noticed the commotion among the animals [and] sprung to their arms. We now considered it time to charge on the Indians. They were about thirty in number. We charged. I fired, killing one. Godey, fired, missed, but reloaded and fired, killing another. There was only three shots fired and two [Indians] were killed. The remainder run. I then took the two rifles and ascended a hill to keep guard while Godey scalped the dead Indians. He scalped the one he had shot and was proceeded towards the one I had shot. He was not yet dead and was behind some rocks. As

Godey approached, he raised, let fly an arrow. It passed through Godey's shirt collar. He again fell and Godey finished him.

We gathered the animals, drove them to where we had concealed our own, changed our horses and drove to camp and safely arrived. Had all the animals, with the exception of those killed [by the Indians] for their feast.

We then marched on to where the Mexicans had left the two men and women. [The] men we discovered dead,—their bodies horribly mutilated. The women, we supposed, were carried into captivity. But such was not the case for a party, travelling in our rear, found their bodies very much mutilated and staked to the ground.

We continued our march and met no further molestation till we arrived on the Virgin [River], where the trail leaves it. There we intended to remain one day, our animals being much fatigued. We moved our camp a mile further on.

In looking among the mules a Canadian of the party missed one of his mules. He started back for the camp to get it, knowing that it must have been left. He did not inform Fremont or any of the party of his project. In a few hours, he was missed. Those of the horse guard said he had gone to our last camp to look for his mule. I was sent with three men to seek him. [We] arrived at the camp [and] he could not be found. [We] saw where he fell from his horse. [A] great deal of blood was seen. [We] knew that he was killed, searched for his body but it could not be found, followed the trail of his animal to where it crossed the river. [We then] returned to camp [and] informed Fremont of his death. He, in the morning with a party, went to seek the body—searched some time but without success. I was grieved on account of the death of the Canadian. He was a brave, noble-souled fellow. I had been in many an Indian fight with him and I am confident, if he was not taken unawares, that he surely killed one or two [Indians] before he fell.

We now left the Virgin, keeping to the Spanish trail, till we passed the Vega of Santa Clara, then [we] left the Spanish trail, struck towards the Utah Lake, crossed it, and went to the Winty [Uintah] River, thence to Green River, Brown's Hole, then to Little Snake River, to the mouth of St. Vrain's Fork.

We then crossed the point of mountain and struck the Laramie River below the New Park. [We] passed the New and [journeyed] on into the Old Park. From there [we travelled] to the Balla [Bayou] Salado, the headwaters of the south fork of the Platte, then to the Arkansas River where it leaves the mountains, down it to Bent's fort. We arrived at Bent's fort July 1844, and remained till after the 4th. Then Fremont and party started for the States and I left for Taos.

On the 4th of July Mr. Bent gave Fremont and party a splendid dinner. The day was celebrated as well, if not better, than in many towns of the States."

The route of this expedition has been sufficiently described in Fremont's reports and memoirs and in Dellenbaugh's "Fremont and '49." If there ever was the slightest doubt at just what point the Sierras were crossed from the east, it has been removed by the discovery of Kit Carson's name and the date, 1844, cut in an old pine at the very summit of Carson Pass on the divide between the American River and West Carson Canyon. According to the Stockton Record (April 2, 1921), the tree was cut down in 1899 and the date slab removed to Fort Sutter. A bronze memorial tablet has been placed at the summit of the pass.

The date of arrival at Fort Sutter is confirmed by an entry in Captain John A. Sutter's Diary (San Francisco Argonaut, Jan. 26, 1878): "March 6, 1842 [1844]. Cap't Fremont arrived at the port [fort] with Kit Carson, told me that he was an officer of the U. S. and left a party behind in Distress and on foot, the few surviving Mules was packed only with the most necessary, I received him politely and his Company likewise as an old acquaintance. the next morning I furnished them with fresh horses, a Vaquero with a pack Mule loaded with Necessary Supplies for his men."

Carson's part in the third Fremont expedition and the events which followed is of peculiar interest. It was at this period that he performed his greatest services and for some of his activities then he has been considerably censured. Referring to this trip Carson says—

After the return to Taos in 1845 "Dick Owens and I concluded that, as we had rambled enough (that) it would be advisable for us to go and settle on some good stream and

make us a farm. We went to Little Cimмерon, about forty-five miles east of Taos, built ourselves little huts, put in considerable grain, and commenced getting out timber to enlarge our improvements. [We] remained there till August of same year.

The year previous, I had given my word to Fremont that, in case he should return for the purpose of making any more exploration, that I would willingly join him. He reached Bent's fort about the 1st of August made inquiries where I was, and heard of my being on the Cimмерon. [He] sent an express to me. Then Owens and I sold out for about half it was worth, and we started to join Fremont, and we both received employment."

At the crossing of the Desert of the Great Salt Lake they pioneered the route known later to the emigrants as the "Hastings Cut-Off." In Carson's words—

"Fremont was bound to cross. Nothing was impossible for him to perform if required in his explorations.

Before we started it was arranged that at a certain time of [the] next day he would ascend the mountain near his camp, have with him his telescope, so that we could be seen by him, and if we found grass or water, we should make a smoke, which would be a signal to him to advance. We travelled on about sixty miles, no water or grass, not a particle of vegetation could be found (as level and bare as a barn floor) before we struck the mountains on the west side of the Lake. Water and grass was there in abundance. The fire was made. Fremont saw it and moved on with his party. Archambeau started back and me(e)t him when about half way across the desert. He camped on the desert one night, and next evening at dark, he got across, having lost only a few animals."

The Sierras were crossed near Donner Lake, on the path which the Stevens-Townsend emigrant party of 1844 had traversed with wagons, and along the route later followed by the unfortunate Donner party and the Central Pacific Railway. Carson says Fremont went up the Carson River, but this is an evident mistake.

Before crossing the mountains Talbot and Walker with most of the men and animals were sent south, as the season was late, to enter the San Joaquin Valley thru the low Walker

Pass and Kern Valley. Fremont, Carson and a small outfit took the more direct route in order to procure needed supplies from Fort Sutter and the intention was then to send a relief to the southern party.

This relief according to Carson "Went up the San Joaquin valley, crossed [it] where it comes out of the mountain, and then on to King's River; up it to the headwaters. During our march from snow and travelling over rocks our cattle became very tender footed. From the head of King's River [probably the North Fork] we started back for the prairie and when we arrived we had no cattle, they having all given out. [We] had to leave behind all except those we killed for meat. As we were getting from the mountains some Indians crawled into our camp and killed two of our mules. . . . Arrived at the fort safely. All were afoot. Lived principally on the meat of wild horses that we killed on the march."

Fremont's troop then left for San José, where they met Walker and Martin who had been sent out as messengers from the Talbot-Walker division which had remained encamped eighteen days at Walker Pass—(Martin MS., D122 Bancroft Library). Carson who, with Owens, was dispatched to look for Talbot's party, says—"We met them on the San Joaquin, guided them to San José."

Carson's mistake in taking the King's river route was due to Walker's misunderstanding of the meeting place. Walker, who had been in the San Joaquin Valley twelve years previously, had mistaken the Kern for the King's River, and had given the relief expedition a needless trip thru the High Sierras of the King's River in the roughest sort of country at a time of year (October) when the snow was beginning to fall and the nights were icy cold. This is the earliest recorded trip into this part of the Sierra Nevada. The narrative continues—

"After we had all got together we set out for Monterey to get an outfit. When we arrived within about 30 miles of Monterey, Fremont received a very impertinent order from General Castro, ordering him to immediately leave the country, and if he did not, that he would drive him out.

We packed up at dark, moved back about 10 miles to a little mountain, found a good place, and made a camp. General Castro came with several hundred men and established his

headquarters near us. He would frequently fire his big guns to frighten us, thinking by such demonstrations he could make us leave.

We had in the party about forty men armed with rifles. Castro had several hundred soldiers of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry. Fremont received expresses from Monterey from Americans advising him to leave, that the Mexicans were strong and would surely attack us. He sent them word that he had done nothing to raise the wrath of the Mexican Commander, that he was in the performance of a duty, that he would let the consequence[s] be what they may, execute a retreat he would not.

We remained in our position on the mountain for three days, had become tired of waiting for the attack of the valiant Mexican general. We then started for the Sacramento River, up it to Peter Lawson's, there Fremont intended getting his outfit for the homeward trip. [We] remained some ten days. During our stay at Lawson's, some Americans that were settled in the neighborhood came in stating that there were about 1000 Indians in the vicinity making preparations to attack the settlements. [They] requested assistance of Fremont to drive them back. He and party, and some few Americans that lived near, started for the Indian encampment. Found them to be in great force, as was stated. They were attacked. The number killed I cannot say. It was a perfect butchery. Those not killed fled in all directions, and we returned to Lawson's. Had accomplished what we went for and given the Indians such a chastisement that would be long before they ever again would feel like attacking the settlements.

We remain[ed] some time at Lawson's, received the best of treatment, and finished [getting together] our outfit. Started for the Columbia River."

Bancroft notes that "Fremont's return to the coast [Monterey] seemed utterly inconsistent with his previously announced designs." Carson's statement that they intended going there "to get an outfit" seems plausible in view of the losses sustained in the Sierras and the failure of those in charge at Fort Sutter to supply the commander with everything he needed (cf. Bidwell, *Century Magazine*, Vol. 19, New Series, p. 518), however, the expedition had been recruiting in the vicinity of San José for over a month. Fremont's own stated reasons for

a southwesterly movement have been vague and contradictory. Carson seems particularly careful thruout his narrative to refrain from political discussion and the impression is gained that he knew considerably more about his good friend, the Captain, than he thought desirable to tell. Martin's manuscript gives a detailed account of the Indian butchery near Peter Lassen's—an affair too unnecessarily revolting to prompt repetition here.

The trip north from Lassen's to the Klamath Lakes took fourteen days. The route as determined on modern U. S. G. S. maps from Fremont's recorded observations of latitude, elevation and topography led away from the Sacramento river at the mouth of Battle Creek, thence to the North Fork of Cow Creek (April 27), on past Round Mountain to Montgomery Creek, up this to the divides west and south of Burney Butte across the valley of Hat Creek to the Pit River between Beaver Creek and Horse Valley (April 29), up Pit River to four miles north of Lookout (April 30), thence by a long dry march to the southeastern corner of Tule Lake (May 1), around the east side of the lake to the Lost River in Poe Valley (May 4), across the Link River at or just below the lower end of Upper Klamath Lake, up Long Lake Valley to the second small stream north of Aspen Lake (Denny's Branch, where the Indians made their first surprise attack on May 9), thence around the eastern border of the Upper Klamath Lake as far as Cherry Creek (called by Fremont, Ambuscade Creek) where camp was made May 7. The next day Gillespie's messenger arrived and Fremont took a few men and went back to meet the officer. Subsequent events, altho they have been told and retold, may bear repetition in Carson's own words—

"A few days after we left [Lassen's], information was received in California that war was declared between the United States and Mexico. Lieutenant Gillespie, U. S. Marines, and six men were sent after us to have us to come back. He had travelled about three hundred miles. His animals were giving out and the rate he was travelling he had but poor hopes of overtaking us. He then concluded to mount two men on his best animals and send them in advance. They came up to us on the Lake, gave the communications to Fremont, and he having but poor faith in Klamath Indians, feared the situation of Gillespie and party, [and] concluded to go and meet him. [He] took ten picked men, travelled about sixty miles, and met him encamped for the night.

He sat up till 12 or 1 o'clock reading the letters which he had received from the States; Owens and myself were rolled in our saddle blankets laying near the fire, the night being cold. Shortly after Fremont had laid down I heard a noise as of an axe striking, jumped up, saw there were Indians in camp, gave the alarm. The Indians had then tomahawked two men, [Basil] Lajeunesse and a Delaware, and were proceeding to the fire where four Delawares were lying. They heard the alarm, Crane, a Delaware, got up, took a gun, but not his own. The one he got was not loaded. He was not aware of it [and] kept trying to fire. Stood erect—received five arrows in the breast, four mortal [wounds]. Then fell.

The evening before I fired off my gun for the purpose of cleaning it. [I had] accidentally broken the tube—had nothing but my pistol. Rushed on him, fired, cut the string that held his tomahawk. Had to retire, having no other [weapon]. Maxwell fired on him, hit him in the leg. As he was turning, Step fired, struck him in the back, [the] ball passing near the heart, and he fell. The balance of his party then run. He was the bravest Indian I ever saw. If his men had been as brave as himself, we surely would all have been killed. We lost three men and one slightly wounded. If we had not gone to meet Gillespie, he and party would have been murdered. The Indians evidently were on his trail for that purpose. We apprehend[ed] no danger that night, and the men being much fatigued no guard was posted. It was the first and last time we failed in posting guard. Of the three men killed Lajeunesse was particularly regretted. He had been with us in every trip that had been made. All of them were brave, good men. The only consolation we had for the loss was that, if we had not arrived, Gillespie and his four men would have been killed. We lost three so two lives had been saved.

After the Indians left, each of us took a tree, expecting they would return. We remained so posted until day light. We then packed up, took the bodies of the dead and started for [the] camp of the main party.

Had proceeded about ten miles. Could not possibly carry the bodies any further. [We then] went about half a mile (of) [away from] the trail and interred them, covering the graves with logs and brush, so that there was but little probability of their being discovered. [We] would have taken the

bodies to our camp, but on account of the timber being so thick the bodies knocked against the trees and becoming much bruised, we concluded to bury them when we did. We met our camp this evening, they had received orders to follow our trail. Camped for [the] night, next morning only to go a few miles. Left 15 men in our old camp, concealed for the purpose of discovering the movements of the Indians. We had not left more than half an hour when two Indians came. They were killed and in short time their scalps were in our camp. Fremont concluded to return to California, but [decided to] take a different route from that [by] which we had last entered the country, by going on the opposite side of the lake. We were now encamped on a stream of the lake nearly opposite to the place where we were encamped when we had the three men killed. In the morning I was sent ahead with ten chosen men, with orders that, if I discovered any large village of Indians, to send word and in case I should be seen by them for me to act as I thought best.

I had not gone more than ten miles [when] I discovered a large village of about 50 lodges and, at the same time by the commotion in their camp I knew that they had seen us, and considering it useless to send for reinforcements, I determined to attack them, charged on them, fought for some time, killed a number and the balance fled.

Their houses were built of flag, beautifully woven. They had been fishing [and] had in their houses some ten wagon loads of fish they had caught. All their fishing tackle, camp equipage, etc. was there. I wished to do them as much damage as I could, so I directed their houses to be set on fire. The flag being dry it was a beautiful sight. The Indians had commenced the war with us without cause, and I thought they should be chastised in a summary manner. And they were severely punished.

Fremont saw at a distance the fire, [and] knowing that we were engaged, hurried to join us, but arrived too late for the sport. We moved on about two miles from where the Indian village had been, and camped for the night. After encamping Owens and twenty men were sent back to watch for Indians. In an hour he sent us word that 50 Indians had returned to camp, I suppose to hunt their lost, and bury their dead. As soon as the information was received Fremont, with

six men, started to him, taking a route different from that which Owens had taken, so as to keep concealed. As we got near the camp [we] only saw one Indian. As soon as he was seen we charged him. I was in advance. Got within ten feet of him. My gun snapped. He drew his bow to fire on me. I threw myself on one side of my horse to save myself. Fremont saw the danger in which I was, run his horse over the Indian throwing him on the ground, and before he could recover he was shot. I consider that Fremont saved my life, for, in all probability, if he had not run over the Indian as he did, I would have been shot. We could find no more Indians, and fearing that the party seen by Owens had returned to attack our camp, we returned. Arrived, but the Indians did not make an attack.

Next morning we struck out for the Valley of the Sacramento, about four days march. Maxwell and Archambeau were travelling parallel with the party, about three miles distant, hunting. They saw an Indian coming towards them. As soon as the Indian saw them he took from his quiver some young crows that were tied thereon, concealed them in the grass, and continued approaching. As soon as he was within forty yards he commenced firing. They did not intend to hurt him, wishing to talk, but the Indian keeping up a continuous fire and having shot rather close, they were compelled through self defence to fire on him. They done so and [at] the first shot he fell, [and] was immediately scalped.

We kept on till we struck the Sacramento, and in passing down the river there was ahead of us a deep and narrow cañon. The Indians supposing that we would go through it, placed themselves on each side for the purpose of attacking us as we passed. But we crossed the river and did not go into the cañon.

Godey, myself, and another man, I have forgotten his name, took after them. We were mounted on mules. They could not be caught. One man, brave[r] than the rest, hid himself behind a large rock and awaited our approach. We rode up near him. He came from his hiding place and commenced firing arrows very rapidly. We had to run back, being kept so busy dodging from his arrows, that it was impossible to fire. Retreated from the reach of his arrows. I dismounted and fired. My shot had the desired effect. He was scalped. [He] had a

fine bow and beautiful quiver full of arrows, which I presented to Lt. Gillespie. He was a brave Indian [and] deserved a better fate, but he had placed himself on the wrong path.

Continued our march, and next day, in the evening, Step and another man had gone out to hunt. We had nothing to eat in our camp. [Were] nearly starving. They saw an Indian watching the camp. I presume he was waiting so that he might steal a mule. They gradually approached him—he was unaware of their presence—and, when near enough, fired. He, receiving his death wound and then was scalped. The hunters returned having found no other game. We kept on our march to Peter Lawson's, had no difficulty on the route. Then [went] down the Sacramento to the Buttes. Here camp was made to await positive orders in regard to the war, and to hunt."

Fremont's leisurely movements, his side trip into the north-western part of the Sacramento Valley and return to Lassen's, and his slow rate of travel (about twelve miles a day) on the way to Klamath Lake give one the impression that he was in no hurry to leave California and was trying to kill time and keep within striking distance of the settlements.

Carson gave a verbal account of the night fight on Denny's Creek to a Washington newspaper. This is the one quoted in Lancey's "Cruise" (San José Pioneer, Feb. 1, 1879—Apr. 2, 1881) and in Sabin. Fremont tells us that the Indians showered arrows on the little party during the remaining hours of darkness and that the men hung blankets from the trees to protect themselves. Carson later told Captain Johnston (in Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance to San Diego in California*, 1848, p. 579) "that he never knew how fine a weapon the bow and arrow was until he had them fired at him in the night; at that time they are more sure than firearms for they are fired by the feel."

Martin in his recollections says "Capt. Owens who was sleeping with me was the first to give the alarm. He woke me saying 'I think I hear someone groaning,' etc. Martin also gives a story of the fight, mentioned by Carson, at the village—

"As we rounded the head of the lake we saw on the other side of the lake, nearly opposite where our camp had been attacked, some smoke arising.

Fifteen of us under Kit Carson were sent forward to re-

connoitre. Upon nearing the vicinity of the smoke we ascended a ridge to get a better view. From here we saw a village but a short distance away which had been hidden from us by a high bank. The Indians discovered us at the same time. Between the village and us there lay a small river whose shores were skirted with willows, among which we could see the Indians on the same side we were on. Kit Carson proposed that we should charge down on them without waiting for the arrival of the rest of the company. We accordingly dashed down the side of the ridge at a breakneck pace but before we reached the river they had all crossed to the opposite side in canoes. On the other side they made a stand and shot at us with their arrows but they did us no harm as the river was at this point about 120 yards wide which required the elevating of their arrows to reach us. We opened fire and killed some 20 or more before they broke and run.

The river being too deep to cross here we started upstream until Carson shouted, 'Here is a good place,' whereupon we all jumped our horses off the bank 3 or 4 feet high into the river. Instead of shallow water we found it from 8 to 12 feet deep and as a matter of course all of us went over our heads . . . got our powder wet and we would have been in a fine fix if the rest of our party had not arrived at this moment."

Fremont's route led him around the north end of the Upper Klamath Lake by way of 3 mile (Corral) creek (May 11), and 7 mile (Torrey) creek (May 12). Leaving the lake at Naylox they reached the Pit River at Horse Creek (Russell's Branch—May 19), thence across country to Hat Creek near Great Spring (May 20), up over Noble Pass just north of Lassen Peak and down into the headwaters of the North Fork of Battle Creek (May 21). May 30, 1846, found the expedition encamped at the southeastern base of the Marysville Buttes in what is now Sutter county. This camp, "by invitation" says Ide, was a general rendezvous for excited visitors representing the American population of that part of California. Many things had contributed to the habitual restlessness of the mountain men, trappers and pioneer settlers,—Castro's threatening orders to Fremont at the Gavilan, the sudden return of the explorer following the arrival of Gillespie with what everyone supposed were secret instructions, the posting of proclamations requiring the expulsion of Americans from the Department of California, groundless rumors that Spanish Californians were inciting the

Indians to attack settlers and their crops, knowledge of Castro's military preparations—all of this drew the American settlers to Fremont's camp to ask his advice and his cooperation in proposed resistance to the government.

Tipton Lindsey (*Overland Monthly Magazine*, 2d Series, vol. 27, pp. 218-228) has recorded the narrative of George W. Williams, one of the participants in the Bear Flag affair. Williams' statement credits Carson with having led the attack on the horses of the Spanish lieutenant Arce, but this is highly questionable. Sutter says (*Personal Reminiscences*, Calif. MS. D 14, Bancroft Library): "Merrit, a mountaineer, formerly a long time with me, but now with Fremont, came to me . . . and told me he was going to seize those horses [Arce's] for Fremont, which he did."

Bancroft mentions several accounts of the horse raid. None of these agree as to details, number of horses, men, etc. Williams is the only one who says that Carson was a member of the raiding party. Others claim that Swift or Ezekiel Merritt led the volunteers. The rather unreliable Martin states—

"Fremont called us together and told us that we were going to take the country and called for volunteers to go and capture this band of horses. Fallon told us that we would probably find them on the Mocasomy [Mokelumne River]. That evening 15 of us under Capt. Swift went and caught them at daylight next morning. We arrested 17 men, 14 officers and 2 privates and 1 citizen . . . We took back with us about 400 head of horses and returned to Johnson and Kaisers ranch on the Bear river."

Ide (*Scraps of California History*) reports that when he visited Fremont's camp on the evening of June 10, asking the Captain for advice and assistance, "several persons, among whom was Kit Carson, begged of Fremont their discharge from the service of the exploring expedition that they might be at liberty to join us. This was peremptorily refused. Fremont in my hearing expressly declared that he was not at liberty to afford us the least aid or assistance." Unless Ide's date is incorrect, it is not easy to see how Carson could have been present on the horse raid, which occurred on the 10th. Carson does not mention the incident. His narrative continues—

"A party was sent from here [Camp on Feather River at the "Hock Farm"] to surprise Sonoma, a military post. They

captured it, took one General [M. G. Vallejo] and two Captains [Prudon and Salvador Vallejo] prisoners, several cannon and a number of small arms. After the Fort had been taken Fremont had heard positively of the war being declared. [He] then marched forward to Sonoma and found it in the possession of the men he had sent in advance.

During our stay here, General Castro ordered one of his Captains [de la Torre] and a large force from San Francisco to attack us and drive us from the country. He came over, found two of our men [Fowler and Cowie] (that were carrying news to the settlers that Sonoma was taken and that war was declared) whom he brutally murdered. He found that we were anxious to meet him and commenced his retreat. We followed him six days and nights. He could not be found. He made his escape, leaving his animals, and he reached San Francisco and from there to [the] Pueblo of Los Angeles—Castro joining him—their object being to reorganize their forces.”

A large part of what Carson says regarding Castro's movements was popular hearsay of the time and is inaccurate. Fowler and Cowie, the two murdered men, had been sent out from Sonoma to get a barrel of powder from Moses Carson, Kit's brother, who was a foreman at the Fitch rancho of Sotoyome on the Russian River where Healdsburg is now situated. On the way they were set upon by a guerilla band of Californians, in no way connected with de la Torre's outfit, and were, according to report, foully murdered (Bancroft, *Hist. Calif.* vol. 5, p. 160-161). The alleged manner of their death enraged the Americans who later, under Carson, adopted an almost equally brutal means of retaliation. Ide, the Bear Flag commander at Sonoma despatched H. L. Ford with a small force to pursue Padilla, supposed to be on the Marin peninsula, and rescue prisoners thought to be in his hands. A fight occurred at Olompali and de la Torre, who had joined Padilla's forces, being worsted, retreated toward San Rafael. The Americans went back to Sonoma. Fremont now put in a belated appearance (June 26), joined the Bear Flag forces, marched to San Rafael and, not finding de la Torre, peacefully billeted himself in the Mission buildings, establishing his outposts on the surrounding hills (Bancroft, *loc. cit.* Martin, *loc. cit.*).

Martin who claims to have been on guard says: “I discovered a boat come in and run up a small creek. I reported it

and 5 of us went out and captured 3 officers that had come over to join de la Torre. They were asked if they had any dispatches and they said no. We shot them then and there and upon searching their bodies found dispatches which we took to Fremont."

Jasper O'Farrell (*Los Angeles Star*, Sept. 27, 1856,—quoted from Bancroft), a reliable witness, later testified that Kit Carson was in charge of the squad that murdered the three Californians. He said Carson claimed to have done the deed unwillingly by Fremont's order. "After starting Carson turned back . . . to ask Fremont, 'Captain shall I take those men prisoners.' The reply, given with a wave of the hand, was, 'I have no room for prisoners.' This agrees with statements which Carson made a few days later to his friend Wm. Boggs of Napa (*Ide, Scraps of California History*). Boggs says—

"The celebrated Kit Carson killed the first one. He discovered and reported them to Fremont, his superior officer, as prisoners his squad had taken, and asked him what he should do with them. F's reply to Carson was that he 'had no use for prisoners; but do your duty.'

Kit returned in company with one or two others of Fremont's command, killed an old Mexican and his two sons. This circumstance was related to me by Kit Carson himself in my house at Sonoma where he visited me. I knew Kit Carson in the Rocky Mountains and he and my brother were intimate friends at Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas River, where they were traders with the various tribes of Indians on the Plains—their traffic being in buffalo robes and peltries.

Carson was a bold and daring man when an emergency required, and as gentle as a lamb when engaged in peaceful pursuits. I told him I did not approve of that act of retaliation; that he should have pursued the guilty ones . . . But Kit Carson had been trained to Indian warfare and its customs were deeply impressed on his mind at an early age."

The significant truth of this last statement may be checked against the meagre accounts we have of Carson's boyhood. He himself says—

"I was born on the 24th of December, 1809 in Madison county, Kentucky. My parents moved to Missouri when I was one year old. They settled in what is now Howard county.

For two or three years after our arrival we had to remain fortified, and it was necessary to have men stationed at the extremities of the fields for the protection of those that were laboring."

An important account of Carson's early surroundings is that of Wm. F. Switzler (*Missouri Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. 2, pgs. 35-45), who obtained his information from Kit's sister, Mrs. Mary Rubey.

Carson's family, who associated and intermarried with the Boones, were Kentucky people of the hardest frontier type. It has been stated that Kit himself was a grandson of Daniel Boone, but this is not correct. Kit Carson's niece, Mrs. Fannie O. Avery of Winsor, Missouri, in a letter to me confirms the genealogy recorded by Sabin in his book "*Kit Carson Days*."

Fremont returned to Sonoma on June 29 and found the garrison prepared to resist Castro's expected arrival. According to Ide the advent of Fremont's men in the early dawn caused a general alarm and Ide himself stood prepared to give the signal, "Fire!" to the impatient gunners who waited with matches burning. Just then the "well known voice of Kit Carson" cried out "My God! They swing the matches" and a near tragedy was soon forgotten in a comic mock-charge by the troops of Fremont and Ford. Fremont immediately left for San Rafael again on the lookout for de la Torre, only to find that the Spaniard had made good his retreat across to San Pablo in an old launch "stolen by permission" from Richardson, the Englishman, at Sausalito.

Fremont took "twelve of his best shots" including Carson and crossed to San Francisco, then Yerba Buena. Wading ashore, the gunsmith, Stepp, spiked, with professional skill, the cannon in the abandoned Castillo at Fort Point.

The fourth of July found the whole crowd back in Sonoma enjoying Vallejo's wine and declaring the independence of California. Carson proceeds with his narrative—

"Fremont left a strong force at Sonoma. All the American settlers by this time had joined him. He then departed for Sutter's fort, and arrived safe. He placed the fort under military command. Left General Vallejo(s), the two Captains and an American named Leace [Leese] (brother-in-law to the General), as prisoners there, in charge of the gentleman, to whom

he gave the command. [He] then departed to Monterey. It had been taken before our arrival, by the navy, under command of Commodore Sloat. A few days after our arrival Sloat left, and Stockton assumed the command. Here we learned that General Castro had made his escape, [and] had gone to Los Angeles to organize. We found that we could not catch the Mexicans by following them on land, so Fremont proposed, if furnished a frigate, to take his men to San Diego. He then [would] get animals and go drive the Mexican troops from Los Angeles. The frigate Cyane was furnished him, com'd. by Captain Dupont, a noble-souled fellow. In four days, [we] arrived at our destination. Our forces were landed 150 strong. Sufficiency of horses could not be procured at San Diego. Men were sent to scour the country [and to] press into service [the] horses. We finally were mounted [and] started for Los Angeles."

At the request of Sloat, who had raised the flag on July 7, Fremont left for Monterey, going by way of the San Joaquin Valley and probably Pacheco Pass, stopping on the 17th at San Juan where he joined Sloat's dragoons and arriving at Monterey on the 19th. Here his dusty column of ragged and bristly-bearded mountain men presented a wild spectacle for the peaceful inhabitants to gaze upon.

William F. Swasey (Calif. MS. D 200 Bancroft Library) says that at Monterey the Englishmen of the Collingwood visited Fremont's camp out of curiosity to see the frontiersmen, and begged the latter "to give them an exhibition of their skill with the rifle, and for this purpose they put up as targets Mexican dollars to be shot at, at a hundred and fifty yards off hand, each man hitting the dollar to become possessor of it." The young Englishmen soon found that there was a scarcity of coin in their pockets.

Among the Americans were Kit Carson, Joe Walker, Alexis Godey, Dick Owens, Jerome Davis, Pruett St. Clair, and Dr. Robert Semple. The latter was a well educated versatile man with a mind much above the ordinary. He was slim, six feet eight inches high, and dressed in scanty buckskins presented a ludicrous appearance. "His pants were so short, by having become wet and shrunk, that they came just below the knee and were fastened round his moccasins with a strap He was so ungainly that the men used to say that when he was

mounted upon a mule, he was compelled to wear his spurs upon the calves of his legs in order to reach the mule's belly. There was a little man on Bear River by the name of Johnson, who was scarcely five feet high, and Captain Sutter remarked, when he first saw Semple, 'By Jupiter! There vash a man so tall that if he spread his legs apart, Johnson run right troo him.'"

Fremont found that Sloat wished to escape the responsibility for conducting further conquests and Stockton having no such compunctions succeeded him. Fremont sailed on July 26 and reached San Diego on July 30, according to Carson's reckoning. A garrison was left at San Diego and the start for Los Angeles was made August 8. Here, says Carson: "The Mexicans having heard of our approach, though they were 700 strong, fled. The General, Governor, and other officers, for Sonora, the balance to all parts, [just] so they did not come in contact with Americans.

We arrived within a league of the town, awaited a short time, and Stockton, agreeably to the plan arranged before our departure from Monterey, arrived with a party of sailors and marines. The sailors and marines were as brave men as I ever saw, and for the Commodore, it is useless for me to say anything, as he is known to be the bravest of the brave.

We took possession of the town, remained some time, and on the 5 Sept. [18]46, I was ordered to Washington as bearer of despatches, having with me 15 men.

I was ordered to go to Washington in 60 days, which I would have done if not directed by General Kearny to join him. When I got within 10 miles of the Copper Mines I discovered an Apache village. It was about 10⁰ a. m. They were at war. I knew that by staying where we were we would be seen, and, if we endeavored to pass them, they would also see us. So I had a consultation with Maxwell and we came to the conclusion to take for the timber and approach them cautiously, and if we were seen, to be as close as possible to them at the time of the discovery. We kept on, had arrived about 100 yards of their village when they saw us. They were somewhat frightened to see us. We said we were friends, were en route to New Mex'co, [and] wished to trade animals. They appeared friendly. We chose a good place for our camp. They visited us and

we commenced trading and procured of them a remount which was much required, our animals all having nearly given out.

We then started and in four days arrived at the first of the settlements. At our departure from California we had only 25 lbs. of dried meat, having a quantity of pinola. At the River village we got some corn. We would dry the corn by the fire, parch the corn, then eat it. Not having other food during our trip we suffered considerably for food.

On the 6th of October, [18]46, I met General Kearn(e)y on his march to California. He ordered me to join him as his guide. I done so and Fitzpatrick continued on with the despatches.

On the 18th [15th] of October we left the Rio Del Norte, December 3d [2nd] arrived at Warner's Ranch, and marched on for San Diego. On the 6th we heard of a party of Californians encamped on our route, probably one hundred in number. When we arrived within ten or fifteen miles of their camp, General Kearn(e)y sent Lieutenant Hammond with three or four Dragoons ahead to examine their position. He went, was accidentally discovered, [and] saw the encampment as reported. They were in an Indian village. He then returned to us and gave the information found. The General then determined to attack them. We packed up about one o'clock in the morning and moved on. When within a mile of their camp we discovered their spies that were out watching the road, and our movements. The trot and then the gallop was ordered to pursue the spies. They retreated to their camp.

I was ordered to join Captain Johnston. He had fifteen men under his command. We were to proceed in advance. Our chief object was to get the animals belonging to the Californians. Captain Moore, having a part of two companies of Dragoons and a party of twenty-five volunteers that had come from San Diego, was ordered to attack the main body. They were attacked, only fought about ten or fifteen minutes, then they retreated. When we were within 100 yards of their camp, my horse fell, threw me and my rifle was broken into two pieces. I came very near being trodden to death. Being in advance the whole command had to pass over me. I finally saved myself by crawling from under them. I then ran on about 100 yards to where the fight had commenced. A Dragoon had been killed, I took his gun and cartridge box

and joined the mêlée. Johnston and two or three of the dragoons were then killed. The Californians retreated, pursued by Moore for about three quarters of a mile. Moore had about 40 men mounted on horses, the balance on mules.

Two or three days before, we heard of a party of Californians that were en route to Sonora. Lieutenant Davidson and twenty-five dragoons and I were sent to surprise them. Done so and captured 70 or 80 head of animals, from which Moore got some 40 horses that were gentle and on which he mounted his men. The command in the pursuit had got very much scattered. The enemy saw the advantage, wheeled and cut off the forty that were in advance, and out of the forty killed and wounded thirty-six. Captain Moore [was] among the slain, also Lieutenant Hammond. General Kearn(e)y [was] severely wounded and nearly every officer of the command was wounded.

Lieutenant Davidson, in charge of two Howitzers, came up. Before he could do anything every one of his party were killed or wounded, and one piece taken by the enemy. They captured it by lassoing the horse, fastening the lasso to the saddle and then running off. They got about 300 yds. and endeavored to fire it at us, but could not. It was impossible for Lieutenant Davidson to do anything, having lost all his men, and one piece, and was himself lanced several times through the clothing, and one [ball] passing through [the] cantle of his saddle, which if the Californian had not missed his aim he also would be numbered among the slain.

We rallied in a point of rocks near where the advance had been defeated, remained there that night, the reason [being we did] not dare move on, and having a number of dead to bury. The dead were buried at the hours of 12 or 1 o'clock that night.

Next day we moved on. I had command of about 15 men and was ordered in advance. Marched about seven miles. During the night the Californians had received reinforcements. They were now about 150 strong. During the day they would show themselves on every hill ahead of us.

Late in the evening we [were] still on the march, being within about 400 yards from the water where we intended to camp. They then charged on us, coming in two bodies. We were compelled to retreat about 200 yds. to a hill of rocks that

was to our left. After we had gained our position on the hill, the Californians took another hill, about 100 yards. still to our left, and then commenced firing. Captains Emory and Turner took the command of what dragoons we had, charged the enemy on the hill, routed them, giving us full possession of their position. There [we] remained for the night.

The day on which we had the first fight, Kearn(e)y had sent three men as [an] express to San Diego to Commodore Stockton. This morning they had returned within five hundred yards of our camp. Were taken prisoners by the enemy in our sight. The day previous the horse of a Mexican Lieutenant was shot and he [was] taken prisoner. The parley was sounded and then [they] exchanged the Lieutenant for one of our men that was prisoner.

The place on which we were stationed had barely water enough for the men to drink. We had nothing to eat but mule meat. The animals were turned loose. As soon as any would get from the reach of our guns, they would be driven off by the enemy. The Mexicans had command of the water,—probably about 500 yds. in advance. Kearn(e)y concluded to march on let the consequences be what they would. About 12 o'clock we were ready for the march, the wounded in ambulances [in litters on mule back]. The enemy, seeing our movements, saddled up, formed in our rear about 500 yds., the men being placed about 10 feet apart so that our artillery could do them but little damage.

Kearn(e)y had a council with his officers, they all knew that, as soon as we would leave the hill, we would again have to fight and, in our present condition it was not advisable. They came to the conclusion to send for reinforcements to San Diego. Lieutenant Beale, of the navy, and myself, volunteered to undertake to carry the intelligence to Stockton.

As soon as dark we started on our mission. In crawling over the rocks and brush our shoes making noise we took them off; fastened them under our belts. We had to crawl about two miles. We could see three rows of sentinels, all ahorseback, we would often have to pass within 20 yards of one. We got through, but had the misfortune to have lost our shoes, had to travel over a country, covered with prickly pear and rocks, barefoot.

Got to San Diego the next night. Stockton immediately

ordered 160 or 170 men to march to Kearn(e)y's relief. They were under the command of a Lieutenant, [and had] one cannon, which was drawn by the men by attaching to it ropes.

I remained at San Diego, Lieutenant Beale was sent aboard of frigate Congress; had become deranged from fatigue of the service performed, did not entirely recover for two years.

The next night the reinforcements reached Kearn(e)y. They lay by during the day, travelled by night. The enemy, however, discovered their approach, then fled. Kearn(e)y and [the] party then joined and moved on to San Diego having no further molestation."

The date Carson gives as the start of his first great ride is doubtless correct. Bancroft would put it somewhat earlier, but Richman (California under Spain and Mexico) plausibly assumes that Carson was not sent till after Fremont had received appointment as military commandant on September 2. Carson went from Los Angeles nearly to Santa Fé in thirty-one days and as he said later, wore "out and killed thirty-four mules" doing so. From remarks made to Capt. Johnston on the return trip to California we know that Carson led Kearny back over nearly the same trail he had selected on the way east. This is the route down the Gila and across the lower Colorado Desert shown on Emory's map. Johnston's report (In Emory, *loc. cit.* p. 572-614) contains many references to incidents of both the eastward and the return journeys.

The "Copper Mines" were old diggings on the headwaters of the Mimbres River in New Mexico where Carson worked for McKnight in 1828. Carson had traversed nearly this entire route with Young on his return to New Mexico from California in 1831.

Carson met Col. Kearny on October 6, about three miles south of Socorro, New Mexico, and less than 150 miles from his own family in Taos. We can appreciate Kearny's desire to engage Carson as guide when we refer to a note on p. 571 of Johnston's report under date of October 5. "We had considerable discussion this evening about the route to the Gila; the guide we engaged had not contemplated the difficulties beyond the point where he struck the Gila, and he inclines to go 18 miles south of the Copper Mines."

Carson never forgave General Kearny for turning him

back from his mission. Two years later he gave Senator Benton a long statement of his grievances, at the close of which he remarks, true friend of Fremont that he was:

"This statement I make at the request of Senator Benton, but had much rather be examined in a court of justice, face to face with General Kearn(e)y, and there tell at once all that I know about General Kearn(e)y's battles and conduct in California."

Bancroft is inclined to blame Carson for Kearny's disaster at San Pasqual. The reason for this accusation was a mystery to me till I happened to run across a letter in the Bancroft archives written by John M. Swan in 1875 (Calif. MS. E. 65). Swan says that Carson "according to report told the officers under Gen. Kearney that the native Californians would not fight but that all the Americans had to do was to yell, make a rush, and the Californians would run away. Misled probably by these reports Gen. Kearney left 200 of his dragoons behind him in New Mexico and continued his route with a bodyguard of 100 dragoons. Neither Colton or Tuthill speaks of Kit Carson's report about the native Californians not being willing to fight, and yet I have no doubt of the truth of it, and it was but too common among foreigners, both Americans and others, to talk in the same way."

All that is necessary to refute the remarks of Swan is an examination of Emory's report under the heading, October 6 and 7:

"Came into camp late and found Carson with an express from California, bearing intelligence that the country had surrendered without a blow, and that the American flag floated in every port. . . . [This] news caused some changes in our camp; one hundred dragoons, officered by . . . and a few hunters of tried experience, formed the party for California. Major Sumner, with the dragoons, was ordered to retrace his steps."

Carson as guide was assigned to the advance guard under command of Aide-de-camp Capt. Abraham R. Johnston who was killed at San Pasqual at daybreak on the 6th of December, 1846. Acting on Carson's advice the wagons were exchanged for pack-saddles. Apaches were met at the Copper Mines and, tho they professed great friendship, Carson said "with a twin-

kle of his keen hazel eye . . . 'I would not trust one of them.' " By November 1 the "army" reached the rough country about the lower canyons of the Verde River where the animals were already found to be in a "shattered condition." Near here they met Apaches of the tribe of "Piñon Lanos" who refused to come into camp for fear of the howitzers. Carson finally induced a sole red-skin to abandon his fears while Emory and others remained as hostages in the Indian camp. Presents were distributed and a guide secured to traverse the mountain and avoid a sixty-mile dry march Carson had previously made.

November 19 found them at the point of Bighorn Mountain where Carson shot a doe bighorn (probably the animal figured on the plate opposite page 92 of Emory's Report).

On the 22nd, Dr. Griffin says—"Our men are nearly naked and barefooted, their feet sore and leg-weary. Only the sick have been allowed to ride lately. We are a mile and a half above the mouth of the Gila."

On the 23rd, letters were intercepted containing the important news of the recapture of Los Angeles and Santa Barbara by Flores. A Mexican messenger, a former friend of Carson's, advised them not to think of going on to California with so small a force.

On the 25th, they mounted the wild horses captured from a Mexican train and crossed the Colorado at a ford selected by Carson. Bundles of fresh grass were tied on behind each saddle in anticipation of the frightful desert ahead. The evening of the 26th found them at an old well, the first water in the desert, and insufficient to serve the 250 animals and 150 men who had been famishing for the past 24 hours.

November 27, they arrived at what is now Carrizo Station where "alas the waters were bitter!—bitter!" says Captain Johnston. On the 28th at noon they reached the large sulphur springs (Agua Caliente) on Carrizo Creek; "many animals were left on the road to die. . . in spite of the generous efforts of the men to bring them in" (Emory).

On the 29th, making but slow progress and with "scarcely a ration left for the men" they followed up the dry bed of Carrizo Creek sixteen miles to beyond "Vallo Citron," or "Bayou Cita" (Vallecito) Springs, where they halted to recuperate, starting out again on December 1 painfully and slowly over the

mountains to the San Felipe Creek, and arriving the next day at the ranch of Jonathan J. Warner at Agua Caliente.

December 5, Capt. Gillespie, Lt. Beale and thirty-five men came up from Stockton at San Diego with dispatches. Came also reports of the force of California cavalry gathering against them and blocking the approaches to San Diego. Kearny was now at Santa Ysabel (Stokes Ranch).

The battle commenced at dawn on the 6th. Warner (*History of Los Angeles County, 1876*) has given the Spanish version and also an interesting journal of Dr. Griffin, Kearny's surgeon. An account told by an Indian eye-witness is included in Elizabeth Roberts' "Indian Stories of the Southwest." Carson himself described the engagement vividly to Senator Benton, who delivered a speech to the Senate based on Carson's narrative. This speech has lately been reprinted in Stephen Bonsor's "Life of Edward F. Beale."

Carson forgets to mention Beale's Indian orderly who, knowing the trails, reached San Diego first. Unfortunately the Indian was omitted from the commemorative tablet placed in the Smithsonian Institution by California citizens as a memorial to the services of Carson and Beale, bearers of the message for relief. Carson's narrative continues—

"Remained in San Diego about a month or so, till the wounded recovered. Then a force of 600 men were organized and started for Los Angeles under Stockton and Kearn(e)y. There were at Los Angeles about 700 Mexicans.

On the 8th January [18]47, we arrived within 15 miles of Los Angeles. The Mexicans had a good position, being in command of a hill where we had to pass the river. We had two pieces of cannon. Stockton directed them. The Mexicans only stood a few rounds of fire, retreated, and we crossed the river, took possession of the hill, and encamped for the night.

On the 9th we approached within three miles of the Pueblo, having to fight during the day. Nothing however was necessary to be employed but the artillery. They could not make their appearance near us but Stockton, from his unerring aim of his guns, would make them leave.

On the 10th we took possession of the Pueblo. The place was evacuated by the Mexicans. They went to attack Fremont.

He was thirty [miles] distant from the Pueblo, on the march thither with about 400 men that he had raised in the vicinity of Monterey. They met him, would not fight him, [and] surrendered to him in preference to any other of the commanders.

On the 12th, I think, Fremont found us at Los Angeles. We remained there during the winter without any further molestation. As soon as Fremont joined I left Kearn(e)y and joined him. In March I started as bearer of dispatches for the War Dept. Lieut. Beale went with me with despatches for the Navy Department.

Beale, during the first 20 days, I had to lift (him) on and off his horse. I did not think he could live, but I took as good care and paid to him as much attention as could [be] given to anyone in the same circumstances, and he had, before our arrival, got so far recovered that he could assist himself. For my care I was trebly paid by the kindness and attention given me by his mother while I was in Washington.

On the River Gila we were attacked by the Indians. During the night they sent a good many arrows into our camp, but without effect. As soon as they commenced I directed the men to hold before them pack saddles, and not speak a word, so that the Indians could not direct their aim by hearing us. For them not to return the fire, but let the Indians approach, and then use our rifles as clubs.

The Indians did not approach but finding they done no execution they left before morning. And then we continued our journey. Had no further difficulty and arrived at Washington in June.

At St. Louis I had the honor of an introduction to Colonel Benton, and was invited by him (that) during my stay in Washington to remain at his house. I accepted of his invitation and, during the time I was there, received the very kindest of treatment.

I remained in Washington some time, received the appointment of Lieutenant of Rifles U. S. Army from President Polk, and was then ordered back to California as bearer of despatches. Lt. Beale [went] with me, but, on account of his illness he was compelled to return from St. Louis

Arrived at Los Angeles in October, then went on to Monterey and delivered the despatches to Colonel Mason, and [the]

Drags., (the officer in command). Remained a few days and was ordered back to Los Angeles."

The skirmish of January 8 occurred at the Paso de Bartolo on the San Gabriel River. The next day's fight has become known as the "Battle of the Mesa." It occurred in the Cañada de Los Alisos, not far from the Los Angeles River. The juncture with Fremont, who arrived from the north, took place on the 14th. This ended the war with the Mexicans but was only the start of disagreement among the American commanders.

Beale's orders from Stockton to carry despatches to the Navy Department were dated Feb. 9, 1847, when he was ordered to join Carson's party. The return trip from Santa Fé westward to the coast was evidently made by the longer and less dangerous Spanish trail north of the Grand Canyon. Returning to Carson's narrative—

"Shortly after my arrival [at Los Angeles], I was assigned to duty with the Dragoons under command of Captain Smith. The greater part of the winter I passed in the Tejon Pass. Had twenty-five men under my command guarding the Pass to prohibit Indians from taking through stolen animals. It being the main pass, they would have to go through in case they committed any depredations.

In the Spring I was again ordered to Washington as bearer of despatches."

This third trip with despatches is the one G. Douglass Brewerton has written of so interestingly (*Harpers Magazine* Aug. 1853, April 1854). The outfit was assembled and drilled at Bridge Creek (Puente), fifteen miles east of Los Angeles, and the start was made May 4. The route was through the Cajon Pass, along the Mohave River and over the Spanish Trail. Some reports say that Carson brought out nuggets and further news of the gold discovery at this time.

California saw nothing more of Carson till 1853. He had settled on a farm at the Rayado, New Mexico, and desirous of doing a little speculating among the California miners, purchased sheep to drive over the long trail he knew so well. He says—

"In February '53, I went to the Rio Abajo and purchased sheep. Returned with them to the Rayado. Then I started for

California. There was with me Henry Mercure, John Bernavette and their employees. We had about 6,500 head of sheep.

Went to Fort Laramie, then kept the wagon road that is travelled by emigrants to California. Arrived about the first of August [Sept. 6], having met with no serious loss. Sold our sheep to Mr. Norris at \$5.50 a head, doing very well.

I heard so much talk of the great change that had taken place at San Francisco, I concluded to go down, and when I arrived I would not have known the place if I had not been there so often before. Maxwell came on shortly after me to California. Disposed of his sheep in Sacramento. But on Carson River he sent to me an express, which I received at Sacramento, requesting me to await his arrival and then we would travel together home by way of the Gila. He arrived. I went down to Los Angeles by land. He took the steamer. I would not travel on the sea, having made a voyage on that in 1846, and I was so disgusted with it that I swore that it would be the last time I would leave sight of land when I could get a mule to perform the journey. [I] arrived safely at Los Angeles, Maxwell having arrived some fifteen days before me. Made the necessary preparations, and then started for New Mexico.

Came to the Pimo village, and on account of the scarcity of grass, we continued up the Gila to the mouth of the San Pedro, up it three days, and from there we took a straight course for the copper mines, and then [we journeyed on] to the Del Norte, thence home through the settlements of the Rio Abajo. Arrived at Taos on Decr. 25th, 1853."

Carson had now achieved a wide reputation and every emigrant had heard his name. The Daily Alta California, a San Francisco paper, of August 9, 1853, has this note in the Sacramento Valley News column:

"A train lately arrived in Sacramento reports passing Kit Carson in Carson Valley on a new road to the Sweetwater which he laid out at that time."

Then on September 5 the San Francisco Herald has the following announcement:

"Kit Carson arrived on the Cosumnes river near Daylor's Ranch on Friday with 1500 head of sheep. The remainder of his herd, 7000, will be in, in a few days."

The Sacramento Union notes his arrival about September 6.

Several relatives of Kit Carson established themselves in California in the early days. At least three of his brothers found their way here. "Mose," Kit's half brother, described by Peters (MS., 1856) as "a man weighing over 200—60 years old—over six feet high with one eye out and minus several fingers—rough and weather beaten from a life on the frontier," came with Young's second party in 1831 and was employed at the time of the Bear Flag revolt as foreman on the Fitch rancho then on the extreme Northwestern Mexican frontier in Sonoma county. He returned to Santa Fé in January 1856. Lindsay, a younger brother, settled in the Russian river country in 1847. Hamilton, slightly older than Kit, was in the Sierras early in the Gold days.

Carson had returned to the Missouri settlement in 1842 to leave his little five year old daughter Adaline, among his relatives. He left her "with one of his sisters, who placed her in Howard's Female College in Fayette, where she was liberally educated," (Switzler—"Kit" Carson,—In Missouri Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. 2, p. 39). Many are the legends regarding her. Some reports say she came to California, died, and was buried at Mono Lake (Sabin, *Kit Carson Days*). Capt. William Drannan, not a reliable informant, told an inquirer that when twenty years old she married a doctor named Jim Calvin, removed to California, and died at her ranch in the Feather River Canyon, near Springville, at the age of 34 (*Adventure Magazine*, March 10, 1922). Adaline was the only child of Kit's first wife, an Arapaho squaw who died soon after the girl was born. Carson later married a New Mexican woman, Maria Josefa Jaramillo. They had eight children.

During the last fifteen years of his life Kit Carson lived almost constantly at Taos with his family. He engaged in campaigns against the Navajo and Ute Indians and against the Kiowas and Comanches at Adobe Walls. After these tribes were subdued Carson in his capacity as Indian Agent became their friend and adviser, understanding their needs and speaking their languages.

He accomplished a number of reforms in the Indian policy of the government, and one of the last acts of his life, performed at the cost of considerable physical pain, was a journey to the East in behalf of the Ute nation.

At this time (1868) he was a very sick man having been trampled by his horse several years previously. As a result of this accident he died at the old army post of Fort Lyon, Colorado, on May 23, 1868. He was taken to Taos and buried there.

Kit Carson was a man of great energy and decision of character, alert, poised, calm in danger, and among the keenest, shrewdest and bravest of experienced frontiersmen. In knowledge of his craft he ranked with such leaders as Bridger, St. Vrain, the Bent "boys," Antoine Leroux, and others among his associates. Yet his appearance was unheroic enough—short and stocky, grey-eyed, blond-haired, and bow-legged. He had however those qualities of modesty, sobriety and strict veracity not proverbially common among the trappers of his day. His kindness and generosity caused at least three "old-timers,"—Oliver Wiggins, "Billy" Ryus, and "Cap't" Drannan, to regard him as their foster-father. Those who knew him well,—General Sherman, General Rusling, General Beale, General Fremont, Mrs. Fremont, Col. Peters and a host of other friends,—respected, honored and loved him. His name will "carry on" as long as our highways and railways follow his trails and our cities cover the ground where he broke the brush for his campfires.

Charles L. Camp.

SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY IN SPANISH AND MEXICAN TIMES

I. LOCATION AND TOPOGRAPHY.

San Luis Obispo County is situated on the coast, approximately half-way between San Francisco and Los Angeles. On the north Monterey County forms its boundary, while on the east the Monte Diablo Range and on the south the Santa Maria River separate it from Kern and Santa Barbara Counties respectively.

Parallel with the coast runs the Santa Lucia Range, uniting in the south with the Monte Diablo, and cutting the county longitudinally into two unequal sections,—on the west a narrow coastal slope, on the east a wide inland basin, much intersected by ridges in its southern portion.

Three principal bays mark the coast line: San Simeon in the north; San Luis Bay near the southern boundary; and, midway between the two, Estero Bay, with its landlocked inlet, Morro Bay, guarded by the famous Morro Rock.

Many streams, most of which rise in the Santa Lucia Range, water the western slope, flowing through deep cañons, thickly wooded with maple, sycamore, oak and pine. North of San Simeon the San Carpojoro Creek, the Arroyo de los Chinos, the Arroyo de la Cruz and the Laguna Creek, find outlet in the Pacific; into San Simeon flow the Arroyo del Puerto and the two Pico Creeks; south of San Simeon are found the San Simeon, Santa Rosa and Villa Creeks; Cayucos, Cottonail, Willow, Torro and Islay Creeks enter Estero Bay, while into the Morro lagoon empty the Morro and San Bernardo Creeks, into the latter of which flows the Chorro, with its tributary San Luisito. Los Osos Creek, also emptying into Morro Bay, rises not in the Santa Lucia Range, but in the fertile Los Osos Valley just south of Morro. Three other principal creeks of the coast, the San Luis, the Pismo, and the Arroyo Grande, all find outlet in the bay of San Luis Obispo; in the extreme south the Huasna, rising in the Santa Lucia Range, flows into the Santa Maria River.

Traversing the Cuesta Pass of the Santa Lucia, and the chaparra!-covered foothills, one reaches the rolling plains of

the interior basin. Rising in the southern portion and flowing northward through the valley, is the Salinas River, watered by many tributaries from the two divides. Principal of these tributaries is the San Juan, which, rising in the southeast, flows almost the entire length of the county, entering the Salinas near the northern boundary under the name of Estrella Creek. South of the Estrella the San Marcos from the west and the Huer Huero from the east, enter the Salinas; in the central and southern portions of the valley the Atascadero, Paloma, Santa Margarita and Rinconada are the principal tributaries. Fertile soil and gently rolling hills mark the Salinas Valley, changing, in the southern extremity, to a mountainous region, thickly wooded with oak and pine. The rainfall is slight, and the many creeks become, during the summer months, mere beds of dry sand.

East of the headwaters of the San Juan River stretches a high treeless basin, some forty-five miles in length, called the Carrisa Plain. On the east it is bordered by the Monte Diablo Range, and on the west by a sandstone ridge which at its southern end merges into the Santa Lucia. Drainage to the center forms, in winter, a shallow lake which becomes in the dry season a bed of salt and soda deposit. On the western border of this grassy plain rises the interesting Piedra Pintada or Painted Rock, the nature of which will be discussed more fully below.

II. THE ABORIGINES.

According to the classification of H. H. Bancroft, the aborigines of San Luis Obispo belonged to the Central Group of the California Indian.¹ Members of this group were not divided into large tribes as in the south and north, but split up into many small bands, differing in name and often in dialect, but agreeing in manners and customs and in physical appearance.² That several such small tribes or bands existed in San Luis Obispo County is evidenced by the variations in language noted by later settlers. As a rule, these variations marked only different dialects of the same language, but it is interesting to note that traces of a distinctly different language have been found

¹ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. I, p. 361; Bancroft includes in the Central Group all tribes between 40°30' and 35°.

² *Ibid.* pp. 363-3.

among the Indians near the mouth of the Estrella (the vicinity of the present San Miguel Mission).³

In physical appearance and in moral characteristics the San Luis Obispo Indian was not prepossessing. With squat negro-like nose, yellow-brown skin and low forehead, he presented an unpleasant contrast to the more advanced red man of the eastern states; in order of intelligence he ranked lower than even the Indian of the Northern and Southern California groups. Bancroft speaks of his "bestial laziness"⁴; certainly natural conditions permitted his existence with the minimum of exertion on his part, and beyond bare existence he had no ambitions. He had no knowledge of agriculture, and the contemptuous name of "Digger" bestowed by the white man found its origin in the fact that he was content to subsist upon the roots and seeds that he could dig from the earth or gather from its surface. With sandstone mortar and pestle the squaws pounded to flour dried acorns, and made from it a blackish but not unpleasant-tasting bread, or boiled it into a pudding in water-tight baskets. When the acorn crop was short, the woodpecker was robbed, and from his holes in the oak trees was taken his winter supply of acorns; this, however, was only done in cases of absolute necessity. Clover seeds, from which mush was made, were gathered in a scoop-shaped basket, swept across the tops of the grasses; this, when full, was emptied into a larger basket, carried on the back.

Deer and small game such as rabbits and birds, were shot with bow and arrow; fish and water fowl were caught with net and spear. When such game was scarce, grasshoppers, driven by fire into pits and so caught, formed a much-relished variation from an acorn and grass seed diet. Whether mashed to a pulp and so eaten, or ground to a powder and mixed with mush, they were considered a great delicacy. Some were sun-dried and stored for winter consumption.

The native dress was simple. As a rule it consisted of no more than a rag about the loins for the male and a short skirt of grass or feathers for the female. In cold weather ad-

³ Hale, *Ethnology and Philology*; also, Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. III, p. 658. Of this language a short vocabulary has been compiled by Mr. Hale; a comparison between it and the language of Santa Cruz Island will be found in *Native Races*, Vol. III, p. 658.

⁴ Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. I, p. 373.

ditional warmth was obtained by wearing the skins of wild animals. Ear ornaments of bone or wood were worn, and sometimes necklaces of shell and beads.

Although not warlike, the San Luis Obispo Indian could not be accused of cowardice. In warfare he used bows, arrows and spears, and sometimes clubs. The arrows were short, of light wood winged with a few feathers and tipped with flint, bone or obsidian, sometimes barbed, sometimes diamond-shaped. The head, fashioned loosely to the shaft, was often painted a specific color by the owner to distinguish it from the arrows of others. The spears were between four and five feet in length, sometimes mineral-tipped like the arrows, sometimes merely pointed and hardened in the fire. Pedro Fages, in his "*Voyage en Californie*," mentions a curved sabre, made of hard wood, edged with flint, and used with much dexterity by the natives "near San Miguel"—probably the San Miguel of San Luis Obispo County.⁵

As a rule the San Luis Obispo Indian ventured little into the waters of the coast. Vancouver, however, notes in the vicinity of the northern extremity of Estero Bay, canoes, hollowed out of wood, and used with "great adroitness" by the natives, who propelled their boats with paddles about ten feet in length. It is possible that the name "Cayucos," applied to this region, finds its origin in the word "cayuco," a dugout, suggested by these dugout canoes.

The dwellings of the native illustrated well his laziness. Usually a few saplings stuck in the ground, bent together at the top, interlaced with reeds and thatched with leaves, suited him admirably as a home. Into this hut crowded all the members of his own family, as well as his relations-in-law. The dwelling was never cleaned: when the interior became so cluttered with decaying fish, old bones and other sickening

⁵. "It is impossible to locate with certainty the San Miguel of Fages. There are now several places of the name in California, of which the San Miguel in San Luis Obispo County comes nearest to the region in which, to agree with his own narrative, Fages must have been at the time. The cimenter mentioned by him must have strongly resembled the maquahuil of the ancient Mexicans, and it was possibly much further south that he saw it." Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. I, note 101. Costansó, (*Narrative of the Portolá Expedition*, p. 31) mentions a similar "throwing stick" used by the natives of San Diego.

refuse as to revolt even the unfastidious Indian, the hut was burned and another erected.⁶

Such, then, was the Indian of San Luis Obispo at the time of the Spanish occupation—lazy, filthy, of low intelligence and repulsive habits. Some archaeologists, however, find in the relics of the region indications of an older, long-vanished race, possessing a higher degree of civilization than their degenerate successors. Excavations have brought to light weapons, ornaments and domestic utensils showing a skill and ingenuity in manufacture apparently unknown to the savage of the Spanish era. The most interesting relic of the county, and that considered by some the clearest evidence of an ancient semi-civilized race is the above-mentioned Piedra Pintada, or Painted Rock of the Carrisa Plain. Rising some 200 feet above the level of the Plain, this sandstone rock contains on its eastern side a deep roofless chamber, whether hollowed out by Nature or by the hand of the aborigines is still a disputed question. On the perpendicular walls of this chamber appear the extraordinary decorations from which the rock receives its name—crude figures of beasts, reptiles and human beings, painted in brilliant reds, white, and black. These paintings are said (on what authority is vague) to have been in existence when the Spanish first entered the country; of their origin or meaning the modern Indian has neither knowledge nor tradition. Similar unexplained painted rocks appear in Santa Barbara County. To some the figures found thereon seem to bear a resemblance to the picture writings of Mexico, and to indicate an affiliation between a prehistoric California race and the ancient Aztecs. The late Myron Angel regarded the Piedra Pintada as a temple of a race of sun-worshippers, and has left a most delightful book on the subject.⁷

Before leaving the much-discussed question of the existence of this vanished race it may not be amiss to quote the opinion of H. H. Bancroft. In his "Native Races of the Pacific States" this historian says, "There has not been found and reported on good authority a single monument or relic which is sufficient to prove that the country was ever inhabited by any people whose claims to be regarded as civilized were su-

⁶ For the customs, implements, etc., of the San Luis Obispo Indian see Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. I, pp. 361-401; also, Rau, *Archaeological Collection of the Smithsonian Institute*, 1876.

⁷ *The Painted Rock of California; a Legend*. By Myron Angel.

perior to those of the tribes found by Europeans within its limits. It is true that some implements may not exactly agree with those of the tribes now occupying the same particular locality, and some graves indicate slight differences in the manner of burial, but this could hardly be otherwise in a country inhabited by so many nations whose boundaries were constantly changing. I have often heard the Aztec relics of California and Oregon very confidently spoken of. It is a remarkable fact that to most men who find a piece of stone bearing marks of having been formed by human hands the very first idea suggested is that it represents an extinct race, while the last conclusion arrived at is that the relic may be the work of a tribe still living in the vicinity where it was found.”⁸

III. THE SPANISH ERA.

For unknown centuries the Indian held the mountains and plains of San Luis Obispo in undisputed possession. In 1542 appeared the first white man, forerunner of the race destined in later days to occupy the coast from San Diego to San Francisco. In this year Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, despatched by the Viceroy of Mexico to explore the northwest coast, entered the southern bay of the county, which he named Todos Santos; continuing northward he noted a deep estuary, which he called Los Esteros, and before it a high rock to which he gave the name of El Moro—a name which it still bears in the anglicized form of Morro Rock. Farther up the coast he noted the rocks still called by his name of Piedras Blancas, and entered yet another bay, named by him Bay of Sardines, and usually identified with San Simeon Bay.

The brief visit of Cabrillo was for many years the only appearance of the white man in San Luis Obispo. Other navigators passed up and down the coast, exploring and naming points to the south and north. Sometimes the Manila galleon sailed by with its precious cargo from the Philippines, while the easily-visible range which served as their landmark was christened the Sierra Santa Lucia; but of the presence of any European on the San Luis shores there is no record for nearly two hundred and fifty years after the advent of Cabrillo.

Then, in 1769, came the occupation of California by the

⁸ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. IV, p. 688.

Spanish. The reasons for the occupation will not be dwelt upon here; fear of foreign aggression, the need of ports of refuge for the pirate-beset Manila galleons, and a desire to spread the faith of the Catholic Church, were all contributing factors. In July, 1769, the first Spanish settlement of Alta California was made at San Diego; on the 14th of the same month an overland expedition, under command of Gaspar de Portolá left that settlement for the purpose of rediscovering the Bay of Monterey, first explored in 1602 by Sebastian Vizcaino. With the expedition went Fathers Crespi and Gomez; Captain Rivera y Moncada, Sergeant José de Ortega, Lieutenant Pedro Fages, and the engineer Miguel Costansó, all names well known in Californian history. Six Catalonian volunteers under Fages, twenty-six "soldados de cuera" under Rivera and Ortega, several muleteers, two servants, and some Indians from the Baja California missions completed the party.⁹

On September 2 the expedition entered the confines of what is now San Luis Obispo County, camping near a large laguna which was separated from the sea by sand dunes. This spot Costansó named Laguna Redonda, but the soldiers called it El Oso Flaco in honor of a large bear shot in the neighborhood—a name by which the region is still known.

Traversing with difficulty the marshes and sand dunes of the coast the party on September 4 reached the mouth of the San Luis Cañon. Here the explorers were welcomed by a friendly Indian, chief of a large rancheria, whom the soldiers dubbed El Buchon on account of a tumor which hung from his neck. Crespi named this camp San Ladislao, "that he might be its patron and protector until its conversion." However, the more frivolous soldiers called the whole vicinity El Buchon, in honor of its tumor-laden chief; a mountain and an ocean point of the region still bear this name.

The party followed the San Luis cañon for a short distance; tradition says that they reached the site of the present town, but as all the diaries mention that the cañon was abandoned very soon this seems hardly possible. Had the Spanish continued they would have struck the Cuesta Pass, an easy

⁹ The story of the Portolá Expedition of 1769 is found in the diary of Portolá himself and in that of Miguel Costansó, both of which have been published in translation by the Academy of Pacific Coast History; also in the diary of Father Crespi, which Palou has incorporated into his *Noticias de la Nueva California*.

outlet to the Salinas Valley. Knowing nothing of this opening, and fearing that their present route was carrying them too far east, they left the San Luis, and on September 7 reached another cañon which they followed westward to the coast. To this the pious Crespi gave the high-sounding name of Cañada de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora, but the less devout soldiers named it Los Osos, after a troop of bears by which the party was attacked. As in the case of El Buchon, the name bestowed by the good padre was soon forgotten, while that of the soldiers is still retained. At the mouth of the cañon the party came upon an "estero of immense capacity" fronted by a dome shaped rock, both readily recognizable as "Los Esteros" and "El Moro" of Cabrillo. From here the Spaniards marched northward along the coast until, above San Simeon, they found their way blocked by the Santa Lucia, which at this point extends to the coast.

Further progress along the shore-line was impossible, and the explorers were forced to undertake the passage of the mountain range. They entered the San Carpojoro, a narrow, almost impassible cañon, but the only possible route; the march was slow and weary, and it was necessary to employ the entire party with crowbars and pickaxes to clear the road. On September 20 they scaled a high ridge in the hope of finding some more practicable outlet; from the summit they could only see limitless mountain ranges, extending beyond the horizon in all directions. "A sad outlook," comments Costansó, "for these poor travellers, tired and worn out by the fatigue of the journey, by the task of clearing rough passages and breaking roads through hills, woods, dunes and swamps." Many of the soldiers were incapacitated by scurvy, and this threw a double burden on the others. However, despite all hardships the expedition pressed on as best it might, and on the 26th emerged on the eastern side of the range, making camp beside a river named by Crespi Rio de San Elizario, by the soldiers El Chocolate, and by modern geographers, the Salinas.

How Portolá followed the Salinas to its mouth; how he passed without recognition Monterey Bay, and, marching farther north, discovered the Bay of San Francisco, is a well-known story which need not be repeated here. In November the party began the return march, retracing the route by which they had come. On December 16 they began the difficult passage of the Santa Lucia, emerging on the western side on

the 21st. Here, at an Indian village, they picked up one of the soldiers who had deserted during the outward journey.

This was the season of the winter rains, which soon began to fall in such abundance that on Holy Innocents Day the party found itself bogged in a marsh somewhere in the vicinity of San Luis Obispo. So, at least, says Crespí, who appears to have grieved less over the discomfort of the misadventure than over the fact that the situation made the celebration of mass impossible. However, the explorers appear to have extricated themselves eventually, as the next day found them at the rancheria of El Buchon. This friendly chief furnished the hungry soldiers with much-needed provisions, in exchange for which he was presented with some glass beads and other ornaments. The remainder of the march through the county was uneventful.

In the spring of 1770 Portolá again passed through San Luis Obispo County, on his second expedition in search of Monterey Bay, the party following the same route as had been taken before.

In 1772 the county was once more visited by the Spaniards. In this year the arrival of the supply ships from Mexico was delayed, and famine threatened the California settlements. Fages, remembering the abundance of bears in the Cañon de los Osos, organized a hunting party in this region. He slaughtered many of the grizzlies, and by this means not only supplied the settlements with food, but won the gratitude of the natives, who had long been harassed by the bears.

The Spanish occupation of California was both military and spiritual. For defense against foreign invasion or Indian uprisings the secular government erected presidios, or soldiers' posts, at different points along the coast; for the spiritual conquest of the Indian the Franciscan Order, under Father Junípero Serra, established missions where the native might be converted to the faith, instructed in useful arts, fed and clothed. In 1769 a mission and a presidio were established at San Diego; in 1770 similar establishments were made at Monterey; in 1771 the missions of San Antonio de Padua and San Gabriel Archangel were founded. Instructions from the Viceroy and the Visitador-general called for three additional missions. In 1772 Serra found it necessary to journey from Monterey to San Diego, and decided to found one of the required missions on the way, dedicating it to San Luis Obispo de Tolosa. Palou,

Crespí and Portolá had all mentioned the fertility of the Cañada de los Osos and its vicinity, and the Father-President resolved that this should be the location of the new establishment.

Serra, accompanied by Fages and an escort of soldiers, arrived in the latter part of August. The site selected for the mission was a gentle slope, at the foot of which ran the San Luis creek, a stream of sufficient size to supply drinking water to the settlers and irrigation for the mission lands. In the background towered two mountain peaks, to one of which was later given the name of San Luis Mountain, to the other—probably because of the mitre-shaped rock formation which crowns its summit—that of Bishop's Peak.

The ceremony of foundation took place on the first day of September. On the following day Serra departed, leaving the mission in charge of José Cavaller, a padre from San Antonio de Padua. Five soldiers remained to protect the establishment, and two Indians to assist in the labor.¹⁰

The first mission buildings, as was always the case, were rude, hastily constructed shelters. Palou tells us that when Cavaller first set about their erection, he caused a palisade to be constructed, within which were built "a church of timber and tule, and some rooms for the habitation of the padre, with the necessary offices, granary, and also a log and tule house for the soldiers of the mission guard."¹¹ In 1773 Palou brought to the mission five families of Baja California Indians, and for these newcomers huts were erected within the palisade.¹² In the following year there is record of the construction of a new church.¹³

The first years following the foundation of the mission were uneventful, and may be summarized briefly. Cavaller was soon joined by Padre Domingo Juncosa and, later, by Padre Joseph Antonio de Jesus Maria de Murguia—called by Palou and Serra "a model friar"—and Padre Antonio Paterna. The mission lands were put under cultivation, and maize raised in such abundance that Fages in 1775 expressed a belief that the San

¹⁰ Palou, *Noticias de California*; Vida; Bancroft, *Pastoral California*, p. 200.

¹¹ Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 203; Palou, *Noticias de California*.

¹² Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 361.

¹³ Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 239.

Luis Obispo region, in connection with the San Gabriel region, could supply all the other missions, rendering them independent of the San Blas supply ships.¹⁴ However, despite this optimistic view it is to be noted that when in the previous year a delay in the arrival of the supply ships had created a shortage of food in California, San Luis Obispo was one of the missions to which it was found necessary to send relief.¹⁵

The San Luis Obispo Indian, though friendly to the padres, was not attracted to mission life. The Serra memorial of March 13, 1773, and the Palou report of December 10 of the same year mention the discouragingly small number of conversions in a populous field, there being record of but 12 baptisms at San Luis Obispo as contrasted with 165 at San Carlos, 158 at San Antonio, 83 at San Diego, and 73 at San Gabriel.¹⁶ Palou attributes the failure of the missionaries to the abundance of food in the vicinity which rendered the Indians independent of the mission. Fages, in the report of 1775 mentioned above notes the curious attitude of the Indians of this region toward the Spanish settlers. They seemed to regard the latter as exiles, since, as they had not brought with them their families, they did not appear like permanent settlers; this belief said Fages, made the Indians lacking in confidence toward the newcomers, and he recommended that the soldiers of San Luis Obispo be encouraged to bring their wives and families.¹⁷

The year 1776 was memorable in San Luis Obispo annals. On March 2 of this year Captain Anza, on his way to establish a settlement on San Francisco Bay rested at the mission with his colonizing party. He was welcomed by Cavaller, Murgátegui, and Figuer, the last-named padres having been recently added to the mission force. On the following day Pedro Font, a member of the Anza expedition, celebrated mass "and preached on the gospel of the day which speaks of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, which he applied to the labors and rewards of the missionaries."¹⁸ After mass Font baptized a seven-year-old Indian, Anza standing sponsor to the boy. On the 4th the party proceeded on its way, marching through the Santa Lucia Range into the Salinas Valley, for the Cuesta

¹⁴ Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California*, p. 331.

¹⁵ Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 369.

¹⁶ Provincial State Papers.

¹⁷ Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California*, p. 331.

¹⁸ Englehart, *Missions and Missionaries of California*.

Pass was by this time well-known and the difficult route of Portolá no longer used.

On his return trip in April Anza remained for three days at the mission. While he was there Rivera y Moncada, now Comandante of Alta California, also arrived at San Luis; and now occurred a ridiculous episode which must have afforded the padres many a quiet chuckle. Anza and Rivera were both concerned with the San Francisco settlement, and each had much in regard to that affair which it was necessary to communicate to the other. However, an absurd quarrel over etiquette had estranged them, and now, when Rivera found himself under the same roof as Anza the sulky Comandante refused to speak to his colleague, stopped only long enough to drink a cup of chocolate, and hurried on to San Gabriel. This, at least, is the story told by Font.¹⁹ According to another version of the affair, Rivera presented Anza a letter of formal apology while at San Luis Obispo, and a request for an interview, which the latter refused.²⁰ In any case, the childish attitude of the two captains must have amused the mission fathers, never fond of the military.

In November of this same year a serious fire occurred at the mission which destroyed all the buildings except the chapel and granary, and burned the marriage records. It was caused by an attack of the Indians, who discharged burning arrows upon the tule roofs. Apparently the attack was not made with malice against the whites, but against certain Indians, sheltered by the mission, to whom the attacking gentiles were hostile. The uprising was reported, and Rivera arrived with a party of soldiers and captured two of the ringleaders; meanwhile services at the mission were suspended while the padres assisted in the repair of the buildings.²¹

This was not the last fire from which the mission suffered. Within a few years the Indians again fired the buildings, and again in 1782. In this last fire a large part of the mission buildings were destroyed, as well as 600 bushels of maize.²² After this last fire the padres of the mission set about the manufacture of tiles for roofing in place of the inflammable tule;

¹⁹ Font, the Anza Expedition of 1775-1776, p. 115.

²⁰ Richman, California Under Spain and Mexico, p. 113.

²¹ Bancroft, History of California, Vol. I, p. 298; Neve Report in Provincial State Papers.

²² Provincial State Papers.

these proved so successful that they were adopted by all mission buildings in California.

Apparently the last fire had injured the new church, for in 1793 there is a note of the completion of a new chapel of adobe, with tiled roof. This is the chapel which still stands; the building faces southeast, with the altar at the northwest end. The floor was paved with large square flagstones, of the substance known in the vicinity as Nipoma sandstone, quarried by the Indians from a mountain about thirty miles distant. Recent excavations have been made at the mission by Professor Owen C. Coy, of the State Historical Commission; in his report on these excavations Professor Coy mentions the irregular manner in which the walls are run, some of the right angles being as much as five degrees from true; this he attributes to the fact that the Franciscans worked with crude materials and with the assistance of only ignorant Indians. When one considers the disadvantages under which the poor padres labored, one wonders that they builded as well as they did!

In 1780 there is record of an unusually large crop of maize on the mission lands, with a surplus of 2,000 bushels.²³ The added wealth was probably needed, as in the same year the California establishments were called upon to aid their sovereign with "money and prayers" in the war between Spain and England, and to the fund raised San Luis Obispo contributed \$107.²⁴

In 1791 Padre Bartólome Gili was assigned to the mission, a man, according to report, of scandalously immoral conduct. In 1794 he left, being replaced by Padre Fernandez, whom Mugártegui (now Vice-President of the California missions) described as "un angel," and who therefore probably counteracted the evil influence of his worldly predecessor.

A few neophyte uprisings are reported at this time;²⁵ a certain Ballestero and his wife were rebuked by Governor Borica for seditious talk;²⁶ and a neophyte named Silberio was sentenced to labor at the San Diego Presidio for the murder of his

²³ Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 385.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 547.

²⁶ Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 593.

wife Rebecca.²⁷ With the above exceptions the chronicles for the years 1780-1797 contain nothing of interest.

The year 1797 saw the establishment of the second mission of San Luis Obispo County. The site had been selected in 1795 by Padre Buenaventura Sitjar of San Antonio, Sergeant M. Castro, and Corporal Ignacio Vallejo, being a spot about half-way between San Antonio and San Luis Obispo near the junction of the Estrella and Salinas Rivers, a place called by the natives Vahea and by the Spaniards Los Pozos (The Wells).²⁸ The new mission was founded on July 25, 1797, and dedicated to "Al Gloriosísimo Principe Arcangel San Miguel."²⁹ To its support the missions of San Antonio, San Luis Obispo and La Purisima sent a generous donation of livestock, which included 8 mules, 23 horses, 8 oxen, 128 head of cattle, and 184 sheep. Fifteen children were baptized on the day of foundation, and all augured well for the success of the new establishment.³⁰

However, trouble set in immediately. The mission had been assigned to the charge of Padre Sitjar and Padre Antonio de la Concepcion. The latter had hardly arrived before he gave evidence of a disordered mind. At times he fell into morose silence; at others he broke into shouts of unprovoked laughter. He assumed the manners of a dictator, scolded the mission servants, ordered about the guards, quarreled with Sitjar for not insisting that the natives speak Castilian, and in his first sermon informed these people that the padres as "lords and judges" had come to see that they cease the use of the native dialect and adopt the tongue of their masters. After twenty-seven days of this conduct a complaint was lodged with Father-President Lasuen, who ordered that the padre be shipped back to Mexico, an order in which Borica acquiesced. In Mexico Padre Antonio spent several years stirring up trouble for the Franciscans by memorials to the government accusing them of ill-treatment of the neophytes, disobedience to secular authority and other misdemeanors. Finally, in 1801 he was pronounced insane and sent to his home in Spain. His last public appearance was in Madrid, where, in the royal presence,

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 552; Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 474.

²⁹ Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 482.

³⁰ Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 559.

he distinguished himself by ringing a hand bell and giving vent to pious exclamations.³¹

Meanwhile, the mission of San Miguel had prospered, growing rapidly in wealth and population. The large area in its possession (comprising the northern and eastern lands of the county and, according to some accounts, extending westward to San Simeon) were utilized for the cultivation of wheat and corn, or for the grazing of sheep, large numbers of which were imported by the mission fathers. Vineyards and orchards were also planted, and it is to one of the former, located a few miles north of the mission, that the Vineyard Cañon of Monterey County owes its name. In the cultivation of their fields the padres did not depend upon the uncertain rainfall, but utilized the water of every available spring and stream; on the present Santa Ysabel ranch still exist traces of the irrigation ditches through which water was carried from the springs of this place to the fields and orchards of the mission.

With the Indians of the vicinity the San Miguel missionaries had little trouble. The fifteen baptisms of the first day were followed by others, and in 1799 neophytes numbered 285. However, though the San Migueleños were peaceable and friendly the same could not be said for the Tulareños, a hostile tribe from beyond the Monte Diablo, who frequently conducted raids against the Indians of San Miguel. Padre Juan Martin, the successor of Padre Antonio and Padre Muñoz, another mission priest, made expeditions into the region of the Tulareños in the hopes of winning them to the Christian faith, but as their marauding raids still continued it is probable that the preachings of the good fathers had no lasting effect.

As the mission of San Miguel had prospered, so too had that of San Luis Obispo. The few neophytes of 1773 had, by 1794, increased to the number of 814. As at San Miguel, vineyards and orchards were planted, and flourished well; maize was still the chief crop, but wheat and beans were also raised. At Santa Margarita, which was included in the San Luis Obispo lands, was established an auxiliary mission; here was erected a large adobe building, the ruins of which are still in existence. At one end was a chapel, with lodging rooms for the padre who at harvest time often spent several weeks here, the re-

³¹ Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico*, pp. 179-183.

mainder of the building was divided between rooms for the major-domo, his servants and guests, and a granary for the storing of the mission crops.

The most flourishing period in the history of the mission was during the administration of Padre Luis Antonio Martinez, that notable character in the mission annals. This energetic priest planted olives; he cultivated cotton from which were manufactured garments for the natives; he taught his Indian flock to catch otter; he built a launch which made trips to Santa Barbara; and, finally, he cultivated the mission lands to such good effect that the Santa Margarita storehouse was never empty.³² In addition to all this, he still further enriched the mission by the operation of a gold mine somewhere in the vicinity. Says José de Jesus Pico, in his "Acontecimientos en California," "To several of us Father Luis A. Martinez, in 1829 gave gold; to myself, Raimundo, and Gabriel de la Torre, and Francisco Soto, he made a present of about twenty ounces of gold, not coined but in little balls of one ounce each; because he had much affection for us who had been his pupils and acolytes here in the mission where we learned to chant church music . . . This gold must have been found at the place called San José, near the mission."³³ Quicksilver was also mined.

Martinez himself did not scorn the good things of this life, and tradition says that his table was always laden with the choicest of food and the richest of wines. His love of luxury once got him into trouble with his President, Sarria. Martinez, finding it necessary to travel to San Carlos, took it into his head to make the journey in a fine coach, with two natives, gorgeously attired, serving as coachman and postillion. When Sarria, who was noted for his humility, heard of this audacious display on the part of his subordinate, he delivered to him a severe rebuke—which, one fancies, did not abash the jolly Martinez to any great extent.³⁴

IV. THE MEXICAN REGIME.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century began the downfall of the Spanish Empire in the west. First to declare

³² Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, pp. 199-200.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 200.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 201

their independence were the colonies of South America, but California, still loyal, took no part in the struggle. In 1818, however, news came to San Luis Obispo that insurgents from the province of Buenos Aires, led by the rebel Bouchard, had raided the coast near Monterey, and were now on their way south, presumably to attack Santa Barbara.

Great was the indignation of Martinez on hearing of this attack. To José Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega, comandante at Santa Barbara, he sent some characteristic advice. "Remember the tactics of the Galicians. In the front ranks they placed women, and when the French, who always paid homage to women, advanced, they (the French) quickly abandoned warfare for gallantry. If you wish to conquer the insurgents you must do the same." Then, being a man of action, he gathered about him thirty-five Indians, armed them, and marched them to Santa Barbara, where he turned them over to De la Guerra. There was no battle, for Bouchard changed his plans and sailed away, but Martinez received the special thanks of the king for his conduct in the affair.³⁵

In 1821 Mexico declared her independence from Spain, and in 1823 the insurgent Iturbide was proclaimed emperor under the title of Augustin I. In 1825 a republic was substituted for the empire, with a federal constitution based upon that of the United States, and under this constitution California became a territory of the Mexican Republic.

The Franciscans, while not averse to independence from Spain, opposed the establishment of the Republic, for they realized that the new government would hasten mission secularization. Several padres refused to take the required oath of allegiance, and among these was Martinez. For this reason there was much popular agitation against him; he was accused of having sent away \$6,000 belonging to the mission in preparation for departing himself, and of planning to destroy all mission property before leaving—which stories may or may not have been true.³⁶ In 1830 he was tried for conspiracy, found guilty, and sent to Spain, where, it is said, he took with him \$10,000 belonging to the mission! So ended the California career of the most notable of San Luis padres.

As the Franciscans had foreseen, the downfall of the mis-

³⁵ Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 656.

³⁶ Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, pp. 504-505.

sions followed soon after the establishment of the Republic. The first step was marked by a decree of 1826 which gave all married neophytes who had been Christianized for fifteen years or from childhood, and who had means of earning a livelihood, permission to leave the missions. This was followed by the Secularization Acts of 1830, 1831 and 1833. By the end of 1835 San Luis Obispo mission had been secularized, and the secularization of San Miguel was accomplished soon afterwards.³⁷

As elsewhere, the fury of the padres at the action of the secular government was vented in a wholesale destruction of mission property at both San Luis Obispo and San Miguel. Cattle and sheep were ruthlessly slaughtered, while at San Luis two fig trees and a few grapevines, and at San Miguel a few pear trees, were practically all that remained of the once flourishing orchards and vineyards.

This is not the place in which to discuss the justice or injustice of the Secularization Acts. Undoubtedly, the change worked a hardship upon the padres; but undoubtedly, too, California as a whole benefited by the opening of the mission lands to individual settlement. In the old days, private grants had been difficult to secure. In 1786 Ugarte, the comandante general, decreed that any governor making a grant to an individual must first ascertain whether a grant conflicted with the claims of any mission. As much of the best land of the province was used by the missions, this left little opportunity for the private settler. The following case may be cited as an example: In 1789 Governor Fages granted a tract of land at Santa Margarita to Francisco Cayuelas, a retired corporal who had married a neophyte. The governor had neglected to find out whether the land was required by the mission, and in 1790 Lasuen filed a complaint, declaring that the Santa Margarita valley was needed by the mission for several purposes, but especially for the raising of swine.³⁸ The grant was revoked.

At the close of the Spanish régime there existed in California only about twenty large private grants; practically no land in the vicinity of the San Luis and San Miguel missions

³⁷ Norton, *Story of California*, p. 137; Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico*, pp. 253-255.

³⁸ Hittell, *History of California*, Vol. I, p. 544.

was owned by individuals. Following secularization the number of grants increased enormously. Richman notes that they had leaped from twenty in 1823 to approximately 600 in 1840.³⁹ In San Luis Obispo County alone over thirty grants were made between the years 1842 and 1845.

The names of San Luis Obispo grantees include many notable in the history of Spanish California. Grant of the Rancho Piedras Blancas was issued to José de Jesus Pico, cousin of Governor Pio Pico; of the Santa Ysabel to Francisco Arce, late secretary to Comandante-general Castro; of the Pismo to José Ortega, member of a family prominent since the first occupation of California. The two sons of José Mariano Estrada, a man who for twelve years had acted as alferéz at Monterey, obtained the Santa Rosa and San Simeon grants, while to their cousins, Joaquin and Pedro Estrada, were issued grants of the Santa Margarita and Asuncion respectively. The Huer Huero Rancho was granted to Mariano Bonilla, Mexican lawyer and teacher, and ex-secretary to Figueroa; the Corral de Piedra to Villavicencio, a captain under Alvarado, a comandante at Santa Barbara, and (in 1840) acting prefect at Monterey.

Several who obtained land during this period were neither Spaniards nor Mexicans, for with the establishment of the Republic many American traders and sea captains had come to California, married Spanish women, and settled on the public domain. On the Nipomo Rancho lived Captain William Dana, member of a well-known eastern family; his wife was Doña Maria Josefa Carillo, daughter of the Don Carlos Carillo who in 1837 was appointed provisional governor. Isaac Sparks, a New England fur trader, obtained the grant of the Huasna Rancho. Captains James Scott and John Wilson, entering into partnership, became joint purchasers of the San Luis Obispo mission, and also grantees of the Cañada del Chorro and the Cañada de los Osos Ranchos. Captain Wilson married the charming widow of Don Romualdo Pacheco, the mother of another Romualdo Pacheco who in 1876 became Governor of the State of California. The beauty and charm of Mrs. Wilson has been mentioned by all visitors to California who had the pleasure of knowing her. William Heath Davis remarks that she was one of the most attractive of her countrywomen; Sir

³⁹ Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico*, p. 348.

George Simpson is yet more enthusiastic, and states that she was the prettiest and most agreeable woman that his party had met, whether at San Luis or elsewhere.

The history of California during the Mexican régime was that of one rebellion after another. Governors appointed by the federal government were deposed by insurrectionists, who set up others in their stead. The story of the period is confusing and by no means interesting, and need not be told in detail here. Suffice it to say that American settlers eager to obtain possession of the province took advantage of the unsettled conditions and, in 1846, raised the famous "Bear Flag" and declared the existence of the California Republic, at the head of which was put Colonel Fremont. This entirely irregular act was soon afterwards legalized by the declaration of war between the United States and Mexico. Commodore Stockton, sent to conduct the war in California, decided to adopt the acts of the Bear Flag party, and accepted the services of Fremont's California Battalion of Mounted Riflemen. In the meantime General Kearny entered Southern California by way of New Mexico. For eight months the invaders met with stubborn resistance, especially from the Mexicans in the south under Andres Pico. However, with inferior numbers and equipment the Californians had little chance. On January 8, 1847, Stockton routed the enemy at San Gabriel and captured Los Angeles. Five days later Fremont arrived from the north, and to him Andres Pico surrendered at Cahuenga. With the surrender of Pico the conquest of California was complete.

So passed the old Spanish province into the hands of the Anglo-Saxons. Much has perforce been left untold for lack of space. Yet let one story be added, and one most suitable with which to close the picturesque period of Spanish and Mexican rule.

When Fremont passed through San Luis Obispo on his last march to the south he arrested Don José de Jesus Pico, whom the Americans accused of having violated his parole and used his influence to incite the Californians to resistance. Pico was court-martialed, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. On the morning set for the execution a procession of weeping women, with faces veiled, passed slowly down the corridor of the mission to Fremont's headquarters. They were led by the beautiful Mrs. Wilson, whose face alone remained uncovered.

Entering the presence of Fremont they fell upon their knees, and with all the eloquence for which their race is famed begged that the life of Pico might be spared. Fremont hesitated, then, yielding to their prayers, turned to the prisoner and gave him pardon. The grateful Spaniard fell upon his knees, exclaiming, "I was about to die—I had lost the life God gave me—you have given me another life. I devote the new life to you." He was not faithless to his pledge, accompanying Fremont to the south, and, it is said, being instrumental in bringing about the surrender of his cousin Andres at Cahuenga.⁴⁰

Helen Mabry Ballard.

⁴⁰ The story is told by José de Jesus Pico in his *Acontecimientos en California* (mss. in the Bancroft Collection of the University of California); by Fremont in his *Memoirs*; and by Swasey in *Early Days and Men in California*.

MONTEREY IN 1796

In the latter part of October or November 1, 1796, the "Otter," Captain Ebenezer Dorr, sailed into the port of Monterey, the first American vessel, so far as known, to touch at a California port. The "Otter" was a northwest trader and had run out of provisions, and Dorr concluded to stop at Monterey to secure supplies, if possible, before proceeding to China. A full account of the "Otter's" trading operations on the northwest coast and her visit to Monterey is to be found in a little-known work published in Paris in 1824, in two thin volumes, bearing the following title:

Mémoires Du Capitaine Péron, Sur Ses Voyages Aux Côtes D'Afrique, En Arabie, A L'Ile D'Amsterdam, Aux Iles D'Anjouán Et De Mayotte, Aux Côtes Nord-Ouest De L'Amérique, Aux Iles Sandwich, A La Chine, Etc.

I confess to some doubts about the authenticity of this narrative, which begins in 1783 and continues for some twenty years. In the preface a friend of Peron, one M. Benard, who prepared the work for publication, states that he obtained the material from Peron at his home near Saumur, but there are some indications that Peron was a fictitious individual and that Benard prepared the work from miscellaneous sources. Nevertheless there is contemporary corroborative evidence that Dorr was in Monterey at this period, and there are many indications in the account of the proceedings on the northwest coast and in California that this part of the work was prepared from some authentic source. As Peron's account of Monterey seems to be entirely unknown, I append herewith a translation.

"Monterey is the residence of the Governor General, whose jurisdiction is extended over all the Californias from the 23d to the 38th degree of north latitude. From accounts which I managed to obtain around the country, the population can be estimated at about four or five individuals per square league, and which promises to increase very rapidly. The beauty of the climate and the fertility of the soil are the causes which favor the growth of the country. Civilization has not made great progress. The zeal of the missionaries has up to the present encountered a stubbornness in the natives, although it

has softened their customs, which is a great step towards a better order of things.

The bay of Monterey at its opening is from twenty-two to twenty-four miles wide between two points, one named Nouvelle-An at the north, and the Point of Pines at the south, which bear the one from the other, northwest,—the one a quarter west 5° north, the other southeast 5° one quarter south. Its greatest depth inside of the line of opening does not exceed twelve miles, although one can anchor at any point in thirty fathoms of water two miles away from the shore. The choicest and safest anchorage is inside the Point of Pines, the coast running to the south about two miles and then to the east, deviating somewhat towards the north, which forms a bay where a vessel can be protected from the west and southwest winds, which, blowing through the opening of the bay, are very violent and very injurious to vessels. The fort, which the Spaniards call the presidio, is constructed on the Point of Pines and dominates entirely the anchorage. The landing must here be made on low and swampy ground, which causes a great deal of embarrassment, especially at low tide.

The object of our touching the port was to secure food and other provisions. Our first step, therefore, was to go to the governor. Mr. Dorr and I left to go on shore. At the landing we were received by an officer of the post and by the secretary of the governor. These gentlemen had brought with them horses which they offered to us, but we had the sailors tread, which gives but little grace to a rider, and it may have been for the pleasure of the walk or for our amour propre that we preferred to go on foot. The gentlemen were good enough to accompany us in the same way. The route we had to follow was an uncultivated plain, but the soil, light and covered with verdure, offered to the eye the appearance of a rich vegetation. At the end of an hour we reached the door of an enclosure which appeared to be of considerable size. The guard was composed half of infantry and half of cavalry. We entered a building on the right. The sight of a camp bed showed us we were in the guard room. It was two o'clock, and our audience with the governor was at 3:30, so to occupy the time of waiting we were offered an excellent cup of chocolate. This delicate attention was very well received by us, as for men who were accustomed to salt fish and biscuit it was a great treat. At the appointed hour a sergeant came to tell

us that the governor was ready to receive us. Before reaching his apartment we had to cross a big square enclosed in walls twelve feet high. The apartment of the governor is, like the storehouse and the rest of the buildings devoted to the garrison, situated in the back of the place against the western wall and facing the east. These different buildings are of the slightest character, have only one floor and can only be sufficient to lodge a hundred people, a number entirely out of proportion for the guard and police of a district as large as that of Monterey.

The governor did not belie the opinion which we had conceived of his affability. In that first interview, as in all the others we had during our sojourn, he showed us great courtesy and helped us in every way he could. For my part, I will always cherish his memory as I shall never forget the tender interest that he displayed in me. M. Muir, of whom I have had occasion to speak more than once, having preceeded us in Monterey, had told about my abandonment at the island of Amsterdam, my misfortunes, and the matter of my relations with M. Dorr. The governor had the kindness to give me good advice and letters of recommendation for the rest of my voyage. So much loyalty, so noble assistance, never receive the price they deserve. The governor had a great deal to complain about M. Dorr. Five sailors of those we had taken at Port Jackson had left the vessel. The governor, who did not wish to keep foreigners under his government, had them sent back on board with precise orders to put them under civil guard. M. Dorr, who did not wish to pay these men the price of their engagements, put them on shore a second time. Before leaving Monterey I have to relate a fact which will not give a good opinion of the progress of industry in this part of the world. To complete our cargo of flour we lacked about 380 pounds. The governor, in order to hurry these provisions, gave the order in my presence to augment the number of millers. I showed my surprise and could not understand how so many people were necessary for so simple an operation. 'In Europe,' said I, 'the smallest mill would produce a hundred pounds an hour.' 'Follow me,' said he, laughing. In the workroom where he took me, fifteen to twenty Indians were seated on their heels, having in front of them a flat stone two and a half feet in length and a half a foot in width. They had in their hands another stone of prismatic shape with which they were grinding

the grain. This was the method used by the savages and some of the negroes in the colonies, but for the capital of a government as extended as that of California I could not understand why a mill was not established like the ones in Europe. The governor told me that M. de Perouse had shown the same surprise that I had, and that he had the kindness to leave a model for a mill of a form as simple as it was economical, but that in spite of his encouragement and his orders, no worker up to that time had been found willing to put his hand to the work. The aspect of the town shows ignorance in the arts and a stationary state of the country. The houses and cabins are constructed without taste, the furniture coarse, the utensils imperfect,—an absolute lack of the conveniences of life—such is the picture that everything showed. Industry is in general the feeble side of Spanish establishments and it is for this that they cost so dear to their government. The governor did not answer my just objections, he avowed only that he had to regret that he had proposed different methods of amelioration without avail.

November 8, 1796, our crew being composed of only fourteen men altogether, in place of the thirty-one which we counted on leaving Port Jackson, we got under sail at day-break with a light breeze from the southeast. On the 9th in the morning the coast showed itself northeast to east, about fourteen miles in distance. At noon we estimated our location as $35^{\circ}43'$ in latitude and $237^{\circ}37'$ [east] of longitude, and at three o'clock in the afternoon we entirely lost sight of land."

At this point in the narrative there is a footnote giving an extract of a voyage in 1813 by E. [Peter] Corney, second in command of the schooner "Columbia" of London, taken from the London Literary Gazette of 1821. Corney was in command of the "Santa Rosa", a part of Bouchard's squadron, which appeared on the California coast and sacked Monterey in November 1818. Corney's narrative was reprinted from this magazine in Honolulu in 1896.

In this narrative Peron states that the "Otter" arrived in Monterey November 1 and left November 8. Mr. H. H. Bancroft discovered in the archives copies of two letters from Diego de Borica, the governor, dated November 5 and November 12, in which an account is given of the stay of the "Otter", and this substantially agrees with Peron's account except for

the difference in dates, as Bancroft says she arrived October 29 and left November 6.

In the Archivo Nacional of Mexico, Section of Provincias Internas, Vol. VI, will be found the original letters of Borica, together with a large number of documents about the men and the woman whom Dorr put on shore at Monterey. Altogether there were ten men and one woman, and in the list of the names given, some of which are hardly recognizable, there occur three—Andres Lambert, Juan Rich and James Gibson—who claimed they were from Boston. The party were sent to San Blas in 1797, and in March 1798 were sent to Mexico, one dying en route. In July, 1798, all were sent to Havana except Lambert and the woman who claimed to be his wife, and one Prichard. In 1800, apparently, Lambert and his wife were baptized as Catholics, and in October, Juana, the woman, was in Mexico, where she made a declaration that she had been married to Lambert about fourteen years before. Most of this time Lambert was working at Vera Cruz, but Prichard had gone to Havana where he was working in a shipyard. They wished to remain in Mexico but the Viceroy, after consulting with the home government, finally ruled that they could be naturalized in Spain, or if they did not wish to do this they should be sent to their own country. According to a letter from the governor of Vera Cruz, September 1802, Lambert and his wife finally elected to go to Spain within two months. This is the latest document in the expediente, so what became of them is unknown. The party were apparently British convicts whom Dorr had taken on board at Port Jackson in Australia.

In the expediente there is some correspondence about a draft on Boston for 41 pounds, 12 shillings, which Dorr gave to Governor Borica in payment for food. There is no direct evidence that the draft was paid except that the equivalent in Mexican pesos was finally credited back to Monterey.

H. R. Wagner.

DOCUMENTARY

(Continued from page 95)

[The original of the proclamation which follows was not found by Mr. Bancroft, nor have we been more successful. We reproduce the translation which is found in Larkin's Official Correspondence II, 71-72, in the Bancroft Library.

The Citizen José Castro, Lieutenant Colonel of Horse in the Mexican Army, and acting General Commandant of the Department of Upper California.

All the foreigners pacifically residing amongst us, occupied in their business, may rest assured of the protection of all the Authorities of the Department, always admitting that they mix in no revolutionary movements. The General Commandancia under my charge, will never lightly proceed against any person whatever, neither will it be carried away by mere words, wanting proof to support them; there shall proper declarations be taken, proofs exacted, and the liberties & rights of the laborious which is always commendable, shall be protected.

Let the fortune of war take its chance with those ungrateful persons who with arms in their hands, have attacked the Country without remembering that at some former time, they were treated by him who subscribes, with all that indulgence of which he is characteristic, the impartial inhabitants of the Department are witnesses to the truth of this, I have nothing to fear, my duty must conduct me to death or Victory, I am a MEXICAN SOLDIER, and I will be free and independent, or die with pleasure, for these inestimable blessings.

Head Quarters, Santa Clara, June 17th, 1846.

(Signed) JOSÉ CASTRO.

And that this may reach the notice of all, I command that it be published & circulated, and posted up in the customary conspicuous parts.

Monterey, June 22, 1846.

(Signed). J. S. ESCAMILLO, Alcalde.



[From Larkin's Documents IV, 167.]

[Original.]

Vice Consulate of the United States.

Yerba Buena June 19th, 1846.

Thomas O. Larkin Esqr.

Dear Sir:

Having the means of sending you a communication as far as the "Pueblo"; I deem it not improper to enclose you a

copy of a "Proclamation" which reached us yesterday from the camp at "Sonoma"; and also to inform you of such other information as can be entirely relied upon, it being from the only authentic sources.

Sonoma" was surprized on Sunday morning last by 34 men—their present force it is impossible to give, as no one pretends to know how many they now have at their camp on the Sacramento and in the surrounding country. They took prisoners Don Guadalupe and Salvador Vallejo Col. Prudon and Mr. Leese, these they escorted to thier camp on the Sacramento. They also arrested the "Alcalde" but he accepted a commission under the new Commandant of Sonoma, and now continues his duties under that commission.

The Prisoners were assured that no injury to thier persons or property should be permitted, when Genl. Vallejo at once placed at their disposition fifty horses, and all the provisions they might require in the Garrison. The Commander in Chief assured him that the horses should be well cared for, and an exact account kept of all stores consumed by necessity—and no waste permitted. And that to their utmost ability they would pay full value for everything required.

Before Don Guadalupe left under his escort, he directed Don Jose de la Rosa to proceed to Capt. Montgomery (if he could leave the place) and request him to send an officer or otherwise use his influence with the Garrison to prevent any injury to the defenseless inhabitants; he did not ask Capt Montgomery to take any part in the matter—or even to intercede for his own release: which Capt. Montgomery also assured de la Rosa that he could not do—but if he thought the presence of an officer would calm the fears of the inhabitants he was disposed to send one—although for himself he considered from the messengers own statements no danger to unarmed poeple could be apprehended: however before the officer left, Capt. Montgomery received a messenger from the Commander in Chief William B. Ide, informing him of the change in the political condition of Sonoma, and the Valley of the Sacramento. The messenger hoped the officer would go up that the Capt. might learn for himself that all had been done in good order, and that no injury had been, or would be done.

Lieut. Missroon went up, taking with him both messengers. He found all quiet, the place in the most perfect order;

under strict Military discipline; and on asking the "Alcalde" the question—he assured him, that except in the capture of the officers no act of violence to person or property had taken place.

Mr. Missroon witnessed the following scene, (or rather the trial which occurred) A young man of the garrison went to the "Corral" to "lasso" a horse, a horse kicked him violently injuring him and giving him much pain:—in his anger, he picked up a rifle and killed the horse on the spot; whereupon he was at once arrested by the Commander in Chief, carried before the "Alcalde"; a jury summoned and the culprit put on his trial for the offence. He acknowledged the act, and the Jury assessed the horse to be worth \$30. and that he must pay that amount to Genl. Vallejo the owner. The man now proved that Genl. Vallejo owed him over \$50. for monthly labor and he would give a certificate that \$30. of the debt was paid; The "Alcalde" admitted the plea—gave the certificate to Madam Vallejo, and dismissed the Prisoner who resumed his duty in the garrison (Certainly this was prompt and equal justice! have you ever heard of such dispatch in a law suit in California before?)

There is no doubt but the most determined and chivalric spirit, actuates the men now under the command of "Ide" as their elected chief; and that they are actuated by a spirit which forbids them to commit any act of violence, or injury upon any one.

They have three hundred stand of arms, including Rifles, Muskets, Carbines and Pistols in their garrison of "Sonoma," with eight pieces of Cannon—and plenty of ammunition; and Its supposed they will use them with terrible effect if they are attacked.

It is impossible to say how many men they have—but I think the "Proclamation" will call many to their "Banner"—which is A white "field", with a red "border," a large "Star" and a Grisly Bear! Such is the Flag of Young California!

Mrs. Vallejo was permitted to send her brother with an open letter to Genl. Vallejo, (on the 17th) and also an account of the interview of de la Rosa, with Capt. Montgomery; the messenger had a passport given him to go to the upper camp and return.

(The "Proclamation seems to please many who have read it, I have no idea what the California officers intend to do in the premises.

I have nothing further to-day, but should be glad to hear from you: hoping that there is not so much excitement with you as we have here)

I remain Sir your Öbt. Svt.

WM. A. LEIDESDORFF

Thos. O. Larkin Esqr.

U. S. Consul Monterey

[In the first paragraph of the above letter Leidesdorff says that he is enclosing a proclamation. The proclamation is not found attached to the letter in the Larkin Documents, but included amongst the documents in the Sloat manuscripts is a copy, in the handwriting of J. H. Ackerman, Leidesdorff's clerk, of the second and final proclamation, that dated June 18. No original of this seems to be known, but there are several copies, which do not differ except in the most minor and unimportant respects. We append the one found in the Sloat Manuscripts as being undoubtedly a contemporary copy, made by a good penman and probably transcribed with care.]

Proclamation. All persons residing in California who will remain peaceable shall in no wise be molested and injured.

The commander of the company of soldiers now in possession of the town of Sonoma, promises on his word of honor to all the Californians who do not take up arms against him, peace & security and in case any of the said commanders people should in any wise injure any person not concerned, on application being made to the above mentioned authority, the offender or offenders shall be punished, the party injured not having taken up arms

The commander wishes to establish a good government for the prompt administration of Justice and with a strict attention to individual rights & liberties and not with the intention of molesting or permitting to be molested any person on account of their religious opinions.

The new Government will work indefatigably to the end of acquiring every thing that may be beneficial to the country.

This Government will reduce the Marine duties three or four parts in a thousand. It will defend its rightfull intentions with the favour of God & the valour of its adherants. The Government of this country has ordered us to retire the same way we came & as this is impossible on account of our poverty, we have determined to make this Country independent & to

establish a system of Government that will be more favourable to us than such a long & dangerous road back.

I order that this be published with a translation likewise that of the 15th of the present month in English & Spanish

June 18th 1846

(Signed) WILLIAM B. IDE
Commander in Sonoma

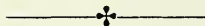
[One copy of this proclamation has the following addition:]

The 14th day of the present month—the present Commandant took possession of the town of Sonoma and up to this date there had not been the least disorder there having been taken nothing but arms, ammunition and Horses and for whatever else they may have required they have solicited it of individuals under a promise of payment in full value the moment the Government is properly installed in the Republic of California which they are determined to do.

—former date—

JOSE S. BERREYESA—Alcalde 1st
in Sonoma

[The above proclamation was found posted up on the morning of the 27th of June, 1846, in the Port of Monterey.]



[Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts, from a contemporary copy.]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
June 20th, 1846.

Sir,

I have this moment received your note with the intelligence of the detention of your letter at Sta. Clara which I much regret; and I am surprised to hear that two hundred men have been collected so soon to oppose the insurgent force at Sonoma. My boat has just returned from Fremont's, bringing news that all persons were taken to Fremont's camp by the request of Genl. Vallejo and his companions who desired his protection. Captain Fremont's neutral position preventing him from taking charge of them, caused their removal to Sutter where they are now retained as hostages.

Sutter with all his men has joined the insurgents, first throwing up his Mexican commission, their force must be considerably increased above the original number, and from all

I hear, I doubt whether they can be easily dispersed. Should Castro march upon them, we shall probably (from the character of the men composing the insurgent force for accuracy in the use of arms, soon hear tidings of interest, and of decided character in the history of California.

My position you know is neutral: I am a mere observer of passing events, looking out solely for the security and interest of our country, and countrymen in an honest way. I know of no way consistently with this view of doing what you name, but feel not much concerned on that account for reasons before stated. Let me know if any thing more of interest transpires.

I shall move to Yerba Buena the beginning of the week should it be found expedient.

In haste Yours

Respectfully

To (Signed) JOHN B MONTGOMERY
Wm. A Leidsdorff Esq, Commander
Vice Consul of the U States.



[Larkin Documents IV, 171. Bancroft Library.]

[Original.]

Yerba buena June 21st 1846.

T. O. Larkin Esqr.

Dear Sir

Yours of the 19th inst came duly to hand this morning, I emidiately dispatched a boat to Capt. Montgomery, who has written a letter to Comr. Stockton which I forward to you, you say that I dont give you information enough or as much as the Capt: gave you, the fact is that I waited for the Captain to write first and then wrote my letter in a hurry I have had a long one ready for you for 3 days I have not been able to get a courier either for love, or money, one man asked me \$50 cash and so on, I now send you the letter I have had ready for some days, Sutter has joined the rebels, (so called) which you will se by a copy of Capt. Montgomery's letter to me, I am told that some of the Calafornians has driven all their horses of to the sea cost so that Castro will not get them.

I Remain your Obt Servt

WM. A. LEIDESDORFF

[From a contemporary copy in the possession of Mrs. Luisa Vallejo Emparan, General Vallejo's daughter.]

Sierra de Petaluma

Junio 22 de 1846.

Mi estimada hermana, á noche recibí tu apreciable donde me dices que el Capitan de esa partida te dijo que tiene gente para recibirme y que te dijo tambien que si yo les hago daño el se lo hacia a las familias; y en Contestacion te digo para que no tenga cuidado que esta gente que tengo reunido no está en el fin de hacerlo daño a ese Sõr ni a su gente es verdad que tenemos mucha indiada armada y gente de razon y si huvieramos tenido intencion de hacerles daño ya lo huvieramos hecho y para creas mejor lo que te digo; si tu quieres puedes decirle de mi parte y de parte de toda esta gente al Sõr Capitan de esa partida que nunca hemos pensado nosotros hacerles el mas lebe daño con nuestras armas como hasta hora no lo hemos hecho pues el fin unico con que nos hemos reunido, ha sido para cuidar nuestros intereses y reclamar por la via legal y la paz que nos cumplan todo lo prometido en los articuls de la proclama que dieron al publico prometiendo segurdidad de personas é intereses y por fin dile al Sõr Capitan que si el se halla en buena disposicion de tener paz con nosotros para evitar otros disturbios que no mas tenga la bondad de mandarmelo decir por escrito y que al momento nos dirigiremos á él de buena paz y le manifestaremos los motivos que tenemos para estar reunido todo este vecindario y que si no nos priva del derecho que nos asiste que al momento entregaremos a tres individuos de los suyos que tenemos Contenidos en nuestro Campanto. Si dho Sõr Capitan admite a nuestra proposicion que yo luego á nombre de todo este vecindario dile que a las ocho o las diez de la mañana estará un oficial del mismo vecindario en Petaluma para que reciba la contestacion y que el que la reciba cítará tiempo y el punto en que deberá entregar la representacion de esta vecindario pues aunque obramos de acuerdo con el Sõr Comand.te Gral nos conformamos no mas con que se nos haga justicia y no mas Soy tu hermano que te aprecia=

Jose Ramon Carillo.

P. D. Hermana Si tu entregas esta carta saca antes borrador=Carillo

Es. fiel Copia

[We have no reason to doubt that this letter is genuine, Mrs. Emparan's mother having been Carillo's sister.]

[Translation]

Sierra de Petaluma
My esteemed sister:

June 22, 1846

At night I received your valued letter in which you tell me that the captain of that party told you that he had a force to receive me, and that he also told you that if I did any damage to them that he would retaliate on the families. In answer I tell you not to have any fear that this force which I have reunited is for the purpose of doing any damage to that señor or his force. It is true that we have many armed Indians and people of class, and if we had any intention of doing any damage we would have done it; and that you may believe better what I say, if you wish you can say for my part and in behalf of all this force, to the captain of that party, that we have never thought of doing the least damage with our arms, as we have not done up to the present, but the only design for which we have united ourselves has been to guard our interests and to lay claim in a legal way to the peace which has been promised us in the articles of the proclamation which was given to the public, promising security of persons and interests; and finally, say to the captain that if he has a good disposition to maintain peace with us to avoid other disturbances, to have the goodness to send to me and say so by writing, and immediately we will peaceably direct ourselves to him and make manifest the motives which we had in having brought together the neighbors, and if he does not deprive us of the right which belongs to us we will immediately deliver his three followers which we have detained in our camp. If the said captain admits our proposal which I make in the name of this community, tell him that at eight or ten o'clock in the morning there will be an official from the same community in Petaluma to receive the answer, and that the one who receives the answer will fix the time and place in which the representation of this community shall be delivered, for although we are working in accord with the Comandante General, we conform no more than to see that justice is done us and no more.

I am your brother who values you

JOSE RAMON CARILLO.

P. D. Sister, if you deliver this letter make a copy first.
Carillo.

This is a faithful copy.

PIO PICO'S PROCLAMATION

[Moreno Doc. 30-32. Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

1846 Junio 23 Sta Barba.

Gobr. Pico. Proclama contra los Estados Unidos.

El Gobor. Constl. del Depto. de Californias á sus habitantes dirige la sigte. **Proclama.**

Conciudadanos=Herido vivante y comprometido hasta lo sumo el honor nacional en la época presente, téngo la gloria de encaminaros mi voz en la firme persuasion de qe. sois mejicanos, qe. arde en vuestras venas la sangre de aquellos mártires venerables de la patria, y qe. no omitireis derramarla en defensa de su libertad é independa.

Acaba en este momto., compatriotas, de recibir vuestro gobo. departaml. la infausta nueva comunicada oficialmte, de los autoridades políticas de Monterey con 4 días defha que una gavilla de aventureros del Norte-América, y con la traicion mas negra qe. el genio del mal pudiera inventar, ha invadido el punto de Sonoma, enarbolando su pabellon y llevandose presos á cuatro ciudadanos Mexicanos. Sí, conciudadanos, i quien devosotros, al escuchar tan fatales perfidias, no abandonará el doméstico hogar, y volará con el fusil en la mano al campo del honor á vengar los ultrages de la patria? Seréis insensibles á la opresion en que nos quieren poner tan viles dominadores? no conmoverán los gemidos dolientes de la patria? Vereis con frente serena destruir el pacto fundaml. de nuestras sagradas y caras instituciones? No, no—léjos de mi toda sospecha en contrario; no creo de vuestro civismo, vuestro ciego amor á la patria qe. dejaréis profanas siquiera el árbol fecundo y bien hecho de la Sacrosanta libertad.

La nacion Norte-Ama. no puede jamas ser nuestra amiga. Ella tiene leyes, religion, idioma, y costumbres totalmte. opuestas á las nuestras. Ella, faltando á la mas leal amistad que Mejico le prodigara, al derecho de gentes, y á la mas sana política, poniendo en ejecucion sus miras piraticas, ha robado el Depto. de Tejas, y quiere hacer otro tanto con el de Californias; desmembrar así inicuamente el territorio Mejicano, bajando su pabellon de las tres garantias, y enarbolar el suyo aumentando el número desus fatales estrellas.

Volad presurosos, Mejicanos, en pos del traidor enemigo, seguidlo hasta las selvas mas remotas, escarmentad su audacia; y en caso contrario, formamos un cementerio en donde lapos-teridad recuerde con gloria de la hista. Mejicana el heroismo de sus hijos, así como se recuerda la gloria alcanzada con la muerte de aquel punado de ciudadanos destacados en el Paso de las Termópilas al mando del General Leonidas. Oid su lema. "Estrangero dí á Lacedamonia qe. aquí hemos muerto obedeciendo sus leyes." No imitarémos este noble ejemplo? Consentirémos que la Repa. del Norte traiga á nuestro Suelo de libertad la horrorosa esclavitud qe. permiten en sus Estados? Sufrirémos ver vender la sangre humana al precio del vil interes? Permitirémos, en fin, ver profanada la efigia augusta del Crucificado, y las dogmas de nuestra sagrada Religion?

Compatriotas. Corred velozmte. conmigo á coronar vuestras sienes con los laureles frescos de inmarcesible gloria; en los campos del Norte están esparcidos queriendo saltar á vuestras frentes nobles. Corresponde gustosos, Mejicanos, á los deseos de vtro conciudo. y amigo.

Pio Pico=Sta Barba., Junio 23 1846.

Ciudadanos extranjeros que pisais este suelo. El Gobo. Depl. os considera bajo la proteccion de las leyes y los tratados. Vuestras propiedades serán respetadas, y nadie os inquietará; y como tambien invite á la persecucion de los bandidos qe. han invadido el Norte de este Depto.

[The above may have been the last but one paragraph in the original. The whole is taken from a blotter-copy.]

[Translation from a contemporary copy in Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

The Constitutional Governor of the Department of California to their inhabitants addresses the following Proclamation

Fellow Citizens, wounded grievously and compromised to the utmost as the national honor at the present epoch is I have the glory to address you in the firm persuasion that you are Mexicans, that there glows in your veins the blood of those venerable martyrs of the country and that you will not fail to exercise it in defence of your Country and independence. Compatriots: Your Departmental Government has received

at this moment, the unhappy news communicated officially by the political authorities of Monterey dated four days ago, that a band of adventurers of North America, with the blackest treason that the genius of evil could invent, have invaded the position of Sonoma displaying their Flag and carrying off prisoners four Mexican Citizens. Yes, Fellow Citizens, which of you, at hearing such fatal perfidy will not abandon the domestic hearth and fly with gun in hand to the field of honor to avenge the outrages of the Country? Will you be insensible to the oppression under which such vile dominators wish to place us? Will not the afflicting groans of the Country move you? Will you see with a serene front, destroyed the fundamental part of our sacred and dear institutions? No, No. far from me all suspicion to the contrary, no, I believe in your civism, your blind love of country, & that you will not leave to be profaned, in any way the fruitful and beneficent tree of holy liberty.

The North American Nation never can be your friend. She has laws, religion, language and customs totally opposed to ours; She, failing, to the most loyal friendship that Mexico lavished upon her, to the law of nations, & to the most sound policy, putting in execution her piratical views has stolen the Department of Texas and wishes to do as much with that of Californias to dismember thus iniquitously the Mexican Territory, tarnishing its flag of the three guaranties and displaying "el sulto" with the fatal number of her stars augmented.

Fly quickly Mexicans after that traitor enemy, follow him to the most remote woods, punish his audacity, and in the contrary event, let us form a cemetery where posterity may call to mind the glory, of the Mexican history the heroism of her sons, as is remembered the glory gained by the death of that handful of citizens detached to the pass of Thermopylae under the command of General Leonidas. Hear this strange motto, placed on their monument that "here we have died in obedience to our laws. Shall we not imitate this noble example? Shall we consent that the republic of the north, shall bring to our soil of Liberty the horrible slavery which is permitted in the United States? Shall we suffer to be seen sold, human blood at the price of vile interest? Shall we permit finally to be profaned the august effigy of the crucifix and the Dogmas of our sacred religion?

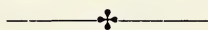
Foreign Citizens who tread this soil the Departmental government will consider you, under the protection of the laws and treaties, your property shall be respected and no one shall molest you, and as you are likewise proprietors interested in the peace and interior security, the Government invites you to the pursuit of the bandits who have invaded the North of this Department.

Compatriots, run quickly with me to crown your brows with the fresh laurels of unfading glory, in the fields of the north they are spread desirous to leap to our noble fronts.

Correspond Mexicans, joyfully to the wishes of your fellow citizen and friend

Santa Barbara June 23rd 1846

To the Sub Prefect of the district of Angeles for publication.



[Sawyer's Documents, 55-57.]
[Copy.]

Consulate U. S. of America
Monterey June 24th 1846

Sir

The three accompanying Proclamations have been issued at the Towns of Yerba buena, Sonoma and the Pueblo (town) of San José, This first of this month a party of twelve men (foreigners) met an equal number of Soldiers near new Helvetia and took from them without receiving any resistance about one hundred and seventy horses and mares the majority of the former belonging to the Government of California. On the 17th inst they and other foreigners took possession of the Town of Sonoma on the bay of San Francisco, carried off Don. M. G. Vallego Don Salvador Vallego, Don Victor Prudon, and Mr Jacob P. Leece, the two first are natives of this country, the third a citizen of France, Don M. G. Vallego was Military Commandant of Sonoma, Prudon was Captain and Secretary, these four persons are now on Feather River a branch of the Sacramento, held as supposed hostages to enable their Captors to further their designs, Some thirty of their party remain in charge of Sonoma, having to this time respected the property in the case with the exception of taking the Commandants horses. In the meantime General Castro with two hundred or

more Soldiers and citizens under his command remained at Santa Clara, two days ride or less from Mr. Ide's party the Town of Monterey has sent but a few citizens to Señor Castro and the most of them have stopped at the Mission of St. Johns (less than half way) I understand that Mr William B. Ide who signs the Proclamation to be a man of about forty five years of age, born in one of the Western States, an active, energetic and well informed man, came to California with a wife and five children in September or October 1845, they now reside on the Sacramento River, from our last notices from the North his party had not increased and they were expecting a large party in July from the Oregon, and in September several parties from the States, Mr Ide and party have a white flag, red fly end, with one star and a Bear in the Union

I give you this information as I receive it and believe it to be correct, in all probability General Castro will not go North to meet the other party he has however issued two Proclamations on the rising of the foreigners. The general and the Governor had a party against each other, each denying the authority of the other although both held their commissions of Mexico, perhaps the actual difference may consist in the laws of President Herrera appropriating two thirds of the Custom House duties to the Governor while the decrees of President Paredes places the whole at the disposal of the General

I am Sir

your most obedient servant

To

(Signed) THOMAS O. LARKIN

Hon. James Buchanan

Secretary of State

City of Washington

[From Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy of Francisco Guerrero's statement to Leidesdorff that foreigners will be expelled from the country, appended to the preceding letter. The Ide proclamation of June 18 and Castro's proclamation are found elsewhere.]

I have concluded to order all the Jueces of the towns under their charge, that they cannot under the most strong responsibility permit nor authorise sale or cession whatever of land or of said class of property without regulation by right and in

favour of Mexican Citizens advising those foreigners that are not Naturalized and legally introduced, that whatever purchase or acquisition they make, will be null and void and will be subject (if they do not retire voluntarily from the Country) to be expelled from it, whenever the Government finds it convenient.

William A. Leidesdorff Esqr.

God and Liberty

U. S. Vice Consul Yerba

April 30th 1846

Buena, San Francisco

(Signed) FRANCISCO GUERRERO

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

I Moscoviti nella California o sia dimostrazione della verità del passo all' America settentrionale nuovamente scoperto dai Russi, e di quello anticamente praticato dalli Popolatori, che vi trasmigrarono dall' Asia. Dissertazione storico-geografica del Padre F. Giuseppe Torrubia minore osservante di S. Francesco, cronologo di tutto l'ordine, e commissario general e della curia oltramontana. In Roma MDCCLIX. Per Generoso Salomoni Con lic. de' Sup. Small 8°. 83 pages.

This rare little work, of which few copies are in existence, although we know of three in California, namely, in the California State Library and in the collections of Mr. Huntington and Mr. Crocker, was written by one of the best known Spanish writers of the eighteenth century. Torrubia was a Franciscan of great talent, who finally became the commissary general in both Spain and Rome of several of the Franciscan provinces in America and in the Philippines. He lived in the Philippines for a while, and in one part of the book he tells us that in 1733 he himself made a voyage from the Philippines to Acapulco with Cabrera Bueno. Besides a history of the Franciscan order he wrote numerous works dealing with ecclesiastical law or with church questions of one kind or another.

The work is almost entirely devoted to a discussion of the discoveries of the Russians on the northwest coast as interpreted and mapped by Buache and De Lisle. Incidentally he discusses the possible migration of the Aztecs from Tartary across Behring Strait and down the western coast. The book begins with an account of a Dutch story of a passage from the Bacalaos to the South Sea, and which passage they called the "Strait of Anian." He says that this relation fell into the hands of Philip III, who ordered the Count of Monterey, then the Viceroy in Mexico, to send an expedition to verify it, and he then proceeds to give an account of the voyage of Vizcaino. On page 34 he refers to the document from the Chinese obtained by De Guignes, from which Buache in 1752 constructed his famous map showing the voyage of Leao-tung to Fusang. On page 45 he states that 41° north latitude was considered the end of California, and that at that time the Russians had come down to 55°, as shown on De Lisle's map of 1752. Pages 47-64 contain an extract from De Lisle's pamphlet, which contains his account delivered before the Academy April 8, 1750, and printed in 1752. On page 66 he says that some Russians

passed through Behring's Straits in 1640, and intimates that the Prussians had concealed this fact in order to give the credit of this discovery to Behring, who passed through in 1728.

In no part of the book does Father Torrubia give any account of California, but undoubtedly the work was written with the object of calling the attention of the Spanish government to the steady advance of the Russians from the north and the possible danger of their occupation of California, although he does not state this in so many words. This little work must have had considerable influence at the Spanish Court in bringing about the decision to occupy Alta California, and thus place some kind of a limit to the march of the Russians southward.

Most of Father Torrubia's writings are in Spanish, and it is not known why this particular work was published in Italian; probably it was originally written in Spanish.

NEW HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA

A History Of California: The Spanish Period By Charles E. Chapman, Ph.D. New York. The Macmillan Company 1921.

It had been our intention, before reviewing this book, to await the publication of the companion volume of Prof. Cleland, which is now in press and covers the American period of the history of California, but the delay in publication of this latter work has made it seem inappropriate to pass over another number of the *Quarterly* without some notice of Prof. Chapman's work. Especially is this the case in that, so far as we are aware, the two works have no connection with each other beyond the fact that together they represent a complete History of California. We do not understand that there has been any collaboration between the two writers; the subject has simply been divided at a convenient point of division, each writer covering that portion for which he is especially equipped.

The object which Prof. Chapman, and no doubt also Prof. Cleland, has in view in publishing this combined history is to produce a readable, up to date history of the state with the hope that it may also prove popular. The publication of any new history under such responsible auspices at once invites comparison with Bancroft's History, which has hitherto been accepted as a standard. An examination of the book will show that the work is largely based upon Prof. Chapman's previous work "The Founding of Spanish California." It is to this portion of the history of California that Prof. Chapman has devoted his attention, and naturally he is better qualified to write on that period than on any other. On the whole, bearing this particular fact in mind, it seems that a very fair sense of proportion is exercised in allotting space to the various episodes of California history. In attempting to write a popular book it is necessary to stress those particular episodes which are interesting to the general reader, and consequently we find in the book chapters devoted to the discoveries of the Cabrillo and Vizcaino expeditions and those of Gali and Cermeño. The view of Drake's voyage is taken from Mrs. Nuttall's latest book, whose ideas the author has accepted. There is a long chapter on the Bouchard incident, which is somewhat

dramatic but of no real importance. This has been written up largely from Peter Corney's book, as this contains more information on the subject than we have yet been able to discover elsewhere, although an account of the expedition was printed in Montevideo after the ship's return, which no one has yet consulted. There are also chapters on Galvez, Bucareli, Anza, the Spanish occupation of California, the founding of San Francisco, Serra, and Spanish Californian institutions.

On page 12 we learn that "It will be one of the purposes of this volume to show forth the Spanish achievement in truer perspective and to indicate its overwhelming importance as affecting the later acquisition of the province by the United States." It soon develops that Prof. Chapman's idea is that the Spaniards in colonizing Upper California acted on the theory that in so doing they were preserving the province for future possession of the United States, and that the discovery of gold was postponed two or three years so as to make it certain that this did not interfere with the United States' taking possession of the territory. At least it might be inferred that this is Prof. Chapman's theory, because the last sentence in the book states that "The work of Galvez and Bucareli, worthily carried on by the Spanish Californians, had reached its logical conclusion,"—that is, in the treaty of peace signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The method of writing history on a teleological basis is one in common use, especially in popular works, and no doubt all theories of the destiny of the United States to occupy California tend towards the self-glorification of Americans, and especially of Californians. They belong to the spread-eagle type of literature, which was so common a half century ago; but the ideas on this subject expressed in this volume seem to us rather grotesque and not in keeping with Prof. Chapman's reputation as an historical investigator.

In line with the same policy, probably, of popularizing the book, there are a number of generalizations which are characteristic of that class of literature. We refer only to two, one of which sounds rather strange coming from a man who is familiar with the history of the colonization of Mexico and South America by the Spaniards. On page 467 he states that "Inevitably the same fate [extinction] was in store for the Californian Indians that has been the lot of other backward

peoples in the presence of white civilization." In some parts of Spanish America the reverse has almost happened, namely, the submergence of white civilization under the pressure of the indigenes and their descendants, pure and mixed. On the same page he tells us that "In 1827 a Mexican law called for the expulsion of all friars from the republic." This is a mistake,—the law only called for the expulsion of all Spaniards.

Another rather rash generalization will be found on page 388, where Prof. Chapman tells us, speaking of the mission in California, that "It is the foundation upon which men of a later day have reared the structure of California history. It is the cornerstone of California art, literature, and sentiment." It seems to us that this is far removed from the truth. California literature as we know it has not been affected by the mission at all, and what is known as the school of California art took no notice of it whatever. It is true that in these days there is more or less sentiment among Californians about the old missions, but this sentiment seems to have taken practical form in very few directions.

Generally speaking, one forms the idea in reading the book that it is made up of a series of monographs, some of which have been written in times past and others recently composed to fill in the gaps. That certain chapters have been written at different times is evident from Mr. Chapman's confusion on the subject of the Spanish and Mexican peso, and as this is an important matter we feel obliged to notice his remarks. On page 239, in the footnote, it is stated that the peso was worth 50 cents, undoubtedly meaning by that, cents of the United States of America of 1921. On page 305 we are told in the footnote that the real, which was the eighth part of a peso, is ordinarily rated at $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents, but it has seemed best in the volume to calculate the peso as equivalent to a dollar [undoubtedly also a United States dollar of 1921]. This is no place to discuss the varying quantity of silver contained in Spanish and Mexican pesos, but it is sufficient to state that the Spanish and its successor, the Mexican peso, contained slightly more silver than the American dollar up to the time of what is usually known as the "demonetization" of silver. During the period covered by Prof. Chapman's work, the silver peso had equal or greater value than the American dollar had while it was being coined, or would have had if it had been

coined earlier out of the same quantity of silver. Many writers, in speaking of the value of the silver peso have spoken of it as if it were worth 50 cents, which value it had nominally some eight or ten years ago, but in speaking of the peso of before 1873 it is not only misleading, but entirely inaccurate, to speak of it as being worth 50 cents. It was actually worth a dollar or slightly more most of the time.

On the whole we cannot perceive that this book is in any respect superior to that part of the History of California written by Henry L. Oak, and which comprises the first three volumes of Mr. Bancroft's History of California. Prof. Chapman had more data at his command than Oak, but the added information does not materially change our views of the history of California. Although possessed of all the information that Mr. Oak had and a very considerable amount besides, we do not see that he has constructed a work which is at all comparable to that of his predecessor as a serious historical contribution, nor do we think that it is any more readable than that of Oak. As time goes on it is more and more realized that the work of Oak constitutes one of the few first-class historical works produced in this country, and that no one has yet been found to improve upon it. Unfortunately for his reputation, the identity of his work is lost in the thirty-nine volumes of Bancroft's History, wherein it is mixed up with some that is good, some that is bad, and much that is very indifferent. Oak possessed a high degree of critical acumen and utilized the materials at his command with great skill. In addition to all this he had a very happy facility of expression and a very good sense of proportion.

H. R. Wagner.



A California Pilgrimage. Being an account of the 65th anniversary of Bishop Kip's First Missionary journey through the San Joaquin Valley, together with Bishop Kip's own story of the events commemorated. Published at Fresno, California, for private subscription only. 1921.

These letters, three in number, originally appeared serially in "The Spirit of Missions," in February, March and April, 1856, and heretofore have never been reprinted. They form the

earliest accounts of travel through that part of the country. The expedition left San Francisco, October 1, 1855, and continued traveling until October 21. The three letters are: I. Los Angeles; II. Fort Tejon; and III. The Plains and Fort Miller. The Bishop was an accomplished writer and has given many interesting details of the country, the Indians, and the incidents of his trip. On leaving Los Angeles he naïvely remarks:—"Our driver was also well armed and the gentlemen with me had their rifles and revolvers. It may seem strange to an eastern reader to hear of a visitation being made with such accompaniments, but here there is no help for it." As the good bishop no doubt carried his prayer-book, it was truly a strange mixture of weapons both spiritual and carnal.

Two hundred and fifty copies were issued, illustrated, and beautifully printed by Bruce Brough at San Francisco.

Robert Ernest Cowan.



Gospel Pioneering: Reminiscences of early Congregationalism in California, 1853-1920. By William C. Pond, D. D. (Oberlin: Ohio), 1921.

Though not of the earliest clergymen in California (for Benton, Willey, and others were already active in 1849), the author of this biography was one of the youngest and most alert, and the one who has had the longest term of active service—from 1853, the year of his arrival, to the present year (1922)—when at the age of ninety-three, he is still so earnestly engaged in the work of the Oriental mission that with reluctance he has withdrawn from it long enough to complete the story of his life.

Dr. Pond was the first pastor (1853-1855) of the Greenwich St. Church in San Francisco; the next ten years (1855-1865) were actively passed in the mining towns of Grass Valley, Nevada City, and elsewhere on the frontier; he was in Petaluma (1865-1868); and for the last forty-seven years he has been tireless in laboring among the Chinese of San Francisco.

Robert Ernest Cowan.

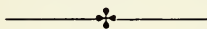
The City of the Golden Gate. A description of San Francisco in 1875. Written by Samuel Williams. San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1921.

A charming and intensely interesting word-picture; a literary panorama as it were, written when "Old San Francisco" was at the zenith of its pioneer glory, and before the altering influence of the Comstock wealth which followed.

The author has made a minute survey of the picturesque features and institutions of that earlier day. Many of these peculiarities had gradually disappeared before the march of progress, and those that still remained were finally obliterated by the destructive elements in 1906. The noticeable buildings of that day, such as the Safe Deposit Block, the hotels, Occidental, Lick, and Grand, the Railroad Block and others, are almost forgotten names. Old Chinatown was vastly different from that quarter of today. Emperor Norton and all of the characters, quaint and picturesque, have moved on forever, nor are their places filled with others. The hoodlum of that day has given way to the more vicious gangster of the present, and all of these bygone features are remembered only by the older members of the community.

The book is tastefully and beautifully printed at the Grabhorn Press, and privately issued for the members of The Book Club of California.

Robert Ernest Cowan.



The lore and the lure of the Yosemite the Indians their customs, legends and beliefs and the story of Yosemite by Herbert Earl Wilson with illustrations from photographs by H. C. Pillsbury. A. M. Robertson San Francisco, California MLCCCCXXII.

Mr. Wilson, the author of this charming little book, is a lecturer in the Yosemite for the transportation company, and many visitors to the Yosemite Lodge have no doubt heard him tell his stories about the Indians and describe the scenic wonders of that beautiful spot. Mr. Wilson has lived in the Yosemite for a number of years and has been most diligent in accu-

mulating from the few remaining Indians who come into the park in the summer everything that they are willing to tell about their past history or the history of the valley. Much of it is embodied in this volume, and besides one will find most beautiful descriptions of the wonders of the valley, couched in most poetic language.

THE NEW YORK VOLUNTEER

Reproduced from the drawing in the Hollingsworth Journal. This sketch was possibly intended to represent the Lieutenant himself.



California Historical Society Quarterly

JOURNAL OF JOHN McHENRY HOLLINGSWORTH

A Lieutenant in Stevenson's Regiment in California

THE STEVENSON REGIMENT

In 1846, the culmination of a long series of aggressions and acts of hostility on the part of the Mexicans determined the United States to bring all controversies to some conclusion, and accordingly war with Mexico was declared.

In the deliberations of the government the question of California was raised for early consideration. The territory of California was remote and but little known. It had been reached by a few Americans, some of whom crossing the Rocky mountains, came with small bands of trappers; a few others had come in whaling or trading vessels. It was almost a **terra incognita**. The long and tedious voyage from New York occupied from five to six months. Some rumors had filtered backwards of vague differences between the Americans and the Spanish Californians, and several outbreaks had already occurred. As a Mecca the popularity of California in 1846 was not great, and its attractions were not entirely alluring.

In the summer of 1846, very early in the war, President Polk decided to send a force of volunteers by sea to the Pacific coast. The purposes of this contingent and its mission were unusual, and quite different from those of the ordinary expeditionary force. The selection was made with great care and intelligence. They were not mere adventurers and gentlemen of fortune. They were active, able-bodied men who were accustomed to think and act and work. Each man was skilled in some useful trade or occupation. They were the men "who transform the material into the necessities and luxuries of human existence." As the regiment was to be mustered out in

California, each man was under obligation to remain there, and to assist in colonizing the country.

The commander was Col. Jonathan Drake Stevenson, then well known in New York, and subsequently prominent in California. His famous organization known as the "First New York Volunteers," or "Stevenson Regiment," consisted of 767 officers and men, rank and file. Many of them were under twenty-five years of age.

In September, 1846, under the command of Col. Stevenson, a part of the regiment sailed for California on board of the three ships, Thomas H. Perkins, Loo Choo, and Susan Drew, followed shortly after by the remainder of the contingent aboard the Brutus, Isabella, and Sweden. They arrived in San Francisco in March and April, 1847. The companies were assigned to various posts, and some of them saw action at La Paz in Lower California. They remained in active service until September, 1848, when they were mustered out. Company D, which was then at La Paz, was without doubt the last command of American troops to leave the soil of Mexico after the close of the Mexican War.

The discovery of gold in January, 1848, affected the members of this regiment but little, and it is to their credit that there were but few desertions, which speaks well for the character of the men. The rapid growth of the country following the gold excitement rendered their obligations of permanent residence more or less perfunctory, and some of them returned to New York. The great majority however remained in California, and as Historian John S. Hittell says: "Stevenson's men as a class became permanent, many of them worthy, and some of them prominent, citizens of California; thus justifying the wisdom of the cabinet in devising its plan of enlistment, and selecting the agents who accepted the men." Another eminent writer, Cronise, who with Hittell had known many members of the regiment says: "The volunteer service of the United States has been honored by the exemplary conduct of the members of Col. Stevenson's regiment."

R. E. Cowan.

JOHN McHENRY HOLLINGSWORTH

John McHenry Hollingsworth was born in Baltimore in 1823, the son of Horatio Hollingsworth and Emily Caroline Ridgely. His mother was a granddaughter of Samuel Chase, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

August 31, 1846, he was mustered into the service at Fort Columbus to serve for the war, as a brevet lieutenant in Captain Shannon's Company of the 7th Regiment (Stevenson's New York Volunteers). May 2, 1847, he was transferred to Company G, and was mustered out with that company, September 18, 1848, at Los Angeles.

After leaving the service, Lieutenant Hollingsworth remained in California in and around the Southern Mines, and in 1849 he was selected as a member of the Constitutional Convention at Monterey, from the District of San Joaquin. He took an active part in the deliberations of the Convention which formed the California Constitution, and after its adjournment, Governor Riley selected him as a bearer to the Government at Washington of the new Constitution.

Although he was one of the first in the gold regions, he accumulated no wealth, and after his return east was appointed collector for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. Sometime during this period he removed to Georgetown, where he became one of the officers of the Potomac Light Infantry, a crack militia company. On the breaking out of the Rebellion this company was incorporated into the 1st Battalion District of Columbia Volunteers, with Hollingsworth as major. He was mustered in, May 1, 1861, for three months, and mustered out as major, July 23.

No further record of him has been found until he was appointed Superintendent of Mount Vernon in 1872. On account of ill health he retired in 1885, and thereafter lived in retirement in Georgetown until his death from Bright's disease, April 15, 1889, leaving a widow, Virginia Nichols, daughter of Colonel William Nichols, but no children. Mrs. Hollingsworth survived him until 1895.

H. R. Wagner.

JOURNAL*

Sailed on Ship Susan Drew the 26 of September

[Sailed on board ship Susan Drew commanded by Capt Putman the 26th of Sept 1846 with troops on board bound for California.]

Nothing of any consequence occurred untill the twenty ninth when during a gale of wind we saw a vessel which created some excitement and many speculations as to what she was, and where she was going. nothing further until the second of October when orders were issued for the men to parade barefooted which was fun for them. two dolphins were caught the same day, they were fine eaten.

OCT. 7, saw a sail which we took to be the Perkins at half past seven fired a signal rocket. received an answer from her, when she bore down upon us passed within hailing distance but didnot hail

OCT. 19, put one of the men in the guardhouse for disobeying my orders

OCT. 20, had a gale of wind the water came in the cabin, wet all my clothes, spoilt some of them.

OCT. 26, a swallow came and lit on the vessel and was caught. it made me think of home I thought it might have come from there I thought of all at home and how much I should like to see them I must not let my mind dwell on home, I must go and try to win a name If I fall in battle I trust that I shall die like a soldier with my face to the enemy. I saw a great many fish of different kinds and a large shark that we failed to catch

What is your duty sentinel here to mind that porter barrel, sir, let no boats land, and let no sharks come on board.

*The Hollingsworth Journal, now in the possession of Mr. C. Templeton Crocker, is here printed for the first time. The original manuscript is written in a ruled notebook, 6x8½ inches, 327 pp., and illustrated with a number of pencil and watercolor sketches of scenes in South America and California. The entries are dated but are not always consecutively arranged. They are here placed in proper sequence. The spelling, punctuation and capitalization of the original have been followed. With the diary is a chronological summary of events. Those not mentioned in the diary are enclosed in brackets and inserted under their proper dates.

I do not like the sea If ever I can get to land once more
I shall never leave it You never feel well at sea. . .

OCT. 27. Written on guard at one oclock at night.

By each dark wave around the vessel sweeping,
Farther am I from old dear friends removed.
Till the lone watch I now am keeping,
I didnot know how much you were beloved

How many acts of kindness little heeded
Kind looks, kind words, rise half reproachful now
My friends my absent friends
Do you think of me as I think of you.
The busy deck is hushed no sounds are wakeing

But the watch paceing silent and slow
The waves against the sides incessant breaking
And rope and canvass swaying to and fro,
While red and fitful gleams come from the binocle

The only light on board to guide us, where,
My friends my absent friends
Far from my native land and far from you.

Several sails appeared in sight to day. It rained all day
We have had great rains. All our things were floating about
the cabin to day a butterfly came on board I tried to catch it
but could not. it must have flown from the coast of Africa it
was a pleasant sight to me. had I been on shore I should not
have looked at it. I cannot write the vessel shakes so much
How glad I am that I do not use tobacco how much money
I can save by not using it It is hard for a young man to be
steady for it is considered a merit to be disippated how much
a man has to struggle against it. It is well that I have a good,
Mother with god's help I will follow your counsel. I believe
she never forgets me in her prayer's. how much trouble have
I given her and how often have I grieved her and my sisters
Poor Emily you are not forgot how often in my watch do I
think of you. I might have lighten thy sorrows thy sorrows
have entered our poor Mothers heart.

OCT. 28. It rained all day we saw many large black fins
how much rain we have had it [is] so hot that we go and
stand on deck and get wet rather than go in our hot climate in
the cabin. How bad I feel to day I have never felt well since

I left home. A farmers life is the easiest one in the world and the best for health it has spoilt me and made me unfit for any thing else. I went to the guard house. it was full. most of my own company were in it they had broke the rules. By eaten below deck. it is very hot in there I cannot see how they do to breathe I felt for them. The lice were crawling over them. How glad I am that Ned didnt come on this expedition

Another rainy day every thing in our cabin floating how glad shall I be when I get on shore once more I was on guard last night and was obliged to place our sergeant under arrest for sleeping on his post. he will be tried by a court martial to day. I had a talk with Colonel Burten to day. he seemed anxious that we should get along faster. he has been very kind to me and I think favours me some times. Captain Negley [Nagley] has also been my friend. I heard part of a conversation between him and Uncle Chase, before I left New York. He said, "Negley if any thing happens to him, say he died a clever fellow and bury him with the honor's of war" He replied there's no danger of that, for we shall not see any fighting. Uncle Chase said but you may fall out among yourselves. . . I hope that neither will come to pass and that I shall return safe to my friends.

The harmony of our mess was broken for the first time to day. liquor was the cause of it. What a curse it is I wish that there was none. I have been brought up better. Thanks to a kind Mother I trust I may be preserved from it. how many fine young men are throwing them selves away by their folly. I would do anything to persuade Ned not to tamper with it. I hope when I see him again that he will be wiser.

NOV. 3. I am now seated in front of the cabin in the door way A swallow has lit on my knee. poor bird you could not find rest on the Ocean and you have found rest on me I will not harm you. may I always find as safe a place to rest as you have!

"All's well." Ide give the world if I could echo
Back that sound. All's well. It may be so with thee
Thou watchful sentinel,
But till my mind from sorrow free
I dare not say. All's well!

Written on guard

Mutiny is among us. The men of Company D were ordered to bathe, which they refused to do. Captain Negly seemed determined to be obeyed. Captain Shannon detailed some men from Company I, to carry the order in to execution. by some mistake all the men were composed of new recruits. they mutinied also, and they were sent to the guard house with the rest of the mutineers. The guard house is full. when will this end. Retired to bed early. Was waken by a great noise. The officer of the guard told me that he could not manage the prisoners. That they had broken down the door of the guard house, were out and tearing the house to pieces. I got up directly and advised the officer of the day to arm himself, told Pendleton to wake up the Captain. . Who treated it very lightly. The guard on the forecastle assisted the mutineers to throw the plank over board. they cheered long and loud. It now began to spread more. The rest of the men who had behaved well hitherto now joined in the cheering. We cannot do anything untill we get to Rio. Things then became quiet. The prisoners went and stood where the guard house was. The guard took their posts again. I now went to bed and slept late. There are too many gentleman soldiers with us. they are the cause of all our difficulties. These men must now be tried. What will be the issue I cannot tell. I hope I will not be on the Court Martial, for I should have to be Judge advocate, and do the writing. I had to put two of the prisoners in irons this morning. it was a very unpleasant duty to perform. We passed a quiet night. But the mutiny is not quelled yet. something more must be done. I fear a dreadful example must be made of some of them.

NOV. 4. What a beautiful night it was last night. I spent some time in the rigging thinking of home. I must dress for guard mounting. I shall have charge of the prisoners. I hope we shall not have any more trouble with them. They appear to be very much cast down. nothing has occurred of any consequence. The prisoners are to remain in irons untill we get to Rio. One of them named Kelly has a wife and daughter who are seated at his feet, while his wife is feeding him. His chains rattled in my ears all night.

NOV. 6. How tired I am of the Ship and of the sea life. We will cross the line to day. Neptune cannot come on board we are too strong for him. I sometimes, think that I ought not to have become a soldier, how much I have got to learn. I must study hard. How much I have neglected. How often I

feel mortified, but it has been part of my life to conceal my ignorance. I will strive hard and I mustnot be so down hearted. It is all my own fault. I have not had any reports in writing to do yet it has all fallen on the clerk. They think at home that I never tried. But I never was blest with intellect like any other person. I have always had a very indolent mind. But I shall improve I hope some of these days. I will not mortify my family if ever it is Gods will that I see them again.

NOV. 7. We are safe over the Equator, And the weather which has for the past week been very warm, is now very pleasant. We are sailing very fast this morning, with a delightful breeze. Nothing has occurred of any consequence. We have seen a great many flying fish. every body is cross and tired

NOV. 8. We have had a nother difficulty in our cabin with two of the officers. The mutiny is not quelled yet. We have had more trouble: Cpt Negley's servant behaved very badly he was sent to the masthead but would not stay there. A rope was tied around his waist. The men refused to hall him up. The officers where obliged to do it themselves. first taking the precaution to make all the men go below. he didnt stay long in his sling but climbed higher, and then came down He will be punished with the rest of the prisoners. Neptune didnt come on board to day. We were too strong for him, and intended to have shave'd him ourselves. The little drummer was taken sick to day and had a blister put on his head. I should like to know his history very much. he is far from his home and friends, Yet he is cheerful We have a disorderly set about us. None of them are fit for soldiers. There ought to be an example made of some of them. The more I see of a sailors life The more I dislike it. They are a set of tyrants. Their greatest pleasure it to tell you a lie of some kind, and then say they have quizzed you. I have had very little to say to Captain Putnam I do not know what to make of him. You can never find out on land, what a sailor is. What a rascal we have for a steward he makes away with our provisions. And the impudent black rascal, The cook, Is in league with him he is the biggest rascal of the two. he was on board of the Somers during the mutiny, and I think they are concerned in this.

NOV. 9. Mutiny again. Another man was placed in Irons to day, for disobeying orders. I had the prisoners in charge. I was relieved at four oclock, at Seven they got their irons off. It was found out by the Officer of the guard. They had been

thrown over board. The prisoners had new irons put on them which I do not think they will get off in a hurry. The officers were obliged to put them on. they went about it with the determination of doing it, none are to be trusted. This mutiny has spread further than any one thinks. I cannot convince the officers of it. I am prepared for them. Nothing would be easier than for them to take the vessel. some few might rally around their officers. They are now trying some of them. I am glad I am not on the Court Martial. They wanted to put me on as Judge Advocate they do not know how stupid I am, I am not competent to be one. I do not think there is an Officer on board that does not wish himself at home they will never volunteer again. A vessel is no place for soldiers, it does not suit them it was bad policy to send us by sea. You cannot have any discipline. I think if one were shot it would bring them to their senses.

Some of the disagreeables of sea life. You cannot take any exercise The vessel rolls so much that you never feel well. The fleas are very troublesome. If you get up early you will find the deck wet they are always washing it at that time. There is no comfort at sea There is always a salt or damp smell on your cloathes from the spray you spoil all your boots. I look round from day to day, and see nothing but the blue water. There is no place like the sea for reflection. And if a man would but keep the resolutions that he makes when seasick he would be a better man. I have not described sea sickness yet, But I shall never forget that part of my voyage. it is not to be forgotten. I have not received any benefit from it yet as regards my health. I think I have fallen away.

NOV. 11. I saw a large porpoise this morning. it was before any one was up. I thought for sometime to day upon a plan that I have had in my head, Of making a settlement in California. I have had some conversation with some of the men about it I think I can find some trusty person to join me. We have all planned what we are going to do when we get to Rio. We have a beautiful boat to go on shore, and a picked crew. nothing has been seen of the fleet since we left New York. The Preble has not been any assistance to us. We wanted her badly to put our prisoners on board. I have spent the last few days studying. I have studied hard. We had a fine cake to day for lunch. We all thought it very nice If we had been on shore we would not have looked at it, but at sea you

put up with any thing. The water that you drink you would not wash your hands in on shore. I never was as careless as I now am in my dress I have paid no attention to shaving and I do not think I ever looked so homely as I do now when I look in the glass I do not know myself I hope I will fatten up before I get back

NOV. 12. There has been a great many speculations as to which vessel would get to Rio first The mate said in a laughing way, if the Susan Drew does get in last, I will walk forward and spit right in Susans face. Susan is the young lady that stands at the head of our vessel she is as large as life with very rosy cheeks, very fat and a very large bustle her dress is white she looks like a live woman at a distance.

NOV. 15. We have had a death on board For the first time I witnessed a burial at sea. the corpse was placed on a plank and then slid in the sea. it was one splash and the dark water closed over him for ever. he was buried with the honours of war. We all appeared in full dress, and they fired three rounds over him. I never in my life saw so little feeling shewn their was not a tear shed. None cared for him It is hard to die far from home and friends.

NOV. 16. I feel very well to day. I was very absent [minded] at the dinner table to day and was helping my self to sauce over my pudding and struck up a song. then the toast will be woman dear woman It created quite a sensation. We have now been sixty days from New York and have not reached Rio yet Have not seen any thing for some days not even a fish. every thing is very dull.

NOV. 19. We are in sight of the Brazil coast but were obliged last night to put to sea again It blew very hard I never saw the sea look so grand First a blaze of lightening, then a peal of thunder, then all dark night again It was an awful sight. Thank God we are all safe and well this morning. The commissary has got me on a board of inspection to examine his spoilt vegetables

Proceedings of a board of survey convened in pursuance of the following order

Ship Susan Drew October [Nov.] 19th 1846

A board of survey to consist of first Lieut Gilbert 2nd Lieuts. Day and

Hollingsworth will assemble to day, at 4 P M for the purpose of examining stores reported by Cpt Marcy A. C. S

By order of
Lieut Col Burton

Signed, J C Bonnycastle First Lt Adjt

Report. The board convened pursuant to the above order. Present all the members and examined the following stores viz two and half barrels of potatoes and two barrels of Onions and found $2\frac{1}{2}$ barrels of potatoes and $\frac{3}{4}$ barrels of Onions spoiled and unfit for use

Secy J McHenry Hollingsworth
Second Lieut 7th Regt N Y V

I am so tired of the sea, that I often go to the pigpen and look at the pigs eating and wish myself at home feeding some of ours We have just passed a sail and exchanged signals with her she was English at least she hoisted those colours. Four sails in sight. I went to the masthead, but could not make any thing of them. We had quite an alarm at bedtime last night. the steward who had been very troublesome for sometime and scalded one of our men. The men determined to punish him for it. After dark as he was passing the forecandle, they threw a rope over his head and gave him some cuffs and kicks. he bellowed like a fine fellow, cried murder. We all ran to his assistance but no one was near him I wish they had hammered him well. he didnot get half enough Our Steward has improved very much since his fright.

Land, land, land. It is a sight pleasant to our eyes and puts us all in good humour We have just passed a vessel but did not speak to her. I never thought that I should go to South America The land we see is the coast of Brazil. In sight of Cape ——— and going at a fine rate The coast appears to be very rocky a bad coast in a storm or a dark night.

NOV. 21. Inside the cape. How beautiful every thing looks. The tops of the mountains covered with green. I was on guard last night and feel badly this morning. Had some trouble with James. He was suspected of breaking open a trunk. He was searched but nothing found on him, or in his trunk. He did not seem to feel the disgrace. I cannot get it out of my mind that he is not honest. Several sails in sight this morning We think we are ahead of the rest of the fleet, so last night sent up a rocket and gave three cheers for the Susan Drew

[We arrived in the port of Rio Janario Nov the 25th]

NOV. 25. The Loo Choo got to Rio Janeiro four days before the other vessels.

"Why melancholy Soldiers why, why melancholy boys whose business tis to die."

We are in the port of Rio Janeiro and all in good spirits, and anxious to go ashore. I have been ashore and was very much pleased with my visit. I have a very poor opinion of the inhabitants of this place. I had some trouble with the men, they are so anxious to go on shore, and have been behaving very badly. some of them were drunk all the time. I had to tie some of them to bring them off. they have imprisoned some of them, and will not give them up. they do not like our landing our men here. We could soon knock three forts to pieces. I have been to the English church here. The people are not more than half civilized. Their is not much beauty among the ladies. I do not think that I will lose my heart with any of them.

NOV. 28. The harbor of this place is very beautiful But the cruelty that is practiced towards the slaves is enough to disgust any man that has any good feeling. they make them work hard and beat them very severely. some of them have not been from the coast of Africa more than a month. the day that the California volunteers came to this place was a happy day to some of them. our drunken soldiers gave to them very liberal. some of them threw money to them by handfuls and then again they make them row them to the vessel, and when they get on board laugh at them for pay. The poor black when they go back are beaten by their master for not bringing the right money. Their language is very difficult to understand. they always keep up a great chattering, wear few clothes and seldom a hat. They are good boatman. One of the volunteers jumped over board and was drowned while at this place. Some of the men stole a very valuable dog from the Hotel farrow [Pharoux]. we didnot find it out for sometime after we sailed. They played a great many pranks on the Brazilians, who in turn cheated them out of their money. We were thought the most impudent race of people that ever was. I have seen the Emperor. he dresses in the most extravagant manner and is very young and very rich. his carriage is drawn by eight mules. his guards are very poor, but wear the most costly uniform I ever saw it is all lace, and does not look very military. I had to search my servant and examine his trunk. he was suspected

of stealing money he proved to be innocent, and cried very much during the examination. he has not many friends in the regiment.

I have not written in my journal for sometime I have had so much to amuse me while at Rio. since I left there, so much has taken place. The men have been very unruly. it has fallen to my lot to be on guard very often lately.

While I was at Rio Dr Murray and myself went to church. We wore our uniforms. I also went to the Opera, was very much pleased there was a great many officers there. I amused my self by making love to a young lady, who was in a side box. I caught her eye several times and we kept up a little flirtation all the evening. I got an Opera glass and looked at her standing in my seat. she smiled and moved her seat. but took it again. she wore a white bonnet with artificial flowers in it. I had several very amusing adventures while at this place. I was passing along the street one day when a Sargent Major of the regiment spoke to me. I had not seen him since I left New York. I asked him to shew me where I could purchase some thing. He took me to an apothecaries and introduced me to a young man from New York who was very polite and asked me to walk up stairs. I thought he was going to shew me something and accordingly followed him up a flight of steps. he opened a door and we walked in to a nice parlour. three ladys were sitting there they were Americans from New York, and were old friends of the Sargent but didnot recognize him in his uniform. they seemed much surprised to see two Soldiers walk in. I was in full dress and could not imagine for some time where I had got to. We paid a short visit and then left. I walked about made some purchases, among which was a beautiful bridle bit and spurs. The last evening that I was at Rio, it blew a violent storm. we had a very narrow escape. we got to the town a few minutes before the storm came up, several boats were lost and some lives. I was at the Hotel and didnot leave for the ship untill after it was over. I lived on fruit while at this place. the Oranges, Bennanas and Pine Apples were very fine. A great many black soldiers are employed in the army. Mules are used entirely to ride on. There are no good horses. The streets are very narrow and dirty. The people are not more than half civilized are very lazy and have a great many servants to wait on them. The Brazilians never give you

the right change for your money, and cheat you on every possible occasion

VIEW OF SUGAR LOAF MOUNTAIN AND VICINITY*

The above view is one, which sterile and unprepossessing in itself, still fills the weary heart of one just coming in from a long voyage with joy; barren and unpromising as it is, it is nevertheless, land, and that one word conveys more to the mind of a victim to sea sickness than many others of more euphonious sound, even the names of a beloved Laura or Gertrude, sweet as they are in the abstract, and even sweeter when associated with delightful reminiscencies of Summer eve hours, passed delightfully by their sides, are in danger of being out-rivalled; no one knows better than myself the thrill of delight with which the lovers heart is seized upon hearing the name of his "adored," but even I, romantic as I am, must confess that upon first catching sight of the towering "Sugarloaf"—the remembrance of my beautiful Gertrude faded at once from my mind and in its place was at once violently supplanted by delightful visions of Spanish lasses, with their dark eyes, sparkling from beneath the long veil, as tripping along the splendid "Plazas" of Rio, they caught sight of one, whose very appearance betokened the chivalry of the renowned Don Quixote; and then my "chateaux d'Espagne" would assume a different shape, and before me would lie in wasteful profusion, heaps of Lemons, figs bananas & oranges whose rounded forms and juicy substance brought again to my mind, the long cherished thoughts of "our cellar" and its contents—

VIEW OF FORT NEAR RIO

The above represents a fort which lay on our right as we entered the harbour of Rio. It is chiefly remarkable as being near and protecting a convent, in which "the fair Imogene" retired after having been torn from her bridal hall, by the ruthless hands of Alphonso "the brave"—or rather by those of his departed shade. Shocked by the sudden and unwelcome return of her first beloved, she never entirely recovered & spent the remainder of a short life in this wild & secluded spot, surrounded by high and rugged mountains, whose bases were laved by the ever flowing waves of the wide Atlantic—

VIEW OF LARGE HOUSE NEAR RIO FROM THE HARBOR

On the side of the harbour, opposite to Rio is to be seen a large house, almost surrounded by cocoa nut and banana trees, which although of itself romantic in appearance, would scarcely attract the attention of a stranger. But alas! could its old walls speak of the sorrow they have seen, of the repentant tears shed within them, even the cold heart of the world could not but warm with sympathy, for the affliction of the beautiful but erring Eliza. G. . . whose only fault

*The pencil and watercolor drawings in the diary have not been reproduced except the one of an officer in uniform which appears as a frontispiece.

is the having yielded to the baneful influence of a tropical sun, and the charms of a gay and unprincipalled Admiral—

VIEW OF LOWER PART OF THE CITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO AND
VIEW OF PORTION OF RIO

That part of Rio, of which the above is a poor representation, lies on the right of the emperor's palace, and just in rear of the landing for boats from the vessels lying in the harbour. Its appearance is really picturesque, the tiled roofs, many of which are of variegated colours, the situations of the houses, some just at the foot of a steep hill, buried in groves of orange trees, others on the very summit of said acclivity, round which is constructed a winding road, up which by the way I remember having climbed one Sunday afternoon, just for the purpose of seeing what the object was of a red, round topped house, which proved upon examination an observatory, with a moveable roof, such as is seen at the M. A. at West Point although of much smaller dimensions—There were quite a number of houses around it, all nearly hidden by the masses of trees, among which the leafy orange was easily distinguished, had not the clusters of golden fruit called our untropical eyes at once to their notice.

SKETCH OF BRAZILIAN MAN OF WAR

Here too is a small barrack for the cavalry of the Emperor, into which I endeavoured to procure a passage, but the sentinel on post by signs, gave me to understand that such was not allowable—Going thence, I passed a large house with grated windows, before the door of which paced a soldier, and stopping to enquire our way from him, we saw two beautiful faces peer from an upper window down on us, and upon our bowing, they with sparkling eyes, kissed their hands and hastily retired but not until the sentinel had seen them, he then made violent gesticulations towards us, intimating that we had best “quit those diggins and not meddle with private potatoes”—

SKETCH OF ISLAND NEAR RIO

but my companion and myself, being both young and devoted to the fair sex, came to the conclusion that there was something wrong about the matter, and that so long as a petticoat (red though it was) was involved in the question we like good knights & true were bound by our oath of allegiance to enquire into the facts of the case,

VIEW OF BRAZILIAN FELUCCA

and for the purpose of discussing its “pros and cons” at more leisure took seats upon a battlement near us, from which the sentinel signalled us to rise, and upon consultation we deemed it best to obey, and were just in the act of doing so when by chance I saw the rascal laugh as he turned from us; understanding then that he was quizzing us, we gave him a slight volley of round—not shot—but oaths, and resumed our positions, from which the enemy threatened to dislodge us at the point of the bayonet, but to no purpose, we laughed at his threats and he finally ceased them, our consultations were then resumed

and just as the council had almost determined to carry the house by storm the one attacking the front door by strategy first and then with a rush, the other meanwhile seizing the opportunity of springing into a basement window which was open—this Quixotic resolution was crushed by the sudden shifting of the scene, in the first, the two had appeared beautiful and loving as engaged turtle doves, in the last, with a versatility of talent not at all unfrequent with the fair sex, they rushed on the stage, not hand in hand, but mouth to ear and nail to eye, presenting as pretty a representation of termagantic strife as one, could wish to see; After gazing a while in astonishment struck-silence, during which time the noise had attracted the notice of the guard, we left the prison (for so it was) each pondering in his mind the probable cause of the confinement of the belligerent fair ones—

THIRTEEN SKETCHES OF SCENES ABOUT RIO DE JANEIRO

DEC. 12, latitude 37. . . 14

DEC. 14. Nothing has occurred on board untill last night when a case of small pox was reported in the fore castle. It has caused much talk on board—I hope for the best and that it will not go any further The men say they are sorry they threw the plank intended for the guard house overboard as they will have nothing now to make coffins of—The sea is calm with a pleasant breeze—we are all making preparations for the cold we shall experience in going round the horn—

On guard tonight, very cold and dark on deck our quarters are warm rather too much so they make them very unwholesome too by smoking in them—Had a fight between MacBurney—and the Steward—he is a great coward and lets the steward strike him—he is a bad boy and I am afraid and is devoid of principle We have detailed some men from the volunteers to help work the Ship as we are approaching the horn very fast—Had a pig for dinner today It was very nice and hope we will have another soon—

DEC. 17. Latitude 44 deg. 46 min Weather very cold and stormy, all have colds—spend half of our time in bed—but 4 officers well enough for duty this makes the duty of keeping guard come oftener and these cold nights not so pleasant—Nothing has occurred besides of any consequence we are very tired however of the blue waters Sun was not down at 8 oclock last night—Some of the officers have had severe falls and been much hurt—It is owing to the decks being so wet—I have escaped as yet—

DEC. 18. Had a masquerade among the men—it was very amusing and excited much laughter—

DEC. 19. Fine breeze fair weather and warm strong current running north carrying sea weed with it Times very dull—officers and men amusing themselves by firing at the albatros have killed several

DEC. 25. Christmas—off the Cape We had a masked party on board who made a handsome turn out—The Col was invited to see them which he did and in return asked them into the cabin and set out his wine of which they partook freely—The leader of the party proposed a toast which I will give another time—This is the only real fun we have had and we treated the company of masqueraders to buckets of punch—which pleased them very much and some got gloriously drunk—The officers kept the frolick up untill very late—who said they were not all sober—We had had a poor dinner but plenty of hot punch—The weather is very cold and has been so for the last ten days with a sea running mountains high and rain, making us all keep our beds we have done nothing else but eat and sleep for some time—in fact cannot keep ourselves warm unless we go to bed—Saw a sail spoke her. She was an English vessel from New South Wales to England.

DEC. [27.] Sunday morning and raining—we are a little west of the Cape—twenty four hours and good wind will take us into the calm waters of the Pacific. Going at a fine rate, course North West—reported this morning that the man at the wheel saw a dead body float by at three oclock—Nothing going on in our cabin but smoking, chewing, spitting and playing cards—

JAN. 5, 1847. Lat. 56.14 Long 79.47—head wind Great dissatisfaction at the Captains going so far to the South West—for ten days we did not make a single degree of latitude—

JAN. 7. Lat 56.32 Long 80 Another death has occurred on board poor Palmer is gone—we shall bury him tomorrow in the ocean—

JAN. 8. The toast drank on Christmas day by one of the soldiers in the Cabin of the Susan Drew was this—

The Susan Drew—Our Bonnycastle may her declining years be passed on the bosom of a river beautiful as the Shannon with water of the strength and sweetness of pure Hollingsworth may one continual Day beam over it and the wings of Marcy overshadow it—and if ever sadness shall settle upon her—may it be like the melancholy of Burton—sweet pleasing and soul consoling—

The individuals alluded to in the above toast are Lieut Bonnycastle—Captn Shannon, myself Captn Marcy and Lieut Day—and the last Col Burton

Buried Palmer—fine day, cold but bright sun shine—going finely on our course—wore my undress coat—with my sash—no side arms at funeral—

Caught a large porpoise with the Harpoon men cut him up and had him cooked for breakfast—It tasted like beef steak—when cooked it is blacked—I did not like it but others did—The mates have had very little to say to me of late. I think they have heard some remarks we have made about the sailing of the vessel—Had to throw some of our tongues over board they were so spoilt—a dead loss to our Mess—

JAN. 10. Sunday Morning—Another Sabbath has come round and we are still on the blue waters—the first news of this morning is that five sail were in sight—it is joyful news to us—one bore down to us—we spoke her and she proved to be an American whaler—We sent her some papers—they were much surprized to hear of Genl Taylors victory and were a greazy set of fellows having been very successful in catching whales—went on deck and was waving my cap at an albatross and the cover flew off in the water—very sorry for it as I had it made in Washington and had it so long

JAN. 12, Lat 45..58 long 77..37

JAN. 13. Caught a porpoise, had it for dinner but did not like it. the harpoon was thrown into another but did not hold—he lashed the sea with his tail spouting blood from his mouth colouring the water for some distance around untill we lost sight of him—Resumed the guard duty last night for the first time since we passed the Horn—had to sit up all night in consequence of a row below, put four of the men in irons and tied them to the railing where they passed the night—

[Arrived at Valparazo the 20th of Janry 1847 and heard the first news of our victories in Mexico]

TWO VIEWS OF VALPARAISO

Twas just as the sun was disappearing behind the snow-capped summits of the lofty Andes, that the much respected Surgeon, unofficially attached to the Susan's Detachment, his fellow-statesman and myself, descended the side of our ship, for the purpose of taking a ride over the hills near the town of Valparaiso—after a short row,

we landed at the wharf and as the dusk of evening was rapidly advancing, proceeded at once to the "Tivoli" stables for the purpose of procuring horses. after some little time spent in selection, we mounted our steeds and proceeded, with the fear of "Vigilantes" strongly impressed on our minds, at a slow pace through the nearest streets to clear ourselves of the town, in doing which however sufficient time elapsed to have the attention of the passers-by, drawn to the bean pole figure of our Maryland sub [Hollingsworth], and the air of timidity, half screened from detection by his martial whiskers, of our goateed staff—the first of the two busily engaging himself with kicking the stones from before his charger's feet, the latter, and to the shame of the medical staff of the Army do I acknowledge it, fully as much occupied in testing the tenacity of hold, afforded in the close-cropped mane of his Rozinante, (this is no idle figure, for if eyes are eyes then so surely was the beast the hapless Galen bestrode, the veritable far-famed Rozinante) but what purpose does it answer for me to attempt describe the appearance of the equestrians? words have not power to convey to the imagination the "air forlorn" of Maryland's Quixote, as at each jolt of the little animal he bestrode, he found himself hoisted full six inches from the saddle—and the attempted air of recklessness of the Lancet-hero, who by strange fortune much resembled Sancho bestradling his master's charger—which snorted and puffed as though eager for another onslaught amongst the timorous sheep. But after a time we cleared the town, having been hailed by only one vigilante, who ordered us to proceed more slowly, as we were just breaking into a hand-gallop. It is needless to say that we obeyed but upon reaching by a steep and circuitous way the top of the hill surmounted by the lighthouse a plain being presented, our horses were urged into something like speed, and after a short time we rested ourselves and panting Bucephuli close by the Lighthouse—then back again Quixote and I raced like mad, but the superior swiftness of my steed gained me the victory "without a blow being struck," while on the contrary the Don came up with both heels hammering into the sides of his poor beast, which despite the advantage of having had its rider run half the distance himself, was forced into the humble post of No. 2; but lo! Surely we are not again in the vicinity of the Hudson with its high-pressure steamers! Ah! no—but look—was there ever aught so ludicrous before, tis the mender of broken limbs recklessly jeopardizing his own—with feet thrust to the instep, in the stirrup, arms flying in every direction he madly urges by dint of kicks & blows with the extremity of his bridle, his soaring Rozinante to his greatest speed, which alas was only sufficient to bring him up some hundred paces in rear—with this however the rider seemed amply satisfied, showing by an ample display of ivory, that in his opinion e'en though the race had this time been to the swift, still inasmuch as he had ventured his neck in bringing his broken-winded steed to his maximum speed more praise, he felt, was due him than to the fortunate possessor of the nimbler horse—

1st Lt and Adjt.

The foregoing libellous article calls for a reply to those who

know the high reputation of Marylanders both in the Army and elsewhere for horsemanship, it would not be necessary to say anything to vindicate the honor of our State on that score, but as this production may be spread far and wide, and be seen by individuals who have not heard of the Ridgely's, Hammonds, and other crack riders in the Army from Old beauty State—I shall here tell them, that this article was prompted by jealousy, and pique on the part of the writer Lt. B. our fussy little Adjutant, having been brought up in a little country village, and after that having undergone a course of lessons in riding at West Point, favoured himself the handsomest, rider in the universe and as to any one on board ship coming up to him, he hooted at the idea. He had taken a ride soon after arriving at Valparaiso, and had talked a great deal about his feats on that occasion, although we afterwards learned from Capt "F" that he had been beaten on two occasions in a race by a little boy of 6 years old, and afterwards fined in the streets for awkward horsemanship. On the afternoon he speaks of after choosing our horses at a stable which he had before patronised and of course knew the best animals and made his selection accordingly—we set off on a trip over the hills, alas how his bombastic boasting was disproved, either from his rotundity, the shortness of his legs, or from fear I cannot tell, but he certainly made the worst figure on a horse I ever saw, after in vain endeavouring to balance himself & grasping convulsively at the cut off mane of the horse, and finding that his main chance of holding on was cut off, he seized the back part of the saddle and went up the street amidst the shouts & jeers of the Chilian boys & women & their loud cries of "oh que hambrecillo" his horse was a little more skittish than mine and after seeing him suffer for some time and pleasing myself by his chagrin I exchanged horses with him and he was more comfortable. I shall not say anything of my own riding save that I certainly did not take hold of the mane for indeed had I wished to have done so, its being cut off would have prevented me as it did the Adjutant. Of my friend and fellow statesman Lt H. I am at liberty to speak and I must say that my breast was filled with admiration and swelled with pride when I saw the easy grace and lofty dignity which he displayed on horseback—his commanding height added much to the effect, and as he passed up the street I could see that my feelings of admiration were participated in by the gazing crowd. His relation Lt Ridgely has heretofore been considered the best rider in the service the only competition he has is Charly May, and his superior size has given him the reputation of being the finest looking man on horseback his riding does not however compare with Ridgely's. My friend H however uniting Mays height with Ridgely's riding, will I have no doubt if his regiment is retained in service (and it will I trust,) eclipse them both and be thought the rider of the Army.

SKETCH OF THE HOTEL PHAROUX

This Sketch is a good representation of the Hotel Pharoux at Rio Jeneiro Brazils—at which Quarters we passed some very agreeable moments during our sojourn at that place.

JAN. 23. Left valparaiso after five long days stay—we got there in fine health and spirits—but the news we heard there of the death of Lieut Fremils on the passage round cape Horn, who belonged to our Regt and the loss of so many of our gallant soldiers in Mexico somewhat depressed them—I will however write more particularly on the subject on another leaf.

I will now mention some of the occurrences which took place while in harbour—One great difficulty was to keep the men on board the vessel from going ashore and while on duty myself by great exertions did not loose a man, for which the Lieut Coln. publicly thanked and complimented me but others were not so successful. The men were very much enraged at not being permitted to go ashore and as all the rascals escaped at last—we permitted the rest to go also but they all came back drunk—We had great trouble with the men while in port fifty drunk at a time—I was officier of the guard three times while there—A number of Americans reside at Valparaiso with some beautiful american girls—The fruit is good but not as nice as that at home—The harbour is filled with fish of which we caught large quantities and salted them away—It looks like a suitable place for earthquakes and the bare mountains around the Town—appear always ready to belch forth fire and smoke We could see the Andes in the distance with their tops covered with snow—One great objection to foreign ports with Americans is that the inhabitants look upon the Yankees as they term us as the last people upon earth. Went on shore and walked about but if we had remained untill Sunday and gone to Church should have had a better opportunity to see the people—they have more fleas and dogs there than I have as yet seen in any place I saw there the English Marines for the first time—they were polite and touched their hats to us—The french had their transports here loaded with troops for some of their possessions in the Pacific—so that I have seen some things here I never saw before—

I must now try to note down some of the occurrences here. We were much surprised one morning by John the Col's servant escorting quite a fine looking woman into the cabin, informing us at the same time that he wished we would let her remain on

board, for she said she wanted to go to California and he would marry her when we got there. She looked rather old, seemed to have plenty of confidence took her seat at the table and entered into conversation. She seemed anxious to go to California but did not say anything about marrying John. She was finely dressed, a white bonnet and veil. I thought she was rather tiresome and after offering her a plate of pears, that were on the table, I left for my bunk, leaving Capt Marcy and Frisby to entertain her. I had hardly got off my hat and boots and laid down, when I was interrupted in my repose by a visit from the fair one herself. It seemed that after I left the cabin, the lady boasted of having a husband on shore and several tall sons. Capt F told her He had a son on board who was thought to be tall for his age. Said he was then asleep but if she would step in the cabin, he would shew her his fine child, and wishing to have a laugh at me, he brought her to the side of my bed, where I was stretched at full length on the top of the cover, and drawing the curtain one side told her to look. I opened my eyes wide at her. She started back left the cabin, got in her boat and went ashore, much to John's mortification and wondering in her own mind if the gallant Captain was sane.

JAN. 24. We are once more breasting the waves of the briny deep and in fifty days if nothing happen, we will be in California where some of us must leave the number of our mess—I am on guard again to night and half the men drunk—I can do nothing with them—It is first three cheers for Lieut H—and then three cheers for some one else—Had some dreadful fights among them—liquor is the sole cause and the greatest curse that ever was to man—It is getting worse and worse every day and an evil I never encountered before joining this regiment—I am truly glad I have no relations in it for I could not have borne to see them under such degrading circumstances every day of my life—

JAN. 30. Had quite an argument to day about the chickens we bought at Valparaiso they are dying: I say for want of water but every one else says that Chickens do not want any water It is strange that I who have had some experience of a Country life, that my opinion should not be taken in such matters. I have fattened very much since I have been at sea all except my face and that looks thinner than ever They often tell me I look the picture of despair I cannot tell why I look so, without [unless] it is because I am

tired of a sealife. Bonnycastle told me the other day that he had not seen me laugh since I had been at sea. I do not believe him.

FEB. 3. Went to the pig pen to inspect the pigs we bought at Valparaiso—they look very badly having fallen away in flesh and seemed sea sick—I should have called them small Shoats—there was not one fit to eat—we paid four dollars for them—I also inspected the chicken coop and found them thin in flesh and also in numbers—(We had a lemonade drinking in our cabin today)—Had in addition a great romp among the Lieutenants in their cabin made a great deal of noise—the Lieut Col spoke to us about it—Dr M— explained the whole matter in our defence in a very amusing manner—

I must now announce the melancholy intelligence, of the disappearance of all our chickens. they have all been destroyed by the ravenous appetites of the officers of the 7. Reg.

FEB. 17. Every hour brings us nearer to our destination—I have been a witness on a court martial today—done nothing else but drill the company—the men have made great complaints today that the bed bugs were eating them up—Had apple pie for dinner—Had also a private talk with Col Burton—he offered to get me exchanged into another company if I wished it—he seemed to think it would be better for me but I thought I had better stick to the company I was in—Was present at a meeting on the poop deck this morning at 6 oclock between Captain F— and N— I was sorry no one else was there but myself—high words were used towards one another but they parted before blood was shed—I was not aware there would be a meeting and was setting there—having got up for revielle that morning—when the parties made their appearance—

FEB. 18. There have been a number of quarrels among the officers in consequence of the ill feeling existing among them—as for myself I have got along very well and had no difficulty with any one—with one exception too trifling to mention—The weather has been so hot that we could not stay on deck except when we had the awning spread—The tar or pitch boiled out of the seams of the deck in consequence of the extreme heat and made every thing very disagreeable. Had a talk with the old sailor Fred—to night while on guard—it was his watch on deck—He told me—he had been to sea for sixteen years and in

that time had never heard from his parents, though he had written many letters to them—they lived in Germany—He said he was tired of sea life and this would be his last voyage—Said he never made any money at it and all he now had was a fine suit of clothes which he would put on when he got back to New York—He has seen many hardships and ups and downs in this life but like all sailors is becoming weaned from friends and Country and in all probability will never see home again—

FEB. 20. Lat 4..53 long 106..38 Have got along but slowly to day, nothing has occurred of interest, with the exception of a shark which followed the vessel for some hours—we tried hard to hook him but after biting once, he would not come near it again—The sea around the vessel was at the same time filled with porpoises some thousands were sporting around and leaping out of the water—they are so plentiful that they are no longer a curiosity It has been raining very hard all night—the first rain that has fallen since we left Valparaiso—

FEB. 23. Lat 7..36 long 107..36 We celebrated the 22d by all of us loading our pistols going on deck and firing three rounds, the Col giving the word—On Sunday the 21st inst caught two sharks and hauled them on board—great excitement during the performance—cut them up and had part for dinner, did not like it—We caught the trade winds on the 22d and have had them ever since—nothing of any consequence has occurred for some days Have had beautiful moonlight nights and some singing on deck—I have forgotten to mention in the past pages the Magellan clouds that no traveller ever sees in a Northern Latitude—they are small white clouds, seen in the night only—

The 12th of March was a great day in my life—the Col ordered five rounds of blank cartridges to be given out—It fell to my good fortune to be in command of Comp. I and they burnt their first powder by my order—It has always been my ambition to carry them through their first fireings and the command when we land and march into camp—the first I have been gratified in—a few days will decide the others—

MAR. 16. The weather has become very cold. We have to wear our great coats all day. we are in Lat 35.56N. Long 129.18W

CALIFORNIA

MARCH 22, 1847. Arrived in California, anchored in the

Bay of San Francisco, after a long passage of sixty five days from Valparaiso. Saw large quantities of Ducks and birds of all kinds. The Perkins got here two weeks before us not having stopped from the time she left Rio—On guard the day we arrived in port. Heard a great deal of news but none from home.

MAR. 31. Bay of San F[rancisco]. Have not opened my Journal since I got here. Much of interest has occurred. Nov 9th was the last time we heard from the States, I am very anxious to hear from home Many have got letters but none for me We are now ordered to Monterey, I am all ready and not sorry to leave. It has been very cold ever since we came, and rained every other day.

APR. 1. Col Stevenson came on board this morning. He appeared to be in a great flurry as usual. Col Burton left us yesterday for Santa Barbara, much to the regret of all. The Moscow left here March 31st with Col Burtons command, and had hardly got under weigh, when she ran aground, but would not lower her flag for assistance for some time and tried hard to get off—She however failed and on lowering her flag to half mast—assistance was sent from the Independence Comodore Shubrick. there was quite an excitement for some time* The

Cyane frigate also sent her boats Captain Marcy of the Independence went on board of the Moscow took Command and after awhile succeeded in getting her out of her difficulty and she proceeded on her voyage—I had the honour of receiving Comd Shubrick on board this morning—He was accompanied by his officers in full dress—they all looked splendid and took me by surprise I was therefore not prepared for them and had not time to turn out the guard to receive them, and had to receive them in person—Lieut Lewis was among them—the finest looking man I ever have seen—they did not stay long—I was much mortified at their reception—However it was not my fault, as the men were not in sufficient trim to receive them—

APR. 2. I have not made one acquaintance since I have arrived here—There is a young lady on shore that I was offered an introduction to but declined it—Some of the officers have called on her and been much pleased—A number of our men

*Further account of this episode is given by James Lynch in his brochure "With Stevenson to California," 1896.

have been very much poisoned by touching some plant or bush on shore—(Out of funds and cant get any pay from Uncle Sam) Many of our officers as well as my self have regretted our coming out here while while the war has been carried on in the enemy's Country and we so far from the scene of strife—On hearing of Genl. Scotts advance upon the City of Mexico—we wished we had been in the States to have joined him—We have done nothing and long for an opportunity of distinguishing or extinguishing ourselves—

An accident happened last night—the first of the kind that has occurred since we left New York—though of frequent occurrence on board of the other transports—We were all at supper when an unusual noise on deck and that dreadful cry which is so alarming at sea, of man overboard—saluted our ears—we all ran on deck and found that one of the sailors in hoisting the boat on deck had fallen into the water in consequence of the ropes breaking—He could not swim and it was with difficulty he kept his head above water—a rope however was thrown him and after awhile he was landed safe on deck—There is one thing I have learnt since I came to sea that I never knew before—that but few sailors know how to swim perhaps not more than one out of every five—on board of this vessel there is not one that can.

I have been on Shore and took a long walk and am quite tired—I walked about three miles in the direction of the Mission met some Californians on horse back & some Indians on foot—Lieut Hulet was along but the sand was so deep that I returned—he however kept on out to the Mission—I walked slowly back and was overtaken by an Indian driving some Cattle—he told me it was very dangerous to be walking about so far in the Country without arms and that he had seen a panther that morning near where we were—I had nothing but my pocket pistols but got safe home I must now pack for Monterey. I am sorry to leave the Susan Drew. I have been so long in her and seen a good deal. Great prepperations made for leaving in the Lexington. I have got so used to the hard bread and biscuit that I prefer it to any other and the water that I made so much fuss about at the first part of my voyage I now drink off without thinking about it. And often go on shore and walk by a fine spring without tasteing it and then come on board and drink a tumbler full that was brought all

the way from New York I think my former relish for fresh water would return where I to taste it.

[Arrived at Monterey April 7th after a sail of 24 hrs and went into camp in the outskirts of the town called it camp Kearney]

APR. 7. Camp Kearney—Monterey Wednesday I have arrived at Monterey after a sail of twenty hours and once more experienced sea sickness in its worst form—We were landed on the wharf by the boats of the Columbus and other American armed vessels and after marching through the town encamped at this place—a beautiful spot of Ground in front of the Church—We arrived late on the ground and great confusion occurred in consequence of not being able to get all the tents up—Had a visit from Lieut Tansill of the Marines—he is a fine fellow—

APR. 14. Have neglected my Journal but I have seen so much, and so many things have happened. But the most agreeable thing is the news of our being paid off to-morrow. General Kearney gave the order General Valejo has left for San Francisco with a guard of our men. It is very warm in the day but very cold at night and damp too. plenty of fleas and dogs—if a dog dies in the street—he is never moved no matter how great the stench he causes—

APR. 15. I went to a fandango last night and enjoyed myself very much looking on as I did not dance—I have not been introduced to a single lady since I got here—This dance was nothing in comparison to the great Navy ball—I was detailed today to go up to Tompkin's Camp with a working party—It is very disagreeable duty and it was with difficulty I got off of it but will have to go tomorrow—

APR. 17. Went out to Carmell Valley on a gunning expedition with Bonnycastle—saw a number of quails, got only six out of the large number of them—We rode some twenty mile up the valley—It is a beautiful country for grazeing, some romantick scenery—Hills covered with wild oats, headed already and all kinds of wild flowers—We visited Capt'n Tompkins' camp It had a guard of only about fifteen men to take care of about a hundred horses the finest I have seen in the Country—

APR. 18. I am ordered on a court martial by Genl Kearney and in consequence am excused from duty—We have made

arrangements for having a fandango weekly—I saw Genl Castro's little son at the last ball—he was asked if he would not like to be in the army and fight the Mexicans—he spoke out very boldly and said no but I would like to fight the Americans and drive them from the country—He is only twelve years of age and the enemies of his country were around him but he spoke fearlessly—His father is now trying to raise troops to march against us—I have not heard from home yet nor seen a paper from the United States—

APR. 19. Dreamed of home last night for the first time and that Ned was dead. Once before I dreamed of home, and that they all received me very coldly. I dont think that can ever happen.

APR. 20. Pulled down our tents and went in barracks. I am going to live in a tent with the Adj. He has asked me to do so. I will not mess with the company Officers.

[April 23rd broke up our encampment and moved into barracks received my first letters from home on this day]

APR. 23. Got letters from Home. It was joyful news to hear there were letters.

[May 2nd Capt Tompkins of the artilleray left for the United States]

MAY 2. Capt Tomkins left for home. Sent a letter by him. Been much engaged trying to be transferred to the G company succeeded at last. Went to Mrs. Dr Towson's¹ last night and met with a very strange adventure with a young lady—She was a Miss Soperanos and married to a Spaniard who had treated her cruelly and then deserted her—She thought I was like her husband and indeed all the family thought so—I therefore generally went by the name of her husband and when ever she saw me, she appeared unable to controul her feelings She and all called me She would not stay in the room when I went there

[May the 8th left on board the U. S. Store ship Lexington with Genl Kearney & Staff for San Pedro.]

MAY 8. On board the Lexington transport with General

¹—Dr. John Towson lived in Monterey, where for a while he practiced medicine. Mrs. Towson was a sister of Moses Schallenberger.

Kearney and staff on our way down to San Pedro and from thence after landing we shall march to Puebla Los Angeles the principal town in upper California—So far the voyage has been very pleasant the only thing I am uneasy about is seventy dollars in gold I have in my pocket and am afraid of losing it—I have met Genl K frequently both on land and since we have been at sea—seen him often but never spoke to him untill last evening—In fact I was rather shy of him and I think he noticed it—I was on deck when the band was playing—He also was there and walked up to me and the following conversation took place—Genl—Which is the leader of the band Sir—The small man on the right Genl What is his name Sir—Jose Vevis Genl What part of the world do you hail from Sir Baltimore, general—Baltimore Ah! indeed, you are quite young yet and have the world before you Sir and will never regret your coming out here—

MAY 10. Arrived at San Pedro, Landed pitched our tents and made a wharf. Did not know till we were done that it was Sunday. Will march to Los Angeles to morrow, distant twenty five miles. San Pedro situated on the coast consists of two houses, not a tree or blade of grass near it. It is all one vast plain, neither wood or water, all our water is brought from the vessel in canteens.

MAY 11. I have drawn all my pay up to the first of May and have about seventy five dollars in gold tied around my neck—

[May the 15th left for Ciudad de los Angeles & arrived that night took up our quarters in the Dragoon Barracks went in camp the next morning]

MAY 17. Been here a week. It is the garden spot of California The grounds are beautiful

MAY 18. Walked over to Don Luis, met a large party of ladies. Spent a pleasant time Had the band there, gave them some musick. Rode the Col's horse home. Saw a beautiful Spanish girl there, gave her a bouquet, & murdered Spanish at her at agreat rate.

MAY 19. Went to see Mrs Howard² last night, a pleasant

²—Mrs. Howard. This was undoubtedly the wife of W. D. M. Howard, daughter of William Warren, and adopted daughter of Capt. Grimes. It is not apparent what she was doing in Los Angeles at this time, as her husband, together with Henry Mellus, was running an establishment in San Francisco.

evening. Our band has been playing this morning. I think it is the best thing we brought with us. It is a great curiosity here. a great many come to hear it every evening.

MAY 23. Been visiting. Had some pleasant evenings. Saw Mrs General Flores at Don Luis.³ She is a very interesting woman. The most popular house is Mr Stearns. He has married a young Spanish girl⁴ but the principal attraction is Senorita Isidora Bandinni.⁵ The lady I met at Don Luis. She is a great belle and a great flirt. Col Fremont has always been the favourite beau, but I have cut them all out, and when I walk in the rest stand back. I must now stop but perhaps Isidora you will again come on these pages.

MAY 24. Walked over to see Isidora last night. It was Sunday and I had nothing to do. I found her looking lovely as ever. I was told there would be a dance at 10 oclock and requested to be there. I was anxious to know if Isidora would dance on Sunday. I was one of the last who arrived. Ah Isidora you are but a heathen. She is dancing with one of Kearneys dark mustachoeed dragoons. She was dressed in a plain white muslin and had left off all those hateful Spanish ornaments, and wore nothing in her her hair but a beautiful rose I had presented her

³—Don Luis. There is no indication as to who this may be, but probably it was Don Luis Vignes, a Frenchman and a winemaker, who was living in Los Angeles at this time, and a man of considerable prominence.

⁴—Arcadia Stearns. Wife of Abel Stearns and daughter of Juan Bandini. After Stearns' death in '71, she inherited most of his property, and married Robert S. Baker, and was long known in Los Angeles as Doña Arcadia Baker, a very rich woman.

⁵—Isidora Bandini. An account of Isidora Bandini, by Smyth is found in the "History of San Diego, 1907." She was the daughter of Juan Bandini, born in 1800, and Dolores Estudillo; was born September 23, 1829, and died May 23, 1897. The Bandini family lived in San Diego in what is now "Old Town." They were of Italian origin, and it is likely that Juan Bandini's mother was a Peruvian. There is a story attributed to Isidora Bandini's son, J. Coutts, Jr., that his mother, while on a visit from San Diego to the Mission San Luis Rey in 1849, where his father was stationed in command of some United States troops, fell off of some part of a building, but was saved from severe accident by falling into the arms of Lieut. Coutts, incidentally falling in love at the same time. At any rate, Isidora was married to Cave Johnson Coutts, April 5, 1851. Coutts was a Kentuckian, a nephew of the well-known Cave Johnson, a graduate of West Point and an officer in the U. S. regular army. Shortly after the marriage, Isidora's brother-in-law, Abel Stearns, presented her with a ranch called Guajome, afterwards famous in the annals of Southern California. The newly married couple moved there in 1853, though some authors say in 1852. There are two views of Guajome in Smyth's History, but no account of the ranch. Coutts died in San Diego, April 10, 1874, leaving ten children.

with that evening. Every one was seeking her for a partner. She never looked so lovely. It had long been wondered who was the favoured admirer. Some said the Marines, Some thought the Dragoons. Report said Capt Fremont was an accepted lover. Slander went so far as to say Commodore Stocton was more. The last was false, and I knew more than those around. Yes Reader smile not at what I now tell you. Say not it was my vanity, but believe me when I assert that I had long known, that the 2d Lieut of the Volunteers was preferred to all.—I took my place behind the dancers in a retired part of the room, and felt as if I had done wrong in coming on Sunday to a dance. I watched Isidora for some time. She did not seem to dance with her usual animation. She seemed looking for some one anxiously. Her eyes often wandered round the room and I began to feel jealous. At last I caught her eye and a bright glance it was. It told me I was the absent one, she looked for. A moment before, and I had felt neglected by all the world. I had been drooping in spirit for some time. But now I felt a confidence I had never known before. How I longed to lead her to the dance, but that could not be for I did not know how. She seemed hurt that I did not ask her, to dance and sent to ask me to waltze with her. It was in vain I assured her that I did not know how and at last came over and sat down by me. I told her I did not know how. She said she would teach me. I at last asked her to dance the next set with her. She promised to help me all she could. I led her out and like Harry Sanford presented my left hand first. I got through at last. She insisted I did very well, but I knew better. She now took her seat by my side instead of dancing. I got many dark looks and the dragoon took his hat and walked off. Ah Isidora you were the cause of my first dance. I must now take leave of this fair one and go on duty as officer of guard.

JUNE 7. Just returned from San Pedro and reported myself at headquarters. Been absent one week.

JUNE 8. Got the blues very bad indeed in consequence of Isidora having jilted me. She appears to have forgotten me entirely during my short absence.

JUNE 10. Went to Mr Sale's⁶ last evening. Isidora was there, seemed to want to make up. Don't intend to let her.

⁶—Mr. Sales. This may be the Alexander Sales, said to have been the same as Cyrus Alexander.

JUNE 12. Gave the people here a splendid ball. Every thing passed of well, except a little difficulty, when the guests were departing between Capt Stevenson and Lieut B- It arose in consequence of my transferring my claim of waiting on Donna Isidora, to Lieut B. which Capt S refused to acknowledge. Interfered of course and took her home. I had intended to have cut her dead, but on a bet that I could not take her to the ball, I determined to shew them I could. I was much mortified that I could not waltze with her. She is the most perfect coquette I ever saw. She was dressed in a rich pink and gold silk, with a shawl on worth \$300! I never saw her look better. I was in full uniform and entered with her on my arm. She was the belle of the evening.

Went to take leave of Isidora. She is going to the country. We parted good friends. She gave me a pink as a parting gift.

JUNE 22. Moved into barracks, room large but damp. Took a bad cold.

CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY AT CIUDAD DE LOS ANGELES, UPPER CALIFORNIA BY THE AMERICAN TROOPS STATIONED AT THAT POST, IN THE YEAR 1847.

Written by a Gentleman named Toy [H. H. F. Tove] out of compliment to Mr. Hollingsworth.

This day so dear to the heart of every American was received with that pure and heart felt Joy which stimulates the soul of every lover of Freedom by the American Troops stationed at this Post being seen winding their way at day break to the heights from the summit of which is a Fort erected by the Soldiers, under the direction of Lt Davidson 1 Regt U. S. Dragoons (which commands this the largest City in California) for the purpose of commencing the ceremonies of the day. All the Troops were present when at Sun rise for the first time the American Flag was displayed and hoisted on a beautiful pole by 2 Lieut J. W. Davidson. As the Flag unfolded its beautiful stripes to the breeze it was hailed by nine deafening cheers by the surrounding Soldiery when the Band of the 7 Regt. N. [Y.] U. S. Volunteers struck up the well known Patriotic air of the Star Spangled Banner which was followed by a Federal Salute fired by the 1d U. S. Dragoons which closed the proceedings for the morning until 11 O.Clock.

At 11 O.Clock the Soldiers were again ordered under arms and marched to the Fortification (the Dragoons Commanded by Lts Smith & Stoneman, the N. Y. Legion by Capt Stevenson. . Compa "G" by Lt Hollingsworth, and Company "E" by Capt Taylor, and Lt Cutrell, and the Mormon Battalion by Capt Hunt) when it was named and dedicated by Col. Stevenson (who was present with his Staff consisting of Adjt Bonnycastle, Dr Griffin, and Lieut Davidson) by a short but appropriate address well suited for the occasion, in which he mentioned

the gallant conduct on the field of San Pas Qual of Capt. B Moore after whom he named the Fort. he spoke of him as a gentleman, an Officer and Soldier and stated the loss our Country had sustained by his death at that Battle where he fell with 17 lance wounds charging at the head of his Dragoons. The Colonel then ended his address and wine was served to the Troops, after which a National Salute was fired and the Soldiers were marched off the ground to the air of Hail Columbia, and so ended the public ceremonies of the day.

The evening was celebrated by a magnificent ball given by the Officers of the Garrison at Lieut Davidsons Quarters, at which assembled all the elite of the City; the room was decorated in a magnificent and tasteful style by Lts Hollingsworth and Stoneman, the ceiling was entirely covered with the Banner we had that morning hoisted on Fort Moore; at the head of the room was very appropriately placed a likeness of the Father of our Country beautifully decorated with lights and evergreens as under the blessing of God to his exertions the American nation is indebted for the much prized Independence and blessed Freedom it now enjoys. At the foot of the room were displayed the splendidly painted Colours of the New York Legion, in each corner was placed a stack of muskets the bayonets of which were used as Chandeliers which had a beautiful effect and around the walls were place Cutlasses and Sabres in the form of stars in the centre of which candles were burning. independently of these the room was dressed in a manner that did great credit to Lts Hollingsworth and Stoneman with evergreens. Among the many lovely female faces could be seen the Ladies of Generals Floris, Carillo, and Pico. At the head of the room was suspended a beautiful wreath made by Lt Hollingsworth to be presented to the Belle of the evening considerable difficulty was experienced by the Judges in awarding the prize as there were two candidates of such great and equal beauty that they scarcely felt able to decide to whom to give it, but eventually it was awarded to the Sister of General Floris' Wife, who may now be deemed as the Belle of the City of Angelos.

The Bouquet was made by Capt. King.

The Company danced until One O:Clock when they repaired to the Supper Room which was arranged with great profusion and elegance under the Porch which extends the entire length of the building which was screened at the front and ends from the night air. After partaking of the sumptuous refreshments laid before them, the Company again returned to the Ball room, where dancing was again entered upon with renewed vigour, and continued until the break of day, when the assembly retired to their respective homes.

On the same evening the 1 Dragoons celebrated the occasion at their quarters and if the ladies present were not so select, it did not prevent their enjoying themselves full as much as their Officers: both balls closed about the same time, and so ended the celebration of this the first Anniversary of American Independence that has been celebrated in this City—

ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF SAN PAS QUALL

[December 6, 1846.]

I will now give my readers an account of the Battle of San pas quall as it was given to me by two of the officers who were engaged in it—I think it will differ somewhat from General K's official report—at the same time I will confine myself to facts—Genl Kearney had been in the country but a few days when he was met by Captn Gelepsie [Gillespie] with a small force, not more than thirty men—Genl K' had about one hundred thus making one hundred and thirty in all—He was informed by Captn G of the state of the country and that a large force of Californians was in the field under the command of Genl Andrew Pico Genl Kearney was then advancing towards Santo Diego which place Gilepsie was just from. The morning after he was informed by his scouts that the enemy were not far from him and the night following news, was brought that a body of horsemen were encamped some six miles in front and they had a large number of led horses—Genl K then planned a surprize of the enemy's camp with the hope of seizing the horses to mount his men they having only the mules they had brought from the states and about twelve broken down horses—He sent Lieut Hammond with a few dragoons to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy's camp during the night—Lieut H made his reconnaissance but was discovered and made a hasty retreat—on his return—Genl K determined to march and attack them that night—Captn Moore led the advance—Lieut Davidson was in command of the battery of Howitzers held in reserve—Major Swords was in the rear with the baggage train—At six in the morning they were descending a hill when a small party of the enemy were seen near a ravine filled with undergrowth—the moment they got down the hill, they charged at full speed and were received by a fire of small arms from a concealed body of riflemen and on turning the bend of the ravine found themselves in the presence of three hundred of the enemy—Genl K says but Genl Pico says he had one hundred men only—In the charge that was made those who were best mounted outstripped the others and first engaged the enemy and were killed—Among whom were Cpts Moore & Johnson and Lieut Hammond mortally wounded—Kearney's men then commenced firing but the carbines of the dragoons were wet from the rain of the night before—Dr Griffin⁷ one of the Genl staff told me that he tried hard to give the general the slip wishing to be in the first charge but was discovered and ordered to the rear—and still determined to take part in the action was obliged to make a circuit to avoid be seen by the Genl and in doing this was chased by four of the enemy He endeavoured to shoot his double barrelled gun at them but it was wet and would not go off and he was compelled to throw it away and put spurs to his mule and take shelter among the dragoons Lieut Davidson in the mean time came up with his battery but could not get a position to use it—every time he attempted it found he would be firing into his own men and endangering their lives—He therefore

7—Dr. John S. Griffin, a surgeon in the U. S. Army. He also kept a journal in '46 and '47, part of which was published by J. J. Warner in Lewin's History of Los Angeles, 1876.

told the non commissioned officer to take the battery to the devil drew his sabre and dashed into the fight—He was attacked by two Californians one he killed with his pistol and parried the blow of the others lance with his sabre—the californian then ran—Lieut D- says that before the fight he begged Genl Kearney to let him go in advance with his battery but he refused and ordered him to the rear—But after the fight was over the Genl admitted the result would have been different had the battery been in the front the mules ran away with one gun during the action after Davidson left the battery—as Dr Griffin went into the fight he met Lieut Hammond—he said Dr I am wounded very severely I think mortally—the Dr told him to get down and he would examine his wound—it was mortal for he died that night—The returns of the battle shew thirty killed, wounded and missing—of the enemy none were found on the field though no doubt many were killed a number of horses of the enemy were found dead The enemy fell back as our forces advanced leaving Genl Kearney in possession of the field—I have given all the particulars of this fight having taken some pains to get at the truth and had these facts from those who were eye witnesses of the battle—

There was a great mistake made somewhere but who made it is the difficulty to determine as the officers who were in it generally do not like to talk about it—The Californians claim a victory but as our troops kept the field and the Californians retreated the victory was ours although dearly bought—Genl Kearney took a position next day upon a high hill near at hand where he was obliged to remain and feed his men upon sore backed mules untill he was reinforced by a detachment of sailors sent from the Congress—

JULY 6. The glorious 4th is over! We had a splendid ball at night The room was crowded. Isidora was there Great attention paid her by all but me I did not even speak to her. I had taken a very active part in the ball and worked hard, but I felt mortified and disappointed that I could not dance!

JULY 9. Isidora gave a large party last night I sat in a corner of the room. She came and asked me to dance. I told her I did not want to, and left early mad with all the world because I did not know how to dance.

AUG. 4. Lieut Stoneman 1st Drags quarters were broken open and his trunk robbed of seven hundred dollars in — I had just left his quarters with him and on our return we were informed by Mrs Flores that two men had broken in the house—she saw them from her door which was next—We made great exertions last night to discover the thieves but as yet have not been successful—I am truly sorry for poor Stoneman—It is hard to lose money so far from home

AUG. 6. I relieved Captn Smith 1st Drag and went on as

officier of the day—I have a guard of about twenty—volunteers and ten dragoons on the heights with two pieces of artillery and ready for a fight at any time the Calafornians want it—

AUG. 10. On board of survey to examine horses belonging to the first dragoons and had to condemn some as being too light for the battery of artillery

AUG. 20. In command of the guard last night—Lieut Stoneman came to me and said he was informed that the money that had been stolen from him was buried some where in the guard house—We therefore made great search for it and found it at last under the head of the bed of private Smith 1st Dragoons who was lying on his bed—I dug it up with the point of my sabre—He denied knowing any thing about it but in half an hour afterwards tried to take his own life—He placed a pistol as near his heart as he could reach with his irons on his wrists and fired—the ball entered his side passing out at his back—he is not dead yet but refuses to confess where he has hid the rest of his money—

SEPT. 6. I went on a gunning expedition to day and was galloping along with the rest of the officers when my horse tripped and fell with me roling on and bruising me very much, breaking also a very handsome gun I had with me—One duck was the contents of my game bag when I got back to barracks—where I found letters from home—I laid myself down on the bed and though suffering much from pain caused by my fall read my letters with much pleasure

SEPT. 9. I received letters a few days ago from home informing me, that Edward had enlisted in Walker's company on the 9 of February It was on the 17 April that I dreamed of his death I now fear very much that it is true.

SEPT. 12. I went last evening to take a ride with Capt Stevenson by invitation. I had hardly got over my previous fall, and was quite sore yet but feeling in a riding humour I determined to go. I went to his house and heard him order horses a small horse for me which I had my doubts about. I asked him if he fell down, he said no but I saw him smile as he said it. The horses were brought to the door. I mounted. the horse commenced plunging with me and lifting himself high in the air with one bound dashed off. he didnt get me off much to the disappointment of Capt S. The fair Isadora and

a number of ladies who were on the opposite porch and witnessed the affair. After two hours hard gallop we returned at the same head long speed on dismounting we saw the ladies over the the way and joined them I was complimented on my riding by the fair Isadora. I think that she would have liked to have seen me thrown

SEPT. 19. I am now on a military commission to try some men for stealing—It does not differ much from the form of a court martial —

SEPT. 21. News arrived here last night that a body of troops were advancing on this place and we are making preparations to receive them—We are all ordered to parade this evening at four oclock with plenty of ammunition and we will try the new battery this evening also. Scouts have been sent out to see if an enemy is approaching and the news correct—It is said that Genl. Castro & Flores are at their head—

SEPT. 22. We have been engaged for some days in the trial of private John Smith 1st Drags for robbing Lieut Stone-mans quarters which I have before mentioned—He was brought into the court room this morning looking very much immaciated—a mere shadow of what he once was—he has not recovered yet from his wound and I think from the hacking cough he has is fast approaching the grave—he plead guilty to all the charges brought against him—

[Nov the 9th Received the news of the City of Mexico being taken]

NOV. 24. I was on guard some days ago and was obliged to put private Van Beck under arrest. He has a wife here and she was furious on hearing of it. She had always done my washing, and we were on the best of terms As soon as she heard of the arrest, she started for the guard house with a pot of hot coffee determined to throw it in my face, but meeting Lieut Bonnycastle, she told him what she was going to do. He begged her not to do it, for said he, "Madame, Lieut H is a very diffident young man, and you will frighten him to death." She then went to the Col and told him, of her resolution. He advised her not and told her to take care what she did. She said Col. I thought you were more of a gentleman than to permit Lieut H. to put my husband under arrest. She then came to the Guard house and commenced abusing me at

a high rate asked me if I thought she had nothing to do but to bring her husbands breakfast up there and said she had left all my clothes hanging on the line and that she prayed to God that they might all be stolen. I was all smiles and bows, told her that I regretted very much my having given her the smallest trouble that I was sorry that I had been obliged to punish her better half and begged her not to let any one steal my clothes. She did not throw the Coffee in my face but gave it to her husband to drink. It was well she did so for had she done other wise I should have put her in one of the dark cells of the guard house! It created a great laugh at the mess table, at my expense.

NOV. 27. There was great excitement in Town last night in consequence of a gun being fired in the street. There was several amusing things took place during the alarm. Lieut Bonnycastle was paying a visit at Mrs Flores when the alarm was given he heard the drum roll and at the same time their came a rap at the door. Mrs. Flores exclaimed very gravely You are a prisoner sir. Lieut B sprung up from his seat and said in English No not by a damn sight but at the sametime shewing by his manner and looking on all sides for some way of escape and he thought he was. Mrs. F laughed heartily at him, and we have all plagued him to death ever since.

DEC. 4. Every thing is quiet though I think that the country is in a very unsettled state. things will not be so long their must be a change.

DEC. 8. We had a row in the square yesterday. There was quite a fight between the dragoons and some Californians. The Colonel was their with a file of the guard and arrested several Spaniards and some of the soldiers. they were all put in the guard house in the cells. I went to see the Colonel this morning to get a leave of absence for a few hours to go to the mission. He refused me. I shall not ask him again. it was the first favour that I ever asked of him. he never gave me a days leave of absence in my life.

I was at Mrs Stearns a few nights ago and had a little quarrel with my sweetheart. She asked me to sit down in a chair by her, but I told her that I was afraid of Capt Smith, who I made out to be very jealous of as he had been paying some attention to her. she seemed much hurt at my refusing to sit down along side of her and told me if I was afraid to take

the seat, that I ought to have my shoulder straps cut off and my mustaches. I then took the seat and told her it was an insult to an officer to tell him his straps should be cut off. She said not as great an insult as to plague me about a married man. I made up with her before I left that evening. We have been friends ever since. She has been very sick. Dr Griffin has been trying to cure her eyes that a quack has nearly put out. I went to see her last evening and was sitting at the window when her mother came in. she didnot seem to like my being their talking to her daughter poor girl, she does not know that she has a god or that she has a soul to be saved. She has a drunken Father and her Mother is the worst of woman.

[Dec. the 9th The Guard House was blown up. 4 men killed and a number wounded.]

DEC. 9. I have not yet given an account of the explosion of the magazine at the Guard house—It has cast a gloom over us all, so many of our brave fellows have gone to there last home—It was an awful sight and I will give a detail of the proceedings of that evening as well as I can recollect them—We had been informed by our friends in the town that we were to be attacked that night and every preperation was made by us to give them (the Californians) a warm reception and as night came on I could not but feel anxious and at 12 oclock I put on my side arms and in company with Capt S patrolled the town but found all quiet. We met the Sargent of the guard going round with his patrol to see if all was right—He stopped us to ascertain who we were—It was a Sargent of my own company he made the salute in a very polite manner as soon as he discovered we were his officers. I had not returned to quarters long before I went to bed and was awakened from a sound sleep by a loud explosion. I was soon dressed and then heard the drum beating the alarm—I slept in the same house with Captn S— Lieut M and one Soldier—We heard horses moving around the house and the first impression was that we were surrounded but as we were well armed we passed out at the back door into the yard and I opened the gate supposing we should have to fight our way through them but no enemy was in sight and we hurried to the barracks—There we learnt that a musket had been fired at the out posts and the guard had run in—the magazine had been opened to man the battery when a spark from a post fire fell in it and the explosion took

place A number of men were hurt and some killed—some lost their eyes—The officier of the guard had a narrow escape, he was knocked down but soon recovered—But a small portion of the guard house was left standing—The Californians are much delighted at our misfortune—We buried our poor fellows a few days ago—

DEC. 13. We experienced a severe shock from an earth quake here last night at eight oclock and another this morning at day light—It shook me in my bed and made us all a little nervous—it was so soon after our gunpowder explosion—How much I miss poor Sargent Travers—he was a fine soldier and the only man I ever could get to feel the responsibility of his situation when on guard—poor fellow he has mounted his last—

DEC. 15. Lieut Davidson and Kit Carson returned from a scouting expedition to meet a body of mexicans that were coming into the Country to sell their goods,—they had but few arms and were friends to our cause—

DEC. 17. I have again had a long talk with Kit Carson—He dined with me to day He spoke of the different expeditions that he went on with Fremont and gave me many particulars of those trips—the hardships and difficulties that Fremont has never mentioned He said The government can never repay me for my trouble. He has promised to visit me when he returns to the united states—I hope that something may turn up so that I may return with him—

DEC. 27. Carson called on me to day—I had a long talk with him, he told me of his being captured at the Cars by Mrs Fremont and Carried off to Col Benton's and also his first entry in a room filled with ladies he said he never was so frightened in his life—Yes the hero of a hundred fights was scared at a room filled with ladies

DEC. 28. Lieut Davidson gave a party last night—I had been there but a few moments when I was ordered to the command of the guard by Coln S- I went to the guard house and found that the officier of the guard had been placed under arrest for getting drunk and raising the devil generally—I had been there but a few moments when I heard a great noise in the street and was informed that Lieut V— was drunk and trying to break into a store I then received orders from the officier of the day to arrest him—I proceeded to do so, found

him full of fight, knocked him down and had a general row with him—The Coln came up in the midst of it and ordered me to take him to the guard house at the same time ordering him to be quiet—He behaved very badly and tried hard to throw the Sargent of the guard down—when he got half way to the guard house—he said if we would let him go he would walk—He then walked to the guard house very quietly but gave much trouble during the night being very noisy—He was sent to his quarters in the morning by the officier of the day but did not remain in them as he broke his arrest and got drunk again and was sent again to the guard house this morning and is there at present—

JAN. 1, 1848. I was at the ball last night given by Col Stevenson—He was very polite to all and it was the most elegant affair I have ever seen in California—the supper splendid the people here had never seen the like before There was much beauty in the room—I could but regret that I could not waltz and enjoy myself as others—I however kept sober and that was more than most did—Mrs Flores was one of the belles of the evening—her sister also was much admired and bids fair to become the belle of California—I will now make a halt and write to my Dear Mother how I have spent my Christmas—

JAN. 2. I had forgotten to mention that the day we dined with Col S- he bid us all welcome to his table in a short but beautiful address—I can only recollect part of it—He said this is the day the battle of Bunkers Hill was fought and on that day I lost a grandfather—he was among the dead of that glorious fight and on this day forty nine years ago my father was tied up and flogged on board of a British man of war for refusing to touch off a gun that was to fire at the flag of his Country—The Colonel spoke for some minutes in a clear tone and eloquently—as he set down he gave the toast of our friends at home—There was none who did not drink that God grant we may spend our next new year among them— —

FREMONT, MASON AND KEARNY

I will now give an account of Coln Fremonts proceedings out here as well as the difficulty he had with Col Mason—I will give the particulars as I have heard them from those who were present. Fremont while in command of this country ruled like a despot and with an iron arm—He had a band of men with him of the lowest grade and worst of characters and permitted acts of cruelty and injustice to be committed that will ever be a stain on the character of the american

soldier in California—Genl Kearney in speaking of one of his acts—says it was murder cold blooded murder—that he (Fremont) knew it and could have prevented it and the stigma will rest not only with Coln Fremont but on us all and be a stain on our national honour—His unwillingness to yield his command up to any one, shews he had other thoughts or views than serving his country—It is said by some that had not the war broken out with Mexico Fremont would have attempted to have established and independent government and the raising of the “Bear” flag was the beginning of it—

The difficulty with Coln Mason was caused by his refusing to let Coln M’s orderly come into his quarters with a message to him. Col Mason sent his orderly to Fremont requesting to see him at his quarters—he refused to permit him to come in but at the same time sent some message back—Coln Mason then sent an officier for him—who after much difficulty was permitted at last to deliver his message or order to Fremont personally, requiring his attendance at Mason’s quarters—Fremont then obeyed the order and the following conversation took place—

Coln M said—Sir when I send for an officier whom I rank and command I expect him to obey me—Why did you not come Sir when I sent for you—I have a mind to put you under arrest Sir—Col F replied my business was closed with you Sir was my reason for not coming—Col Mason immediately said—I want none of your insolence Sir—Col Fremont, that is a term applied to a menial Sir and I hope you will wave your rank and give me an opportunity to wipe it out—Col M answered within the hour Sir—at the same time telling him that double barrel shot guns must be the weapons—some delay however occurred in sending the challenge and Mason had time to think of what he was doing and he sent a letter to Fremont asking that it might be put off for a while which arrangement Fremont consented to Commodores Stockton & Biddle advised Mason not to fight Fremont—he says now he will not untill he gets to the United States

An important event has taken place—There has been a duel between my friend Lieut B and a citizen of this place—It has caused a wide breach between the citizens & officers and it is much feared will lead to more—Lieut B was wounded in both hands his adversaries ball also cutting off the little finger of his left hand—I cannot describe my feelings on walking into my friends quarters on that morning and seeing him lying all bloody on the bed with the officers all around him—I felt very angry and could but say—had he killed you there would have been another duel—

Col Burton has had another fight at La Paz and given the Mexicans a sound thrashing—Capt Steel and Nagle have distinguished themselves—the latter is now under arrest by order of Col Mason for shooting two prisoners that were taken in

fight—Capt Nagle's conduct has been disapproved of by all—in fact his whole course since he has been in California has been marked by cold blooded acts of cruelty—

JAN. 30. I was on guard—It was sunday and crouds of persons were walking on the heights, the day was beautiful, our band was present playing some beautiful airs I had a visit from a number of ladies among whom was the fair Isadora—I invited them in to the guard room and shewed them all the attention I could — — —

FEB. 10. There was a splendid ball given last night at the Mellis's⁸—He was very particular in his invitations———

FEB. 13. We received the news that one thousand men were wanted at Mazatlan to Garrison the places our navy had taken possession of—This news was hailed with Joy by our Regiment as we thought we had the best right to go and were much disappointed to hear that Governor Mason had sent Major Hardy to Oregon for a battalion of Mormons to go down—and Lieut Warner was dispatched to the Salt Lake for the same purpose—we all think the mormons will not go but will have no objection to Garrison this place while we go—Should we have the good fortune to go we all think it is a step nearer home—

[Febry 19th Received appointment of A. A. A. of this Post.]

FEB. 29. Left Los Angeles for Santa Barbara I was ordered by Col Mason on a courtmartial—left on Saturday morning with 18 horses and reached there on Sunday night a distance of 120 mile—staid one week at Santa B—was three days getting back—slept in the woods all night, wolves howling all around me could not sleep, hunted about in the dark for water, found a mud puddle at last drank heartily—had nothing to eat—

[March 8th Returned from Santa Barbara.]

[March 17th Recruits arrived from New York.]

MAR. 27. Placed on guard, had not been on long when I

⁸—Henry Mellus. From this mention of Mellus it appears that Mellus was living in Los Angeles at this time. He was married in 1847 to Anita, the daughter of James Johnson, in Los Angeles. It may be that Mrs. Howard was stopping at his house at this time.

received orders to report myself to the commanding officer Capt'n Smith 1st Drag the Col'n being absent—which order I obeyed immediately and received orders to proceed to San Gabriel with a party of 12 dragoons to assist the Alcalde of that place to arrest some horse thieves. We proceeded at a rapid rate but the birds had flown—It was my first expedition with dragoons and as I am a volunteer officer, considered it a compliment—I had also an opportunity of seeing a beautiful part of the country and we paid a long visit at Mr Reads who gave us a fine dinner and I had an opportunity of seeing the fair Donã Maria⁹—she was very polite and gave me a splendid orange—I tried hard to make friends with them all and I think my fine charger dressed off in dragoon trappings and the military appearance of the rider made quite an impression on the fair flower of San Gabriel

I will now give my readers an account of a ride I took a few days before I went on this expedition—I was riding in the neighborhood of the Mission when I came to a beautiful lake and proceeding a little further came to a high doby wall which enclosed a beautiful garden—I was much surprized on entering the gate to find my friends of the mission living there—It was Mr Reed's country seat and vinyard and he was there spending a few days with his family—I need only say I was heartily welcomed and the old fellow went through the grounds with me and shewed me every thing—In one corner of the garden there were some beautiful flower beds he told me they belonged to his daughter—they were laid off with taste and in borders like those I used to make for my poor sister now dead—As I stood and looked at this spot—thoughts of home filled my mind and I could but think of her in the cold grave and of those from whom I was so far distant—I asked myself when I should see home again and walk among the scenes of my youth—I never felt more sad or more dispirited than I did then since I left home—Yes I thought of home and of all those that are

⁹—Señorita Read (Doña Maria). There is no indication in Bancroft as to what Read this was, as no one of the known Reads seems to have been in California long enough to have had a daughter, at least not a grown daughter. Probably, however, it was Hugo Perfecto Reid, who at this time must have been about forty-six or forty-seven years old, although Hollingsworth refers to him as "old Reed." It seems that he was the owner of Santa Anita, which he sold in 1847 to Dalton. It is probably the Santa Anita ranch to which Hollingsworth refers.

dear to me and when I should see them again—I trust it will not be long and that I shall find them all well and happy—

APR. 17. I have neglected to note down many occurrences of late and this is the first time I have opened my journal for many days—there is however but little stirring Carson is making preparations to leave this country for the United States and we are all grumbling at our hard fate in not being permitted to go with him—We have parades every day, duty is harder now than ever—the battalion paraded in white pants this morning in the publick square and looked well

[May 3rd Lieut Carson left for the U. S.]

MAY 13. I took a ride with my friend Donã Arcadia Sterns to day—It was a lovely afternoon and I have seldom spent so pleasant a time—I have many fears that were it not for that hateful incumbrance of a husband she has I should never leave California! He was along with [us] last evening kept close to her side but he need not have been jealous of me—I did not know when I went to ride with her that a large party were going—I have never attempted any puppyism with her and never will—

Nothing of consequence has taken place here I am acting adjutant of the Regiment and had a fine parade this morning—the men looked well, particularly the dragoons, who were dismounted and acted as infantry on the occasion—I leave here in a few days for Santa Iago on a visit of pleasure in company with Capt Smith, 1st Drag and Lieut Davidson same corps They go to visit the battle ground of Pas San Quall for the purpose of having the bodies of the officers who fell there removed to a better place—

MAY 23. I have again returned home after an absence of six days—had a very pleasant visit to Santa Iago, made many pleasant acquaintances—visited the battle ground of San Pas Quall—of which I have already given a detail—I rode three hundred mile on horseback without tiring—

[May 30th Received a letter from home informing me of the death of my brother Edward.]

JUNE 16. There is not much stirring—many prisoners in the guard house to day under my charge—have orders to shoot down any who attempt to escape—There is one Mormon among

them in irons for forgery—he was a Lieutenant in the Mormon Battalion and passed a large amount of counterfeit money at Santa Iago as american gold—He made an attempt to escape the other night—filed off his irons and got a quarter of a mile from the guard house before he was taken—I have also two Spaniards from Sonora as prisoners—they are suspected of having assisted a man to escape from the town who had just stabbed a soldier in three places—whose life is now despaired of

[June 27th Received letters from home urging my return to the U. S.]

JUNE 27. I visited the Garden of my friend Read and had the pleasure of seeing my fair friend whom I have mentioned on the leaves of this Journal—She seemed much pleased to see me and gave me some very fine fruit Dr Murray arrived at this post a few days ago—We were all much pleased to see him—he has left this morning with quite a large party to visit my friends at the Mission—

JUNE 30. Nothing of any consequence going on Col S still at Santa Barbara—heard from him this morning, he sent for the band and intends spending the 4th July at that place—We had a beautiful parade this morning I was not on the ground being officier of the Guard—A Theatre is to open here on the fourth of July—We shall have some fine acting—I often wile away an evening at it—

JULY 5. The glorious fourth has past and without an accident of any consequence with one exception—It was the running away of the horses attached to the battery—two of the men were hurt—The celebration passed off very well with that exception—The men gave a handsome ball and the Officers another at the Colns quarters—I did not go to either as I had not the money to subscribe and did not care about going on an invitation—

JULY 6. Two officers arrived here from Monterey placed under arrest by Col Burton for gambling with soldiers—Col Mason thought it best to release and send them to this post to report to Col S for duty—untill the proper witnesses arrived from La Paz—They arrived here last evening and were particular in seeking out Lieut Bon — — and myself to call on us as soon as they arrived—though strangers to both—having had no intercourse since we left New York—I informed them that when

I wished to see them I would call on them. Lieut B told them the same—they are worthless fellows.

JULY 8. I paid a visit to Mrs H this morning—She is the wife of an American She was born in the Sandwich Islands and is the daughter of a Minister but educated in the United States. She related to me an occurrence of her life in which she lost a very dear friend—It was this—after her return from the United States she was one evening in a fishing boat with her father and a beautiful young female friend—her father had told them both to take their floating boards with them—these boards are used in the Islands to float on the surf—They had got some distance from the shore when the boat upset and they were obliged to cling to their floating boards for life—They immediately made for the shore and had nearly reached it when she heard a scream and on looking around saw her friend drawn under the water by a shark while she herself was soon thrown upon the shore by the waves half dead from fright—

JULY 10. I mounted guard this morning or rather had command of the Guard—We have had a funeral every evening for three days—two of the men were killed in the night by no one knows who—the last one a dragoon—I have two indian women in the guard house who are witnesses in the case—one is a very interesting woman and has a lovely white infant—a sargent told me this morning that it was his child and woman I wish they were not prisoners for I have no proper place to put them in and have to lock them up in one of the cells—

[July 18'' The news of the wealth of the Gold region reached here]

JULY 18. Went to work to day and settled every bill and am glad to be able to say out of debt, but for the first time since I left home without money!—It would be unfortunate for me to be disbanded at this time for I should not then have the smallest chance of returning home—My life has been prosperous so far since I reached here & I hope a dark cloud is not gathering over me—Things appear to be getting gloomy at this post—Our men are deserting rapidly they have been paid off and the news of the immense quantities of gold that is found in the mining district is a great inducement for them to desert—We have lost eight men from one company and a rush was made yesterday by the prisoners and three of them escaped—

they were closely pursued by the guard and fired at but mounting horses that were waiting for them they got off with their irons on—Lieut Davidson and Williams have been dispatched with a party of dragoons to take them alive or dead There is great excitement among the Men—we much fear that many more will go and we need every man—Don Pio Pico has arrived from Mexico and claims the right of Governor of California—He has refused to report to Col Stevenson and Lieut Bonnycastle was sent last night to arrest him as a spy but failed to find him—He however (Picò) sent word early this morning that he would give himself up to day—If he does not I expect to be sent to the Mission to day to arrest him as I understand he is there

There is no officer in command of the dragoons and unless Lieut D returns to night I shall be assigned to duty with that Corps—I live in the barracks with them now having charge of the public funds It is a post of great responsibility for the Calafornians are more disposed for a revolt now than they ever have been—Pico is stirring them up and the Sonorians have sworn to attack the barracks and take the Iron chest that belongs to the Government They shall have a hard fight for it for I have it now safe in the room with me—

Things look still more gloomy this morning we fear many more desertions will take place—Mr Vermule¹⁰ was arrested last night—We think he has been tampering with the men—His object has been to injure the Regiment all he could and raise a party for the gold mines—These mines will be the ruin of the Country as thousands of men are at work there now nearly in a state of starvation

Rode to the Mission of San Gabriel yesterday with Dr Murray¹¹—He was much pleased with his visit and with my fair friend whom I have so often mentioned on the former pages of my journal—She was at home alone and gave us some fine fruit—And I received last night a fine basket of fruit from her—I invited all of the officers to share them with me—

[July 24'' I was sent with a detail of Dragoons to the Mountains in pursuit of Deserters.]

JULY 24. I have been on an expedition among the moun-

¹⁰—Vermeule. A Lieutenant in Company E of the Volunteers, afterwards a member of the Constitutional Convention, and remained in California. Died in San Jose before 1867.

¹¹—Dr. Robert Murray, assistant surgeon with the Volunteers.

tains after deserters I was not successful—I spent many days in an encampment among the mountains—Had nothing to eat while gone but meat and was very glad to get back—

JULY 27. Not much stirring in town a fine ball was given by the men last night at the Theatre—some of the officers went I did not—The alcalde had a mexican officier arrested this morning and taken to the Guard house for disrespect in Court—It was a proceeding I disaproved of very much I fear they will put him in the stocks—It is all wrong he should have been fined only—

JULY 28. An order has arrived from Col Mason directing Sergeant Falls to proceed to the United States immediately as bearer of dispatches—This selection of Col Masons has astonished every one and much indignation was expressed that one from the ranks should be preferred before an officier—The Sargent was making his preperations when becoming so elated at his good fortune—he got very drunk and caused a mutiny among the men and will be tried by a court martial tomorrow who will go now I do not know—

AUG. 2. The gold fever is raging now and there is a great disposition to desert among the men and much dissatisfaction—I fear it is increasing daily—We have been under such a high state of discipline for so long a time that the news of peace has made the men the more impatient to be discharged—

AUG. 4. The mail has arrived from above Col Mason has sent an order for Lieut S of the dragoons to proceed with a party and one volunteer officier to the gold region—The post of second in command was offered to me but I declined it after much reflection—I thought it would be imprudent in my going at this sickly season of the year into that district—They have the privilege of working as much as they please and I must confess I never was more tempted in my life and hope I shall not regret that I did not embrace the opportunity of visiting the gold regions for I need all the money I can raise—I have paid my debts and owe no man anything but must say I have very little money left—God only knows how I am to get home!

AUG. 8. I went out to the mission we spent the day there with Mr Hutton,¹² he took some sketches of the place

¹²—William Hutton. No notice of Hutton in Bancroft. He went to San Gabriel with Hollingsworth, August 8, where he made the sketches of the Mission and probably others that are in the diary.

and we had some fine fruit to eat,—I have been regretting very much my not having gone to the gold region I fear it has been a mistake of mine but I trust that God will guide and council me in all things—If we are disbanded soon, I can never see home again my debts are all paid, but I have not more than 50 dollars left! I cannot go home on that, when mules are selling for \$100 a piece. I had bought four some time ago when they were cheap and on the day I sent for, and to pay for them—some one had offered more for them and they were sold—

AUG. 9. I bought a wild mule last night he got away from me this morning—Major Ritch left here this morning for San Pedro, he will leave that place this afternoon for Monterey.

AUG. 10. I asked to day for leave of absence from the post for a day—it was refused me I did not want to be excused from duty for I was not on duty but I have never had one days leave of absence yet, without some hesitation on the part of Col S- my object in getting leave of absence was to go in the country some miles to purchase mules to go home on but as usual I have had bad luck—I have had nothing else of late—I thought things would not go on so fair for me much longer—Things appear dark for me now, darker than they have ever been before—

AUG. 11. I rode last night in company with Dr Murray out to the encampment of the engineering party of Lieut Warner—It was a beautiful night and we had a fine gallop by moonlight and got some fine fruit at the encampment

AUG. 13. But little stirring here—some talk of another revolution—weather warm—nearly every one has left for the gold mines—I have some thoughts myself of leaving as soon as possible

AUG. 14. Lieut Davidson left here a few days ago on a secret expedition the order was from Coln Mason—He left in the night and to the surprize of all made his men dress themselves in their best uniform—He made his appearance here again this morning having as prisoner Don Pico the former Governor of California—He is confined in the house of Col Stevenson and I believe is to be sent as a prisoner to Monterey —We have been engaged all day in trying deserters The court sat in my quarters—Col S is the president of the court—Coln

Mason is very anxious to have some of them shot but he would not approve of shooting regulars and he will not get us to shoot volunteers—I for one will not vote for shooting they did not desert to the enemy and four of them came back and delivered themselves up—

[August 17" Received the first official news of Peace.]

[August 23. Commenced making preparations for the Gold mines.]

"FAREWELL TO LOS ANGELES"

Sad is my heart! not poor pile of adobies because I am leaving thee, exchanging thy poor exterior for the bright looks of our own fine marble, brick and wooden edifices, but because of the bright eyes and warm hearts of the sunny smiled maids, your cheerless exterior hides—First to the Doña A-a whose innocent laughing mode of addressing the "teniente alto", will long be remembered with feelings of mingled Joy and sadness—Joy that I have ever possessed so much of thy esteem and friendship, sadness that our lots in this world should have been cast so widely apart—I bid a long a tender farewell, and sincerely do I pray that yours may be a life of happiness uncrossed by pain or care—Next dear Sn. Isa, but alas why name I thee so soon? why not defer to the last what I so much dread and hate—still like medicine, in one bold draught and all is o'er—to thee must I bid adieu—God had predetermined that our fates should not be linked and 'twere vain by hopes or wishes endeavour his decree revoke, as lover, faithful have I been to thee, since first we met, and now that the mandate has gone forth which separates us for ever, believe me dear one, thy image shall ever hold in my heart a foremost place In sadness and in Joy, alike, will I recall thy sweet and tender glances, linked with the memory of thy softly lisped endearments and fervently pray for your happiness—There remains but one more whom I would wish to bid farewell separate from the general mass of my lady friends, 'tis thee Doña Do . . es, in thee saw I more of one of the "Angeles del Pueblo" thy light and aerial figure, thy ever ever smiling countenance, serenity of temper and confiding trusting love of one of my friends has endeared you to myself—and in thus leaving Los Angeles, I would bid you adieu only hoping that your lot in this life may be such as that friend may depict for you in his own heart. And in mass to Doñas Fra. Ysa. Jsa. and all the rest of those whose sweet smiles and laughing voices have aided me in passing more than a year, pleasantly and happily—I bid farewell, only wishing them husbands speedily, and worthy of their own sweet selves.

J. McH. H.—

[Evidently among the feminine friends included in this farewell are the following, whose names Hollingsworth has inscribed on several

pages of this journal, some in rather elaborately illuminated letters.]

Acadia Stearns	Señora Castro
Isadora Bandini	Señora Dolores Flores ¹⁵
Señora Dalton ¹³	Carmen Soberanes
Gabriela Soberanes ¹⁴	Francisca Avila
Señora Mellus	Josepha Ontiveras
Señora Augusta	Doña Maria Ignacia Reed
Signorita Adeleida Johnson	

MAR. 19, 1849. I have again opened my journal, after some months. Which time has been passed in California, and in undergoing many perils, hard ships, ups and downs of life. I will now try to take some note of how the time passed as I can best recollect.—

EXPERIENCES AS A GOLD FINDER

We left Los Angeles, on Sunday the 18th of September 1848, but had not gone far, when one of the carts broke down in consequence of its being overloaded, and as I was in charge of the Rearguard I halted by the side of it. Lieut Bonnycastle proceeded with the rest of the baggage. Col Stevenson ordered the mounted men with all the horses and mules to return to town. I also returned and stayed that night with Dr Griffin. The cart was mended by daylight, and went on to the encampment of Lieut Bonnycastle and I returned to take charge of the mounted men. We were soon ready and off, leaving the city rather in a ludicrous manner. The Col was mounted on a beautiful horse which he could not manage and as sundry of our mules were getting rid of their loads, the Cols horse seemed anxious to get rid of his too. I soon found out that many of our party did not know how to ride. Our friends on all sides wished us a pleasant journey, and we raised a cloud of dust as we passed through the town. I rode by the side of Col Stevenson on my beautiful gray charger arching his neck & stepping proudly, as if he was aware of the white handkerchiefs that waved to the rider a farewell from the windows.

Col Stevenson left me on the outskirts of the town, and rode on to join Lieut B—. He expressed his wish that I should

¹³—Mrs. Dalton. Wife of Henry Dalton and daughter of A. V. Zamorano.

¹⁴—Gabriela Soberanes. The daughter of Feliciano Soberanes, at that time owner of the Soledad ranch, Soledad Mission, and the sister of Carmen Soberanes.

¹⁵—Dolores Flores was the daughter of A. V. Zamorano and the wife of Jose Maria Flores, at that time a general in the Mexican army.

still take charge of the rearguard, with the baggage. We encamped that night on the banks of the River Puebla, and after setting a guard retired to bed, not however before I had taken a delightful bath in the river. A Californian came into camp during the night, with a letter from Lieut Davidson informing us of the desertion of a portion of their command taking all the horses belonging to the battery, arms and &.

It rained this night and our blankets were quite wet in the morning, but our party were quite cheerful and anxious to go on. We made a late start to day in consequence of the animals being wild and hard to pack. Our route lay through heavy sand through which it frequently required twelve oxen to move the carts. We arrived at the mission of San Fernando that night where we found Capt Taylors party waiting for us. Don An Pico was not at home but we were treated very kindly by his Maj Domo. We had some delightful fruit given to us. Capt F [Taylor] and Lieut B. made some arrangements here for exploring the pass of the San Fernando Mountain. They spent a day at this when there was no reason for delaying a moment I having passed through it with a party of Dragoons, on a former occasion and knew the country well. We met here with a misfortune, both of our California vicaros deserting us, taking with them a very valuable horse, and now for the first time Lieut B. appeared to feel what a responsibility he had undertaken. He did not ask my counsel nor did I offer it, and we moved up into the [arroyo] at the entrance of the mountain pass, where there was neither wood or water. Now commenced our troubles. We spent eight days here getting our goods, carts, & & & over this mountain. I worked very hard here, and we both discovered that Col Stevenson had made a very poor selection of men. They had lived in Broadway too long and did not know how to do any thing. Rather a ridiculous affair occurred here with a Dutchman of our party

After getting everything over I attempted for the first time to advise Lieut B— but I thought it was rather coldly received so I said but little. One of our Indians ran away here, with a horse. He was afterwards brought back. I was anxious now to return to return to Los Angeles and try to get a vicaro to help us to manage our wild mules, and after having, rather a sharp discussion, with Lieut B— upon that point he agreed that it was best, I should return. I was gone two days and obliged to return without getting a vicaro, though I was prom-

ised two or three. All my friends were glad to see me, and I carried back a good many letters to Lieut B. urging him, not to go father into the Toolaries as the route was impassable, but go the coast route. I saw many who had been that route and they all said it was impracticable. On my return to camp, I found much dissatisfaction existing among the men. Lieut B— had very little to say, and appeared quite gloomy. Things had now come to a stand. We had made but little progress on our way to the gold region, and yet we had broken down many of our animals, one of which was my mule, that had been overpacked with flour. We had gone through many difficulties, Capt T— had also got over the mountain and was encamped on the same spot with us.

The night after I arrived in camp from Los Angeles, Capt T, Lieut B, Lieut W Lieut C and myself, held a counsel among ourselves to consider what was best to be done. There were some warm words by all parties. I became disgusted at the proceedings and retired to my bed, without giving my opinion on the matter. Lieut B- was warmly in favour of the Toolari route, Capt T wanted to go the coast route, and the rest were divided. I should have voted to return to the coast. In the morning our camp was rather gloomy in consequence of all parties being out of humour. Previous to this consultation, two separate parties had left our camp to explore father in the mountains, one headed by Lieut B, who returned in a few hours without having done any thing or giving any satisfactory reason why he had not. The other by Lieut W, who penetrated nearly to the Toolaries, and reported it practicable for carts to pass with oxen. Capt Taylor now decided to return to the coast and proceed by that route. Lieut B after holding a short talk with the men determined to go ahead. I was not present at this last consultation or I should have voted for returning and even after Lieut B- had decided to go on, had I said any thing to the men, they would have done any thing for me. I was popular among them. I could see that our troubles had just begun. I now went ahead with the advance guard, and after toiling the entire day up a steep sandy ravine the night set in very dark and our guide still pointed ahead when we asked for water, I found that it would be impossible to go father that night, and we halted in the sand and after placing a guard, the men laid down in every direction. The rear guard had not yet come up. It arrived about midnight. The men tired out and all discour-

aged. Lieut B- said nothing and appeared out of humour. It had been very warm all day, but it now became excessively cold. We had travelled the entire day without any water and had just encamped where there was neither fire wood water or grass. Some of our men suffered very much, and had my advice been asked, at this hour of the night I would have said, mount, and return even with our tired animals. I waked early in the morning, and found that the guard had all laid down to sleep leaving the animals to get away. Not one of the oxen, or a single horse were to be seen, except my noble gray who was tied at my head. I was soon in my saddle leaving the camp buried in sleep, returned on the back trail at a hard gallop; rode the entire day without water or food, came up with the animals and succeeded in bringing them all into camp that night. They had succeeded in getting some wood and making some picket fires, all around the camp, placing the animals in the centre. The entire party were on guard this night, Lieut B- and myself were moving around the camp all night, to see that the men kept awake. Lieut B- appeared to appreciate my services, and for the first time we had some conversation. During the night he told me that he had determined to return and go the coast route. I told him I was delighted to hear it, and urged him to start early in the morning, leaving the carts and baggage to follow, pledging myself to bring them safely out of the [mountains.] We found in the morning that all the oxen but eight had gotten past the pickets in the night, and returned to San Fernando mountain.

Lieut B left early in the morning with all the mounted men, with the intention of encamping at the head of the Santa Clara river, and there waiting for me. I soon despatched one of the carts after him and once more mounted my poor, horse, who had now been without food or water for three days. The only water we had was brought from a mud hole some six miles off. Some of the men suffered so much that they could not retain their tongues in their mouth. I pushed hard after the stray oxen (leaving five men to guard the remaining cart,) and finally came up with them, returned to the cart and made a hurried start. I reached the head of the Santa Clara river the day after and joined Lieut B- who was much delighted at my success. We now followed the bank of the river towards the great road that leads from Los Angeles to Monterey. We made forty miles this day encamping at a fine ranche [Camulos?],

where we were kindly recieved by the people. We rested the next day at this ranche and some of our men killed some game which was prepared in a fine pot pie. We were about to sit down to it, when it was discovered as the animals were driven in for the night that several mules were lost, and had taken the back track. None but a stupid mule, would have thought of going back to the place we had left, for there was nothing to attract even a mule. I thought it best to go after them at once before it got too dark, and taking one man with me, we left the pot pie behind us. Starting at a hard gallop but dismounting every moment to examine the tracks in the road, we rode till midnight without success. We then laid down a pile of straw, and wrapping our blankets around us tried to forget our hunger in sleep. I had just fallen into a slumber when I was startled by an awful jerk I waked up and found that my horse had been frightened by the other one jumping against him, and had dragged the saddle from under my head. I had tied him to my saddle when I lay down. I could not help laughing at the surprise of the wild Irishman, who was with me. His horse had sprung away, dragging his saddle also, from under his head, and he sat bolt upright looking wildly around him, not knowing whether his scalp had been taken or not. At daylight, we went back to our camp, and found the party preparing to start having found the mules during our absence, so my hard ride did no good and nearly finished my noble gray. The severe hardships he had undergone caused him to hang his head, and look so badly, I determined to tie him to a cart, and walk untill he recovered. I had now lost a mule, worth two hundred dollars to me and broken down my favorite horse all for Col Stevenson. Our Indians with the guide at this time all ran away in the night. Some of the men, volunteered to drive the carts in their place, and we pushed rapidly on travelling night and day, and at last reached the mission of [San Buenaventura] situated on the great road and only two days travel from Los Angeles, we having left that place more than a month, and if they would have listened to me, we might by this time have been in the mines and Col S- have made \$20,000.

We now travelled fast for Santa Barbara leaving at every step our broken down animals in the road, Lieut B now came to the conclusion that as soon as we arrived at Sta B. he would leave a'l the baggage and leaving me five men and one cart we arrived there after great difficulties Lieut B- then hastened on,

leaving me in charge of the baggage to follow, more slowly. It was with great difficulty I could keep my men from giving up at the [Santa Inez?] mountain. I was obliged to pack all the baggage on the back of my poor grey, and the noble fellow was almost broken down passing over the mountain. We had now arrived at the Indian country, and my men became very much alarmed in consequence, of their having attacked several parties. We met a party who had been attacked and beaten by them and on their seeing the wounded men their hearts failed them, and they begged to go back. Some swore they would not fight. I told them I was determined to go ahead and the first man who refused to fight on our being attacked I would shoot him. This had a good effect on them and I heard no more of it. As we were getting to our journeys end, I made a stop of four days to recruit, my worn out animals, at the ranch of Capt Damers.¹⁶ I did not at first pitch my tents, near the house, but upon his hearing that I was encamped near, he sent for me to come and take supper with him. The next day I moved my encampment close to the house. He was very kind to me made me take all my meals at his house. His pretty daughter always sat at the head of the table and appeared to be a kind hearted girl. I took leave of this place with some regret and moved on as rapidly as possible. At one time we had nearly overtaken Lieut B-

Our road got worse daily and we were sometimes four days making six miles. The men frequently were ready to give up and nothing but my popularity prevented their leaving, goods, carts, and all in the road. Once, and only once, did I feel like giving up. It was when a cart was stuck in the sand at twelve oclock at night, with twelve oxen in it, and they could not move it. I then for the first time gave up and told the men, they might do as they pleased. I would work no more. They went to work and finally got it out.

I have forgotten to mention that on our arrival at Santa Barbara, our party caused some excitement, in consequence of their all being dressed in scarlet shirts. They could not make out at first who we were. Indeed we did make rather a piratical appearance. How different it was from my last appearance at that place. I was a member of a court martial, drest in full uniform, with my side arms, and mounted on a fine horse, with a dozen fresh horses with me. Now I was on foot and so

¹⁶—Probably the ranch of E. G. Dana.

changed in appearance and circumstances, no one could recognise me. I passed close to a lady, I was well acquainted with, but she did not know me. On my arriving at the Ranch of Don —— fifteen miles from Monterey, I found the rest of the party. They had brought thirteen animals out of sixty four head. Lieut B had gone into Monterey to have an interview with Col Stevenson. He had left a letter here for me telling me to take charge of every thing, and wait untill I was joined by Col Stevenson. I also received a letter here from Col S. which was very kind telling me that he would soon join me, and we would start afresh. He did not appear to mind his losses in the least. We waited here four days, and were then joined by Col S and Lieut B-. Col S told me he was well satisfied with my exertions, to save his property. He brought fresh mules, a wagon, and plenty of provisions. I was also much pleased by a visit from Dr Murray who came with them. He brought me some cloathes and a package off letters from home. The letters were often read during my travels afterwards. The Doctor always thinks of me. He heard that I was sick, and took this long ride to see me—He is the same warm hearted fellow still

Our party had now become quite large. Several more men came with Col S and some Indians. The Col took charge of the party and in company with Lieut B- kept always at the head of the advance guard. While I still remained in charge of the rear and the baggage, always encamping with them at night, and sleeping in the same tent with Col S and Lieut B-. After many days of toil we reached the beautiful valley of the Toolaries. We spent four days here recruiting our animals and hunting. Then moved on and crossed the San Joaquin. Our progress became very slow, owing to the badness of the road. On arriving at the Mokelamy river, I there saw for the first time little particles of gold, washed from the earth. Col S- here had the misfortune to lose all his mules during the night. I had told him I thought it was better to starve than lose our animals, and begged him to have them tied up at night but he neglected to do so. I tied all my oxen up and was ready to move on in the morning. Col S- sent me on with the carts and all the men but five who were to take charge of the wagon and remain with himself and B- untill they could find the mules to haul it. I moved on to the center of what is called the dry diggings pitched our tents and commenced preparing for winter.

I bought a house for myself and my friend B- and began digging for gold. My first days work was very encouraging. I dug about forty dollars, and the next two days not twenty five cts.—Col S- and B- joined us, and sold off their goods very rapidly, at enormous prices.

The winter now set in with great severity. Snow fell deep and we soon saw what hardships we must undergo if we remained all the winter in the mines. So after a hasty consultation, we determined to return to San Francisco or Monterey at once. We sold off every thing but our blankets and the clothes on our backs. We saw our bright dreams of fortune fade away. Some of our party were lucky but the greater number could not make their bread. So we made rapid preparations to leave the gold region. Col S- B, and myself set out early one bright morning to return. We were on foot, our rifles and our blankets being packed on the only horse we had, and on reaching the Mokelamy river, he fell down in it, wetting every thing we had. It was with much difficulty, I got the things on shore, and our troubles came thick upon us. The Col. soon discovered that he had left his great coat in the mines with \$1500, in the pocket. Our horse now broke down and Bonny concluded to stop and encamp, while the Col pushed on with the guide towards Sutters fort with the intention of sending mules for our use. I shouldered my rifle with the determination of going back for Col S-s coat. The snow had fallen to the depth of several inches, and the weather became very severe. After assisting B. to build a good fire to protect him from the bears during the night I left him with a young Spaniard and set out on my lonely tramp over the snow. I was fortunate in not losing our trail and arrived late at night in the mines. I found the coat but no money in it, nor had there ever been any there.

I remained in the mines all night and set out early in the morning to join B—. I found him buried in snow and half frozen. His fire having burnt down in the night he could not renew it owing to the situation of his hand. We spent another night in this wild spot, without any news of Col S- or the mules. I then advised that we should move on and try to find our own way through the wilderness. B- consented at last and we made a late start. We had gone but a few miles when our poor broken down horse rolled down a hill dragging me after him. We hid all our things, and taking our blankets on our

backs we set out, I taking the lead. It was with great difficulty we followed the trail. Once we lost it and B sat down much discouraged on the snow. I circled round like an old hound untill I found it once more, and we then went rapidly on untill night came on with a terrible snow storm. Of all the nights spent in California, I think that was the worst. I hope I shall never spend such another. We however got safely to a Frenchmans hut, where we were well treated, and after a few more hard ships we joined Col S- at a ranch near Sutters fort. There I left him and B- to return to the place where I hid the things. I took two mules on this back trip but I got benighted, and came very near being taken by the Indians. I found the things safe, and brought them to Stevenson. I then left for Monterey, where I arrived after eight days, completely broken down. I had tracked my way over the snow and through the wilderness of San Joaquin, sometimes alone and part of the time with one companion. He was a volunteer I had formerly known, and met near

In those few days I suffered, I think, everything Hunger and cold, the constant dread of Indians and wild beasts. One day when we ventured to make a little fire, the explosion of some cartridges nearly put out my eyes, and caused me great suffering. We were then lost on the great plain. I have left out much that was interesting in this trip, for want of time, and have only written that, which would most interest my friends, should this book ever come to their hands. Suffice it now to say that a few more days of such suffering would have ended my days in this world

There is one circumstance I have never related and though it is long, since it occurred it is yet fresh on my memory. when Col. Stevenson left us in the snow, at the time I returned to the camp for his coat, he took with him the only guide we had, and arrived safely at a Tradeing post, twenty miles from Sutters fort. He then began to recollect, where he had left us and that we had ten thousand Dollars in gold dust of his in our possession. As the hours rolled away without any news of us, he began to fear we were lost, he made several offers to persons of a large sum of money to go in the snow and bring us out safely; he went as far as to offer two thousand dollars, as the time wore on he became more urgent, and walked the floor, appearing to be bowed down with the trouble that surrounded him, as he after wards said, his heart was with us in our strug-

gles, threw the snow. He was much rejoiced to see a volunteer [illegible word] at the trading post, who on hearing of the trouble that two of the officers of his regiment were in offered without pay to take some mules, and go to their relief. He started and met us seven miles from the post trudging threw the snow knee deep with the determination of reaching the trading post or die trying. We had left our baggage behind, but brought the money safe. I returned for the baggage, and brought it safe to the Col. The next day was Christmas, what a Christmas it was to us. We bought a salmon for eight dollars, and tried to make merry. The next day we all separated, I started to trudge my way threw the snow to Monterey, a distance of seven hundred miles, alone

LETTER FROM BELT TO HOLLINGSWORTH

Stockton July 7th 1849

My Dear Hollingsworth

I have just understood from Penny that you had met with a loss by the burning of your camp &c &c—dam the difference, strike a hard blow—& make it up, you can easily do it, providing you dont get discouraged. I am at your service, any way that I can assist you will afford me pleasure, you can draw upon me at ten days sight for two or three thousand dollars, if you want it, or any amount of goods. I leave here to morrow morning for San Francisco, is the reason I say ten days sight, for by that time I will be back from San Francisco. I shall leave directions with my bookkeeper to accept your draft, (Brinsmade)

Dont fail to make use of me, either you or any of your partners, so cheer up & laugh at your misfortunes, it can be easily be made up—

In great haste as the stage is about starting

Yours &c &c

Geo G Belt

AUG. 17, 1849. I once more take my pen in hand having skiped over the last five months of my life. I have again passed over the San Joaquin valley the scene of my former hardships and explored still further into the Placers. And I now again have returned to Monterey resolved to go home. I lost all by a fire in the mines. I must now return home a poor man.

TWO SCENES IN CALIFORNIA DRAWN BY WILLIAM HUTTON
 THE MISSION OF SAN GABRIEL IN CALIFORNIA DRAWN BY
 WILLIAM HUTTON OF WASHINGTON CITY

FAREWELL TO MONTEREY AND CALIFORNIA

All great men find it troublesome to commence a work of any character whatever; few like to acknowledge this, but those who have the honesty to do so, are always certain to find a responsive chord in our breast touched. Our great nature's poet Burns is never happier than when rhyming over the trouble it costs him to spur on his Pegasus, or his labor in wooing the muse to her work. Byron though so voluminous had his hours of listlessness; he too, spurred, as you can perceive in some labored verses. But of all incentives to action, the greatest spur is a friend dinging at your elbow with "do it to-day, come, do it now, or you will forget and leave it unfinished": this I have found more urging than poverty itself. Is not some of this dread of commencing at the foundation of the feeling so beautifully alluded to by Jefferson where he says men will bear with wrong under an old government and customs long and painfully rather than make the effort to throw it off. A doubt of the result of the effort, had an undoubted influence in holding us back.

After all this preamble you may think, my friends, that there is some great work in prospective—Well I have such an one—You now expect a Tam O'Shanter, or a Childe Harold or a Declaration of Independence—not a bit of it will you get. The work referred to, is to bid my old Monterey friends good bye; and this you may think easy, but hold: have you ever been in peace, in war, in camp, in garrison, in speculation, with the same friends in sickness and in health, in conditions that required consolation and in conditions where you had had the sweet opportunity of affording condolence? have you been in a country where it grew up with you, when all its hills, vallies, towns, and wealth, and natural beauty changed owners under your eye, and the flag of your country, spreading itself as gracefully as calmly, shed its benign laws over a new people, making them all to feel themselves Princes despite their efforts to the contrary? When you knew the whole economy of the nation, had been intrusted in its councils, and had grasped the hands of hundreds of your countrymen, greeting them joyfully as they landed to take possession of the land of promise that you had borne a hand in conquering?

This, all this, and every particle of it can be laid as flattering unction to the soul. And then when to this vast amount of sentiment, is added the feeling of endearment to persons, who (permitting their pride of nation to be conquered by the more worthy feeling, love to the human race) have performed the duties of mother, sisters, and brothers, the penstock of man's nature is filled and he dreads a leave-taking, fearful, not so much of showing any weakness as of ruining that sensibility which it should be our aim to preserve green and delicate, as the hour it was implanted in us by our Creator—

Man's obligations however, are extensive, and lie on him, who, forgetting his native scenes and first friends, should forget his duties to them. The first mentioned endearments are received, the latter are inherent, and though stiller yet are they the more deeply moved, when the rambler once again visits the scenes of his childhood and the homes of the friends of his adolescence.

Then California good-by with an **hasta despues**; if ever the despues comes, you can rest satisfied that none will greet your cloud-bound coast with a more loving exclamation, than the tall friend you have so long and generously nurtured. In his absence there may not be a watering place on your long line of road, which shall not receive the tribute of his remembrance; not a street, path, or passage, adobie wall, dingy hut, or parlor in misty Monterey that will not again and again be trod over in sweet and plodding thought.

And rest you well my friends—You with whom I've borne war's alarms—with whom I've passed the bivouac—with whom I've threaded the weary march—with whom I've starved—with whom I've feasted, may sleep rest lightly on your pillows and bright reality open with the day, may peace and honor in age crown your toil of youth — —

And You, lastly, because most entitled to our freshest recollections; most great, because most virtuous; most worthy, because most kind and gentle; most lovely and fair; most alive to distinguishing and rewarding honor and virtue in us poor sons of Adam; how well would I feel rewarded, if I but knew that while there a thousand leagues hence, while resting on my pillow some kind voice should be murmuring "I wish he were here". And to particularize, Doña A. and her witching M., from whose eyes shoot more meteors of

love than stars there are that sparkle in her name—The blooming peach-cheeked Anna C.—

“And one whose name I may not say,
For not Mimosa’s tender tree
Shrinks sooner from the touch than she.”

May all your daughters be as virtuous as their mothers, and your sons, wise and brave.

All! All!! All!!! Goodby—

J. McH. H.

LETTER FROM CALIFORNIA

Extract From New York Mirror

“Among the arrivals are Lieutenants Beale and Elliott, U. S. N.; and Lieutenant McHenry Hollingsworth, late of the 1st New York Regiment of Volunteers. . . . Lieutenant Hollingsworth, after four years’ arduous service in California, during which he acquitted himself honorably and creditably, was elected as a Delegate to the Convention, from the district of San Joaquin, by a large majority of the voters—a token of distinction the more honorable, from the fact that he took no part whatever in the election, and was absent in Monterey at the time. His character and services so far gained the esteem of Govr Riley, and the officers of the existing civil government, that, although many applicants pressed their claims, he was selected as bearer of the new constitution to the President of the United States, together with official despatches to the War Department—a mark of confidence of which many an older officer might well be proud. Lieutenant Hollingsworth leaves California, warmly esteemed by all who knew him, and with the best wishes for his future welfare.”

THE EARLY DAYS IN YOSEMITE

During the days of the founding of Spanish California the missions were naturally the centers of civilization, the nuclei from which radiated threads of Latin culture that, by the end of the 18th century had pretty well united the coast region from Old Mexico to San Francisco. To the old Spanish pioneers belongs the credit for the exploration of the desert regions of the Southwest and for the discovery of routes to this sunny New Spain. Following the pioneers came the Dons. Land, whole provinces of it, could be had for the taking. The natives could be hired, coerced, or forced to work for little or nothing. Princely haciendas were, therefore, extended league upon league across the fertile coast valleys, uniting finally into the province of California.

In the first two decades of the 19th century Gabriel Moraga, who had succeeded his father in the command of the Presidio of San Francisco, made forty or more exploratory expeditions into the great interior valleys of California, finally selecting for the capital of this new inland province the region where now stands the city of Visalia. Some of the expeditions in their search for fertile land penetrated the Sierra Nevada well up into the foothills and the lower mountains.

It remained, however, for a stronger incentive to draw men into the more inhospitable regions; in 1848 that incentive came with startling abruptness—gold! Into California from land and sea poured a restless population of adventurers, and into the Sierra foothills they rushed to the placer diggings of the north and to the “mother lode” region of the south. In 1850, then, when the sun had set on Spanish rule in California, the Sierra Nevada was known as far as the upper foothills. The higher slopes were barren of gold and were, therefore, penetrated only in the regions of the few immigrant passes and by occasional wanderings of a hunter or trapper.

In 1833 the Joseph Walker party crossed the Sierra from Mono Lake westward, descending the ridge between the Merced and Tuolumne watersheds. Zenas Leonard, one of the explorers, recorded in his diary what is thought to be the first mention of Yosemite Valley by a white man. He writes, “Some of these precipices appeared to us to be more than a mile high. Some of the men thought that if we could succeed in descending

one of these precipices to the bottom, we might thus work our way into the valley below—but on making several attempts we found it utterly impossible for a man to descend, to say nothing of our horses.” Perhaps these precipices were the walls of Yosemite Valley, but the canyon remained utterly unknown even during the first years of the gold rush.

In 1851, however, Yosemite was forced upon the attention of the pioneers. The California Indians had been ousted from their hunting grounds and mistreated, as was common during pioneer days in other parts of our country. What more natural, then, than that they should retaliate by stealing from the whites? A few raids in the foothills brought forth a command from the Governor that the tribes of the southern Sierra should be confined to a reservation in the San Joaquin Valley. In the early spring of 1851, six tribes were thus removed, but the most powerful refused to leave their homes; among these were the Chowchilla and Yosemite tribes.

James Burney, sheriff of Mariposa County, and James D. Savage, whose trading posts had been raided, formed the volunteer Mariposa Battalion and went forth to punish the unruly tribes. A Nutchu Rancheria was surprised and captured. There now remained only the most warlike band, the Yosemitees, living in fancied security in a remote and inaccessible valley. The old Yosemite chief, Tenaya, brought a part of his tribe into camp but Major Savage was under orders to bring in the whole tribe, so the Battalion marched on over the mountains toward the mysterious valley. On March 25, 1851, they suddenly came out on the promontory of Old Inspiration Point and without much ado they descended into Yosemite Valley and camped near the base of El Capitan. It must be confessed that the importance of the discovery and the grandeur of their surroundings was little appreciated by these men who had left the goldfields to fight, or rather slaughter, Indians. The Valley was found deserted except for one old squaw. After a few days of exploration the party returned to their camp on the South Fork of the Merced and started toward the foothills. During the night the Yosemitees escaped, leaving the Battalion to return without captives.

In May, 1851, a second expedition into the Valley led to the capture of the entire Yosemite tribe which had fled as far as Lake Tenaya but was prevented by snow from crossing

the mountains. The confinement of the Yosemitees in a San Joaquin Valley reservation seemed to have ended the difficulties with this tribe. Soon, however, Chief Tenaya induced the authorities to allow his return to the mountains, promising in every way to be good. One by one his followers disappeared and before long Yosemite was repopulated.

In 1852 a party of eight prospectors from Coarsegold found their way into Yosemite Valley. They were ambushed near Bridalveil Meadow; two of them were killed and a third badly wounded. Upon returning to the "diggings" the friends of these men hurriedly formed a party and marched upon Yosemite to punish the Indians. They accomplished nothing but the burial of the bodies of Rose and Shurborn. As a result of the massacre a detachment of regulars under Lt. Moore was dispatched to capture the murderers. Six Indians were shot and the remainder of the band fled across the mountains where they took refuge with the Monos. No more trouble was experienced with the Yosemite Tribe. They were practically exterminated by the Monos in 1853 when they repaid the hospitality of their neighbors by stealing their horses.

In 1855, J. M. Hutchings, who was then planning his California Magazine, happened to read a short description of Yosemite that had found its way into print. To satisfy his curiosity he went to Mariposa and with three friends formed the first tourist expedition ever to enter Yosemite Valley. The difficulty of finding a guide overcome, the party finally found its way into that scenic wonderland and spent five days exploring and sketching and, as Hutchings termed it, "scenic banqueting." The publicity given to Hutchings' writings and to Ayres' drawings was what really called public attention to the existence of Yosemite Valley.

Two other parties from the Mariposa region entered Yosemite shortly after Hutchings returned and a little later Dr. Scott, of San Francisco, paid it a visit on Hutchings' recommendation. From that time on not a year passed but that tourists found their way there in ever increasing numbers. The following article, published August 5, 1856, in the Mariposa Democrat, is an account of the observations of one of the few expeditions that entered Yosemite in the year following Hutchings' first visit.

Ansel F. Hall.

A TRIP TO THE YOSEMITE FALLS

This day two weeks, in company with Dr. L. H. Bunnell, we left the good town of Mariposa on a trip to the Yosemite Falls, nothing doubting that the sure-footed little pony so kindly furnished us by Mr. Vandyke, of this town, would safely carry us over the hill and dale to our lofty destination, near the base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Towards night, we suddenly came in view of the advanced members of our party, who had succeeded in obtaining an early start on the morning of the same day, but who had mistaken their trail, and had been several hours wandering through the woods in search of it. As soon as we were espied, our presence was greeted with welcome shouts of joy, when we encamped for the night, and next day resumed our tramp for the Valley.

We numbered six in all, viz.: Madame Gautie and Mr. Frank Williams, our hostess and host of that comfortable hotel, the Union; Mr. Craft, Mr. Franklin, and our agreeable guide, Bunnell, and our humble selves. The Chowchilla was soon crossed, and that night we encamped amid stately pines and tapering firs, some twelve miles from the Valley. We were a merry and a happy crowd, and excellent fare added to our enjoyment. We had all formed and expressed our ideas as regards the shape and extent of the Valley, and the character of the scenery on which we were to feast our sight.

But let us on to the Valley, which we reached after a hurried ride of four hours from our last camping ground. We acknowledge our inability to convey even a faint idea of the accumulated mass of grandeur and loveliness that gradually unfolds itself to the startled gaze of the eager traveler. Even now with feelings of awe and veneration we recall the gorgeous array of the vast and wonderful combined in this superb display of the beautiful and the sublime. The hand is not yet formed that, with pen, pencil, or brush, can portray even a reflection of the excessive majesty of aspect that prominently fronts the vision of the shrinking visitor. We travel to foreign climes to obtain a sight of what travelers have written of—some renowned falls, mountains or rivers—or landscapes amid the Alps of Switzerland or the valleys of Italy. We eagerly seek after books wherein some novice traveler has magnified the sight-seeings of Europe, many of which possess no won-

derful attributes of greatness, save in the mind of the traveler, that will compare with the scenery, separately or in whole, of the Yosemite Valley.

We came suddenly, abruptly in view of the Valley; and then commenced our descent of the mountain, following a narrow and winding trail, until we reached the plain below. There was no danger in our path, and if there had been, we would not have regarded it, for our eyes were riveted upon the scenery that was imperceptibly spreading and brightening as we descended the trail. A little way from the top of where we began to go down the mountain, stands a pine tree, opposite to a very large, bold rock. On this tree you will find a sign or blaze. This mark was placed there by Mr. Peterson, the Engineer of the Mariposa and Yosemite Water Company. It defines the height of the first Falls visible from this point, and which appears, at this distance off, like a white ribbon hung over a precipice. There was a break in the timber before us, which afforded a full view of the Valley. We hope no one will attribute to us designing motives, to draw travel through this county, or treat our description of the Valley as the ravings of a wild enthusiast,—because we have no other object in view than to make known to those afar off, who may have never heard of this Valley, what a wilderness of majestic beauty they have yet to explore within the limits of our own State.

As though the enchantress of the woods had suddenly waived her magic wand o'er the mountains, was this fairy scenery opened to our view. Thrilling sensations of awe pervaded our senses, which, as we approached, gradually subsided into pleasurable emotions of wonder and delight, similar to those produced upon the soul by distant music echoing amid the hills and valleys in the quiet hours of midnight. Through the blue haze that lingered o'er the scene, we traced the bold outlines of the towering peaks of the distant range of the Sierra Nevada; while before us, or rather beneath us, spread the verdant Valley of the Yosemite, encased in lofty and picturesque walls of granite, and fertilized by the transparent waters of the Middle Fork of the Merced River. As we approached, the blue haze grew fainter and thinner, seeming to fade from the rocks we neared, only to thicken in density on the more distant summits, that ever and anon were opening to our gaze. Vainly, with attentive mind, we endeavored to

catch the first sound of animated nature. We saw the cascade leaping from its precipitous terminus into the depths below. We knew that the river was flowing beneath us. Yet we heard not the voice of either. Hushed was the cooing of the grouse, and still was the moan of the turtledove. The spell of silence was flung o'er stream and hill, and we appeared like intruders into the realm of Nature's secret repose. In contemplating the grandeur of the scene, the imagination recoils back upon itself, content to follow the reach of vision, completely paralyzed by the magnitude of the expanding vista. Down, down we go, twisting, winding with the path, until we reach the meadow below. And now we first hear the gentle roar of the river, and feel the freshening breeze of the Valley. Glorious Spring was here, quickening Nature with her smiling presence, and lulling her to repose with her sportive zephyrs, sighing through the trees; while around, above, and before us—anywhere and everywhere—was written the majesty of God; and our hearts bowed in all humility to the magnitude of his greatness. Change, the handmaid of Time, was most impressively visible on the face of the stupendous precipices, and by the crumbling ruins scattered near their base. When first entering the Valley, the mind becomes stupified by the immensity of the grandness to which it is opposed. Soon it begins to admire points of beauty in the rocks, or in the trees growing from the crevices of their perpendicular sides. And thus commencing with small objects, it slowly and gradually arrives at a contemplation of some particular height, and finally meditates upon their combined granduer, blended in one universal harmony of perfect sublimity. Thus we rode along, glancing from summit to summit of towering rocks, until proceeding for about a mile and a half up stream, we came opposite the falls of what has been inappropriately called the Cascade of the Rainbow.¹ We say this not to reflect upon the judgment of the gentleman who has ventured to bestow this fanciful name upon one of the most attractive cascades of the Valley. But inasmuch as the falls in the Valley are never of the magnitude of a cataract, and all reflect rainbows at certain hours of the day, the name might be promiscuously applied to all the cascades separately. This fall of water is nearly opposite to the famous giant of the Valley, El Capitan. The stream of water which supplies it, rises in the ridge of mountains that divides the

¹—Bridalveil Fall.

South from the Main Fork of the Merced River, and is one of the latter's tributaries. The volume of water running over the precipice will average, in summer, about three cubic feet per second, and is precipitated in an unbroken sheet of spray, and without an opposing obstacle, to a depth of 928 feet below, where the stream unites with the river, after running through a narrow channel for a distance of three hundred yards. Viewed from any quarter or point of the horizon, this cascade is very attractive. To our mind, it resembled a cambric veil, of ample folds, of the finest texture, the purest whiteness, and fringed with silver fleece or silken floss. Sitting beside the cherry trees, at some fifty yards from the falls, we were singularly struck with the graceful motion of the water in its descent, when pressed by the breeze. Its foldings and unfoldings—its wavings and its twistings—its contractings and expandings—possess an irresistibly attractive fascination, beyond any object on which we have ever gazed, and one, too, from which the eyes are drawn with the greatest reluctance. At night, when our trip recurs to our mind, we muse on its loveliness, until we again hear the noise of its waters in their fall, and see the rainbows that follow its wanderings through the air, in its downward search for the earth and the Valley. We make bold to call it the Bridal Veil;² and those who may have the felicity to witness the stream floating in the embrace of the morning breeze, will acknowledge the resemblance, and perhaps pardon the liberty we have taken in attempting to apply so poetical a name to this Queen of the Valley. Nearly opposite to the Bridal Veil stands the Monarch of the Vale, the El Capitan³ of the Yosemite Tribe. It is the terminus of a ridge of mountains, standing out in bold relief, with perpendicular front, and rising to an elevation of 3100 feet above the level of the river that roars at his base. His stern and prominent front is the first to greet the eye of the visitor. He almost seemed to frown on us as we passed near his base; and on his bleached and rugged visage, the last beams of the setting sun linger with affectionate warmth. This monster of rocks stands on the left-hand side of the Valley as you go up the stream; and adjoining him looms up, with broad, oval top, the Signal Rock,

²—Thus is recorded the origin of the poetical name, "Bridalveil." What of the beautiful Indian name, "Pohono", which means "Spirit of the Evil Wind?"

³—So named by the Mariposa Battalion in March, 1851. The Indian name was To-tok-a-no-la from to-to-kan, the sand crane.

on which the Yosemite lit their signal fires in the hour of danger. The El Capitan projects further out towards the middle of the Valley than any of his kindred, and eclipses all of them for huge proportions and lofty bearing, and is some three hundred feet higher than the Signal Rock. Opposite the Signal Rock stand three sharp-pointed peaks, almost in the position of a triangle. They are jagged, and change their shape and location when viewed from different points. They are the Three Brothers; and further up the Valley, beyond them, and slightly thrown back or in the rear of the Brothers, are the Twins or Two Sisters. They cannot be mistaken, for though, when looking down through the Valley, they seem as a single rock, yet when nearly fronting them, they present two sharp projecting points, and are worthy of attention from the great resemblance they bear to each other.

The Yosemite Falls now make their appearance on the left-hand side of the Valley as you follow up the stream; while directly opposite these Falls stands the Pyramid Rock,⁴ which, when seen from a distance, is shaped and squared like a pyramid, but when viewed from its front, presents a flat, smooth surface. At the base of this huge monster stands a board house⁵ of eighteen by twenty feet in length, without floor or chimney. Near this house we stopped for the night, and prepared our supper, which we ate with a hearty good relish; and after tracing the dim white line of the Yosemite Falls, which front the house on the North, and bowing in silent reverence to the Pyramid on the South, we closed our eyes for the night, and joyfully greeted the morning sun, which, when we awoke, was cheek by jowl with our friend El Capitan.

Our breakfast was soon finished, when, mounting our horses, we crossed over to the north bank of the river, and after pacing along through the luxuriant fern leaves, and elastic meadow grass, for the distance of from four to five hundred yards, we arrived at the foot of the Yosemite Falls—when, alighting from our saddles, we visited the Falls, and stood directly under the falling waters, until the dampness of the floating spray admonished us that we were scrutinizing too closely into the secrets of Nature. The whole height of these Falls is 2600 feet. Its first leap is over 1500 feet. The

⁴—Sentinel Rock.

⁵—Later known as Leidig's Hotel.

stream then runs foaming and roaring down a stony, steep channel, and then makes another leap of 400 feet, until it reaches a perpendicular height of 600 feet above the Valley, when, at this season of the year, it splashes, or rather drags itself down the sides of the rock, into its wide basin below. The Rapids between these Falls are nearly three quarters of a mile in length. When on the top, you can descend by a ravine, and come out under the first Falls.

It requires that one should be several hundred yards distant to justly appreciate the great elevation of this, the heighest, and, during the month of May, the grandest of all the cascades. The impression made on the mind of the beholder is, that it partakes more of the wonderful than the sublime. The water of the last runs, or rather springs, over the precipice, with a languid splash, striking on a projecting bunch of a hard strata of rock, which, when the stream above is full, it freely overleaps with great force, and in an unbroken fall.

Bidding adieu to the favorite Falls of the Yosemite Indians, we continued our tramp up the left-hand bank of the river, toward the broad and glistening front of the Sentinel Rock,⁶ at whose base the three branches of the Merced River join together; and opposite to which stands the North Dome, and behind which the South Dome⁷ rears its ponderous, towering pinnacle, unrivaled in majesty, unequaled in height, and unsurpassed in solidified grandeur—being 3300 feet from the river to the knob of the Dome. The Sentinel Rock⁶ stands at the head of the Valley, and is equally as prominent, from its position, as El Capitan. It conveys an idea of massive magnificence, and, when viewed from either side, affords an ample view of the tremendous height of its top, and the vast dimensions of its base. Keeping it on the right, we rode along the north branch of the main stream for a mile, until we reached Mirror Lake, on whose placid surface the whole of the surrounding heights were reflected, with a distinctness and a clearness unrivaled in beauty by the substantial precipices which enclose it. The water is over ten feet in depth in the center of this Lake, and has a greenish tinge—covers an area of eight acres, and is formed by the waters which flow from Lake

⁶—Th's is evidently Half Dome, which was called in the early days, "South Dome."

⁷—Clouds Rest; mistaken by the author to be South Dome (Half Dome).

Ten-nay-ia, some fifteen miles north of the Valley, and which have been dammed up by a fallen mass of rocks from the craggy steeps of Sentinel Rock. We saw a great number of trout swimming near the surface of the water, and succeeded in shooting one while basking in the sunshine.

Leaving the Lake, we returned to the junction of the streams, and keeping the Sentinel Rock on our left, we dismounted from our horses, and followed the middle tributary of the river, up a narrow and rocky gorge, for a distance of nearly two miles, when we were brought in contact with the Vernal Falls. A grove of pine-trees stand clustering around the foot of the Falls, and a large pine stands like a sentinel directly in front of the descending stream. Everything is moist and green, and the surrounding mountains enclose the stream with a graceful slope, forming a small and almost perfect amphitheatre. The water falls in one unbroken sheet, over a level, perpendicular height of 350 feet; and then following a rugged, narrow and steep channel, it roaringly wends its way to the foot of the Sentinel Rock. Here the ideal and the beautiful prevail. An exquisite thrill of pleasure pervades the senses. The stream glides over the wall above with an easy gracefulness that fills the soul with admiration. All is soft, uniform and subduing. Nothing is boisterous, irregular or misplaced.

Oh! ever green thy vale remain,
And sweet the music of thy flow;
Nor ever strife thy waters stain,
Or dim the luster of thy bow.

These Falls are viewed from a ledge of rocks some seventy-five yards from where the water strikes the bottom in its descent. The stream runs between the observer and the foot of the Falls. From this point you turn your back directly upon the falling water, and scrambling up the mountain before your face, hugging the ridge as closely as possible, and tugging and pulling your body up the insecure steep, you reach an Indian trail. Following this path, which turns to the left through a gap in the mountain, your feet soon press a wide plateau; and from this point the beauty and the magnificence of the scenery is beyond conception. Nature is here triumphant over Art and Genius. Before you rises in stupendous

granduer the towering summit of the South Dome,⁸ the highest and the most prodigious mass of solid rock in the Valley. The North Dome is more perfect in rotundity, but fails to fill the mind with so grand an idea of immensity. Side by side, between the Dome and the Nevada Falls, stand three pointed conical rocks⁹—that nearest the water-fall being called the Sugar Loaf. The opening between the first pillar and the Dome affords a beautiful view of a pointed mountain, which is also seen from Lake Mirror.¹⁰ This addition to the scene fills up the measure of awful sublimity, that startles the imagination, and renders it powerless to describe. To the right, fair in view, gently roars the Nevada Falls, descending over a perpendicular wall or embattlement of 800 feet from the stream, where the water appears as though blown over the cliff in minute particles of foam, as white and as light as the driven snow before some wintry blast. It is the Snow Drift. Here we had the beautiful and sublime so gracefully and magnificently blended in one harmonious whole, that the "Divinity was stirred within us"—when, closing our eyes for a moment upon the vast and splendid array of Nature's mightiness, we confessed our weakness, and in mute silence acknowledged the wonders and goodness of the One Eternal and Supreme "I Am!" Descending with cautious and sliding steps down from this plateau for a distance of three hundred yards, you come to a transparent sheet of water,¹¹ covering two acres of land. It is a hollow basin, and lies equidistant between the Nevada Falls and where the stream pitches off the ledge, and makes the Vernal Falls.

The Vernal and the Nevada Falls are both made by the same stream, and the distance between the two is about one-half of a mile. This Lake has been called "Frances," in honor of Mrs. Jane Frances Neal—she being the first lady who had visited this Lake, and who speaks of the landscape as having fully repaid her for all the fatigue she endured in ascending to the plateau. Let no one attempt to change the name, but rather add some other record of her courage and her love of the beautiful and grand.

⁸—The author has this time applied the correct name.

⁹—Unless the author has included South Dome (Half Dome) there are but two conical rocks to be seen in this direction, Mount Broderick at the left, and Liberty Cap (here called "Sugar Loaf") at the right.

¹⁰—The tip of the Clouds Rest Ridge can be seen in the distance between South Dome (Half Dome) and Mount Broderick.

¹¹—Emerald Pool.

Leaving the Nevada Falls, you follow the stream as it runs first over a smooth, oval floor of granite, widening and spreading as it glides along, until it reaches Lake Frances.¹¹ Here you sit down for a while, and watch for trout, but none are visible, and you continue to follow the stream after it leaves the Lake until it leaps over the brink; and then, resting on a balustrade of pure granite rock, you lean over and see the water as it precipitates itself down, away down below—making the Vernal the most graceful of cascades. Diamond drops flash and gleam on the surface of the descending stream, and rainbows play around its landing place. You shudder while you bend over the balustrade; but soon, attracted by the beauty beneath, your fear is changed to admiration, and you mount the rock, as did Mrs. Neal, and proudly exulting, can inwardly exclaim, that of all the piles of grace and grandeur that check the range of vision, there is none so great as this. It is a magnificent amphitheater, and the splendors of Nature's works are no where on earth manifested with such impressive richness and profusion as are here emblazoned in her giant aspect.

We left the Valley with regret, and as we ascended the mountain we took one last, fond, lingering look on the noblest and the fairest scenery in the world—the equal of which we may never look upon again.

The trail leading to the Valley is free from rocks, and water, cold pure and refreshing, can be had at convenient distances along the trail. The path is shaded by tapering firs and pines of enormous size, and is almost a direct line to the Valley. By turning off to the right-hand from the trail, say about two miles before you begin to descend into the Valley, and following a path along the mountain, the visitor can obtain a fair view of three of the Falls in the Valley, from the summits where the streams pitch over the precipices; and also enjoy a beautiful view of the Yosemite Falls. For four miles up the stream that forms Mirror Lake, the scenery becomes awfully vast and terrifically grand—the rocks running up to sharp, jagged points, and towering in the air to a fearful height. There are Falls¹² on the South stream leading into the Valley, which are about 900 feet in height, but difficult of access—a visitor having to climb over boulders all the way.

Madame Gautier, who accompanied our party, was the first white woman who visited the Valley, and to her, and our

¹²—Illilouette Fall.

kind host of the Union, we return our sincere thanks for their kindness; and also to our friend Bunnell, for his attention.

Below we give the distances from the various prominent points:

From Mariposa to the Valley, by the trail of Messrs. Mann Brothers, miles	40
From the end of the trail to the head of the Valley, and the base of the Sentinel Rock	8½
From the end of the trail to the Bridal Veil	1½
From the Bridal Veil to the Yosemite Falls.....	4
From the Yosemite Falls to the head of the Valley	3
From the head of the Valley to the Vernal Falls	1½
From the Vernal Falls, around up the mountain, winding round by the plateau, to the Nevada Falls.....	1½

L. A. Holmes, Esq., editor of the Mariposa Gazette, and the Hon. R. B. Lamon, fully agree with us in the above estimate of the respective distances.

FORMATION OF THE VALLEY

From the descriptions we had heard in regard to the shape and extent of the Valley, we had conceived the idea that it was a long, narrow canyon, with perpendicular rocks, the sides formed by the river's having worn or cut a channel by the constant wearing away of some softer strata of the base or bed rock, which the stream encountered in its course. In this we were most agreeably surprised. The Valley, beginning from where the Mann Brothers trail¹³ terminates at the foot of the mountain, and ending at the Sentinel Rock at the head of the Valley, is something over eight miles in length, and will average three quarters of a mile in width. The Middle or Main Fork of the Merced River winds smoothly, with a gentle flow, between the high, perpendicular walls of granite rock, in places nearing the bases of some of the more projecting and prominent points. At the foot of the precipices are strewn fragments of rocks which have fallen from the cliffs above, displaced by

¹³—This, the first trail in Yosemite Valley, was completed in August, 1856. Proving unremunerative as a toll trail, it was sold to Mariposa County at about one-third of its cost by its builders, Milton and Houston Mann.

the action of the frosts, or scaled off from the inaccessible sides. The stream gracefully meanders through a large area of meadow-land, which, in places, is covered with a thick growth of fern and shrubbery. Here grows the oak, the fir, the hemlock, the nutmeg, the pine, the maple, the cedar, the spruce, the laurel, the arrow-wood, the elder, the cherry, the plum, the poplar, the balsam, the dog-wood, and the willow. We carefully, yet vainly, sought for the wide-spreading beach-tree; but we were amply repaid for this disappointment—our search revealing the bearberry, the raspberry, the strawberry, the gooseberry, and the serviceberry. Of flowers, we found many varieties, from the rose to the honeysuckle, and many plants which we never before remember having seen. The cherries were yet green, but the berries we obtained in great abundance, and found them to possess a delicious flavor. The fruit-trees and the berry-bushes were vigorously flowering on the south bank of the river, on which the snow remains longest in spring, and where the beams of the sun seldom reach. This was readily accounted for by our guide, from the fact that the Valley runs nearly due East and West in its course between the precipices, and that the fruit-trees, nourished and stimulated by the vital beams of the sun during the day, were nipped in their bloom by the blasting frosts of night. The temperature of the atmosphere would range, probably, during the day, in the shade, at seventy-six degrees of Fahrenheit; at night, the air is cool and refreshing. At the head of the Valley, three streams unite, and form the river that fertilizes its meadows. They are nearly all of a size—one being the stream that forms the Vernal and Nevada Falls—the other coming from Lake Ten-nay-ia, fifteen miles northeast of the Valley—and the third from the Falls some five miles south of the junction of the streams at the base of the Sentinel Rock.

¹⁴It appears evident, from an examination of the opposing fronts of the precipices, that at some period of time the moun-

¹⁴—The theory of the Valley's origin as an earthquake fracture, the result of a great cataclysm, was held during the early days by many eminent geologists among whom was Josiah Dwight Whitney. Muir and King attempted to assign its existence entirely to the action of glaciers. Matthes has proved during the past decade that the Valley was first worn to about 2000 feet in depth by water erosion, then scoured and overdeepened 1500 feet more by the combined Tenaya and Merced glaciers. The retreat of these glaciers about 20,000 years ago left a lake some six miles long; rapid sedimentation filled this and caused the present level floor of Yosemite Valley.

tain was joined in one continuous connection, and that all the streams that supply the Falls with water were united in one river, which was precipitated over an immense height or ridge of the mountain, at or near the top of the El Capitan rock, at the entrance of the present Valley; and that the mountain has been torn asunder by contracting influences, while the globe was in a state of refrigeration. If such is really the case, then when this dividing of the mountain took place, an immense chasm or lake must have been formed, which has been gradually filled up by the debris brought down by the streams, when swelled by the melting of the snow on the Sierra Nevada Mountains, and also by the falling boulders from the heights above. We see nothing to justify the supposition that the stream encountered a soft strata of rock in its course to the Plains, and that by continual wearing, the present bed of the river was formed. Judging from the dry channels leading from the foot of the Falls of the Bridal Veil and the Yosemite Falls, the water falling from their summits, in early Spring, must be twenty times increased in volume, and the Yosemite especially must partake more of the nature of a cataract than a cascade. By the erection of steps up the perpendicular side of the Vernal Falls, the laborious ascent of the mountain, to visit the Nevada Falls, might be avoided, and thus be rendered accessible to ladies, without fatigue or risk.

Here, then, we end our task, as conscious now as when we began this attempt, of our inability to do justice to the scene. Perhaps some poet may arise, who, in verse or prose, may, in some happy moment, stamp a page with the seal of genius, and reflect the glories of the Yosemite Valley, whose every rock is an object of study and of wonder.

Note—There is no evidence as to who was the author of this narrative, but it was probably Warren Baer, one of the editors of the Democrat. The narrative is here reprinted without alteration or correction. Notes have been added.

DOCUMENTARY

(Continued from page 191)

[From Larkin's Off. Corr. II, 167-168, Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

The undersigned Constitutional Governor of the Department of the California, has the deep mortification to make known to Mr. Thomas O. Larkin Consul of the United States of North America, that he has been greatly surprised in being notified by official communication of the General Commandancia of this Department and the Perfection of the 2nd. District, that a multitude of foreigners of the United States of America have invaded that frontier, taken possession of the fortified town of Sonoma, treacherously making prisoner of the Military Commandant Don Mariano G. Vallego, Lieutenant Colonel Victor Pruden, Captain Don Salvador Vallego and Mr. Jacob P. Leese, and likewise have stolen the personal property of these individuals. The undersigned can do no less than make known to the Consul of the United States that acts so extraordinary and alarming have caused very great grief. Up to the present the Departmental Governor has not the least information that would give him to understand of a declaration of war between Mexico and the United States, and without such information he judges the course pursued at Sonoma the most atrocious and infamous that can be imagined so much so that the like is not seen even amongst barbarian.

The have attacked the rights of the people breaking the established social, compacts profaning the sacred soil of another Nation indeed scandalously usurping an integral part of the Mexican Republic and what is more provoking still is an ignominious libel, is the folly of the principal of this multitude of foreigners William B Ide's separation of the Mexican Union. This act tends to excite the mind of the undersigned and causes him to suspect that the Government of the United States is concerned in the matter, which certainly would increase his regrets. .

Mr. Thomas O. Larkin will permit the undersigned to say to him frankly, that he has witnessed with extraordinary coolness the invasion of the Department, and that you have failed to note the general movement of all the inhabitants in defence of their Country and liberty. You have not been known to

make any arrangement that might make the invaders recede from their abominate designs and prevent the misfortunes which they can cause by the means of hostile provocation, misfortunes that the Departmental Government will place to the responsibility of the chief authors before God and the entire world. So base management as observed on this occasion highly comprises the honor of the United States and if it shall have such a stain upon itself there is no doubt that it will be graven eternally on the remembrance of all Nations, and will cause it to be despised. The undersigned believes that the Consul of the United States will agree with him that the acts committed by this party of foreigners, Americans, has the appearance of actual and down right robbery, and that the Consul will agree with him that his indifference to prevent such fatal results seeing they are subjects of his own Nation who are violating this part of the Mexican Nation. Compromising more and more both Nations.

The undersigned in fulfillment of his duty, sees himself obliged to recommend to the Consul Thomas O Larkin, that he made clear to him the occurrence which has happened at Sonoma, to exact full satisfaction from him, hoping that he will use all the means in his power to escape in time such terrible consequences, and finally protest solemnly in the name of the Departmental and Supreme Government of the Nation that it is decidedly opposed to all aggressions defending to extremity its independence, liberty and unalienable rights repeating that the principal authors are responsible to the representative of the United States for those abuses and results of corrupt designs, from which they are not deterred.

The undersigned hopes that the prudence and judgment of the Consul of the United States at Monterey, admitting the justice that assist him the answer to this letter (and imploring it may come without delay) may be in accordance with my benevolent wishes

The undersigned has the honor of renewing to the Consul of the United States Mr Thomas O Larkin, assurances of his attention and regard.

God and Liberty, Santa Barbara June 29, 1846,
(signed) PIO PICO

To Don Thomas O. Larkin
Consul United States of America
for California.

[From Larkin's Off. Corr. II, 168, Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

Consulate of the United States of America
Monterey California 5th. July 1846

Sir

The undersigned Consul of the United States of America for California has the honor to acknowledge the reception of his Excellency's letter of the 29th. of last month, which was received yesterday afternoon.

His Excellency may be well assured that the undersigned is duly sensible of the great importance of the subject brought before him, and is compelled to say that he cannot alone enter into any mode for the expulsion of the foreigners, who have taken possession of Sonoma, he is bound not only to protect his Countrymen in California from any unjust oppression and settle in amiable manner any disputes in which they may be concerned but firmly to refuse them support when they have been wilfully guilty of any infractions of the law of this Department, giving aid to the authorities in such cases, which aid has been refused by the Commandant General and Prefecto.

The undersigned must assure his Excellency, that he was wrongly informed when told he made no exertions to aid the proper authorities and your Excellency can learn that the undersigned has used the only means in his power as a Consul and his Consular services had not been accepted.

His Excellency is pleased to say that the Americans engraved in this affair are responsible to the Consulate the undersigned must observe that he knows not where this responsibility exists, and will not underate the good sense of his living in the idea that he believes Consular letters would have effect on the persons in question or that the authorities would have given him soldiers to have brought into Monterey an equal number of Americans, when General Castro with three times their force did not see proper to expel those who took Sonoma. The reasons brought forward by the Excellency as proofs that the Government of the United States is concerned in this matter not being sustained will being by the undersigned proved erroneous it requires no further assertion on his part to convince his Excellency on the subject. The undersigned

has the honor to renew to his Excellency the Governor of California assurances of his deepest respect and Consideration

(Signed) THOMAS O. LARKIN

His Excellency

Don Pio Pico Governor of California



[Larkin Documents IV, 192, Bancroft Library.]

[Original.]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth

Yerba Buena, July 2nd. 1846

Dear Sir/

I have received your several communications by the Moscow, and feel very desirous to learn something more definitely concerning the mysteries refer'd to in them. Were I enlightened respecting the future designs of our Government—or concerning the actual condition of affairs with Mexico; I could probably do much, in the present crisis; towards accomplishing objects in view. My neutral position, while all is stirring and exciting about me, renders us quiet spectators of passing events. I am looking for the arrival at this Port of both Commodores; as this must be the point of all important operations. Captain Mervin will give you the news of this region to whom I have written fully—De.la Torre who was sent on the 23rd Inst to retake Sanoma, was chased by Fremont (who is operating with the Insurgents) from before that place to Sau Solito; where he fortunately found a Large Freight Boat, affording him the means of escape to the main body under Castro on the opposite side of the Bay; the Insurgents pressing close upon him, so; that but for the Boat; they must have been entirely cut off. Be p!eased to make my respects to Mrs. Larkin.

Respectfully

Your obt. Servt.

JOHN B MONTGOMERY
Commander

To/

Thos. O'Larkin Esqr.

Consul of the U. States

Monterey.

N. B. Yesterday Fremont with 20 men crossed the entrance of the Bay from Sausolito and spiked all the cannon, eight brass pieces, mounted these and returned without interruption.

J. B. M.

[Departmental State Papers VII, 68-69. Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

1846. Julio 3. Sta Barba.

José Ma. Flores al govr. Pico. Miras de los invasores. Política americana.

A pedido del govr. dá una relacion de los sucesos de Sonoma y dice "los principios qe dichos aventureros han proclamado son: la destitucn de las autoridades y leyes mejics, la organizacion de un gobno. formado pr. ellos, en suma la usurpacion completa de Califs. En la declaracn. espedida con otra 18 del ppdo. por el qe. se titula comandte. de aquellas fuerzas (y de qe he dado á V. E copia) advertirá clara y terminant de sus intenciones." Con relacion de la conducta del consul americano en Monterrey y el buque de grra fondeado en bahia de Sn. Frco. dice que es la misma como observó en Tejas el gobno. amerno., esto es la simulacn y la perfidia—y dice qe apesar de las vanas y falsas protestas de amistad con qué alagan se sabe qe secretamte dirijen y protejen á los aventureros mandado vestuarios vivires y municiones—habiendo llegado hasta tar grado el descaro del consul qe habia manifestado publicte. qe los Es. Us. tenian resuelto apoderarse de Cals. á todo costo y qualqr. medio.

[Translation.]

July 3, 1846. Santa Barbara.

José Ma. Flores to the governor Pico. Intentions of the invaders. American police.

At the request of the governor gives a report of the events that took place in Sonoma and says "the principles which said adventurers have declared are: the destitution of the Mexican authorities and laws, the organization of a government made by themselves, in a word, the complete usurpation of California. In a declaration issued on the 18th of last month by the one who styles himself the commander of those forces (a copy of which I have given you) you will observe clearly and finally their intentions." In regard to the conduct of the American consul in Monterey and of the man-of-war lying in the bay of San Francisco, it is the same as that observed in Texas; that is to say, dissimulation and perfidy—and it says that notwithstanding the vain and false protests of friendship with which they flatter, it is known that secretly they direct and protect

the adventurers, furnishing them with clothes, food and ammunition, the shamelessness of the consul having reached such a degree as having publicly declared that the United States had resolved to conquer California at whatever cost and by any means.



[Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Original.]

To the residents of California who declared the Independence of the Territory at Sonoma. June 18th 1846.

It having been reported to the Commander in Chief that the Residents of California who declared their Independence at Sonoma June 18th 1846, have felt that they have been considered as Enemies of the United States and that the American Flag was hoisted at the fortified positions in their possession with a feeling of hostility towards them, this, therefore is to assure the above named residents that they have not been viewed as Enemies of the United States but on the contrary have been considered as Friends and Brothers in arms fighting for Independence, Equal rights and the Freedom of Republican Institutions. And it affords the Commander in chief great pleasure to assure the said Residents of the high gratification it has given him to learn with what alacrity they have rallied round the Star Spangled Banner under the command of Officers of the United States to defend the honor of the American Flag.

In conclusion the Commander in chief assures all the Settlers of the North that he has given such instructions and will take such measures in relation to their welfare, as will protect their honor, and conduce to their greatest happiness and security.

JOHN D. SLOAT

Commander in chief of the Forces of
the United States in the Pacific Ocean,
and the Territory of California

Returned by Lt. A. Gillespie
on board the Savannah
Bay of Monterey July 21, 1846

L. W. Sloat

Sec. Comdr. in Chief—

[An unpublished and hitherto unknown proclamation. The date is certainly incorrectly given, and in view of the notation at the bottom it is probable it should be **July 18.**]

[Larkin Documents IV, 223. Bancroft Library.]

[Original.]

Julio 23/846

Fortaleza de N. Helvecia en el Sacramto.

Sor D. Tomas O. Larkin.

Muy Sr. mio: Anoche, por conducto de Juan Murphy recibí la apreciable que contesto. Por ella veo que V. se interesa en nuestra suerte, y por sus buenos oficios le vivire spre. reconocido dándole ahora las gracias. El Sor. Murphy que trajo el courio está nuevamte. convenido conmigo para volver hta. este lugar con la contestn. de unos despachos del Comodoro. Por ellos espero que quedasé en libertad tanto yo como mis compañeros de prision, pues ha sido injusta á causa de que sin resistencia alga. se nos arranco del hogar domestico de orn. del Capn. Frimont el 14 del mes pasado, y se nos condujo á un campo de donde nos mandó presos é incomunicados á esta fortaleza donde permaneceremos sin saber nuestro final destino. He visto al fin tremolar el pavellon N. Americano y ntra. situacion no cambia aun: hemos oido hablar de las proclamas del Comodoro q. se han publicado en todo el pais (menos en este lugar quisa malisiosamte.) y nuestra situacion no cambia, ni hemos podido conseguir que se nos manifieste, sin embargo se nos habla de seguridad de garantias &—Al tomarnos presos en nuestras casas, se nos ecsijio por escrito un documento en que prometimos vajo ntra. palabra de honor vidas é intereses no hacer armas contra la causa de los que nos tomaron, escribiendo estos otro de que serian respetadas nuestras vidas, faml. y propiedades quedando en ntras. casas; po. antes de secarse las firmas se quebrantó lo escrito y por la fuerza se nos condujo hasta esta lugar,: ambos documtos. tengo en mi poder para justificarme en todo tpo. y para hacer patente á todo el mundo que no merecimos ser tratados de la mana. que llebo referida.

En fin la bandera nacionl. N. Americana tremola en esta parte del pais, ella protege á los habitantes, y sus propiedades y hace justicia á todos igualmte. la que espero se nos imparta, poniendonos en libertad.

Lo mismo q. V. creí luego que vi enarbolado el pavillon American, es decir, que seriamos puestos en libertad; po. nada de eso á sucedido, antes al contrario permanecemos lo mismo q.

antes sin el menor motivo de sospecha se lo juro á V. á fe de hombre de honor.

Nuestras fams. desda la fha. indicada, se hallan abandonadas absolutamte. en Sonoma, pues al tiempo de sorprendernos en ntras. casas no había mas hombres que nosotros mismos. ¡Considere V. cual será ntra. situacion y congoja!

Posteriormente. á ntra. prision de se han estraído grandes partidas de ganado bacuno y caballas de mi propiedad y otras, en terminos que no hay ni un solo caballo en q. montar en los ranchos.

Yo le supco. á V. en nombre de la Amistad se interese con el Comodoro pa. q. se nos ponga en libertad de volver á nuestras casas, protestando, como lo hemos hecho ya de sometermos á las determinacions y garantias que se otorgan al comun de los havitantes en la proclama que se dice se publico ya en el pais. &

Le agradezco á V. infinitamte. la remision de las cartas de mi hijo venidas en la Congress.

Soy como apre. con todo consideracion su mas attvo. sego.
S. Q. B. S. M.

M. G. VALLEJO

[Translation of above, in the possession of Mrs. Emparan.]

Fort New Helvetia on the Sacramento
July 23, 1846

Mr Thos Larkin
Sir

Last night through the hands of Mr. John Murphy I received your most appreciated communication which I answer it. I perceive the interest you take in our misfortunes and for your good services I shall forever recognize the obligation & do now most sincerely thank you. Mr. Murphy who brought us the Courier has newly arranged with me to return to this place with some dispatches of the Commodore in which I hope for the liberation of myself and fellow prisoners this deprivation of our liberty has been most unjust as without the least resistance we were dragged from our domestic hearths by order of Capt. Fremont on the 14th of last month we were conducted to camp from which we were sent without being

questioned to the Fort where we still remain without knowing for what we may be detained. I have finally seen hoist the Standard of N. America and still our situation is the same we have heard speak of the proclamation of the Commodore published in all parts of the Country (except in this place perhaps maliciously) and our situation does not change neither have we been allowed to see it although people talk of security and guarantees etc. etc. At the time we were made prisoners in our houses a written document was demanded from us in which we promised on our word of honor our lives and our interests, not to take up arms against the cause of the person who took us they writing another in which they promised security and respect for our lives our families and our property ourselves remaining in our houses but before the signatures were dry this writing was broke up and they conducted us to this place. I have both these documents in my possession to justify myself at any time and to prove to all the world that we ought not to have been treated in the manner I have shewn you. The National Flag of N. America fly's in this part of the country it protects the inhabitants and their property and dispences equal justice and I hope we shall have a part of by receiving our liberty This is what I believed the moment I saw the American Flag fly that we should be put at liberty but nothing of this has happened on the contrary we remain just as we were without having given the least motive for suspicions I swear it to you by the faith of a man of honor. Our families have absolutely been abandoned since the date above mentioned in Sonoma. At the time we were surprized in our house, there were no men in them but ourselves! Consider to yourself our situation and affliction

Since our imprisonment large quantities of cattle and horses belonging to myself and others have been drove off in parties of such magnitude that there is not a single horse on the farms to saddle. I do beg of you in the name of friendship to use your influence with the Commodore for our liberty and for our return to our homes protesting as we have before done that we are willing to submit to the determination and guarantees that the Commodore offers to the inhabitants in common in this proclamation which it is said he has published in this country.

I shall be infinitely obliged to you if you will have the

kindness to procure and send me the letters sent by my son in the Congress.

I remain as always with all consideration your most affectionate

M. G. VALLEJO

Endorsed on the back:

Copy of a letter from M. G. Vallejo at the time of his imprisonment.

[The handwriting and the rubrica appended by the person who copied it are unfamiliar to us.]

AUCTION SALE OF CALIFORNIANA

A sale of unusual extent and importance was held in the Anderson Galleries, New York, November 27, 28, and 29. The collection was the property of a well-known New York dealer, and 1157 lots were offered. It was entirely on the Early West, and the Far West, of which naturally a considerable portion related to California.

Many of these items were scarce, and some others were remarkably rare. The bidding at this sale must have been quite as spectacular as some of the features in the catalogue, for many new and surprising records were made.

The "Original Autograph Manuscript letter announcing the disaster to the Donner Party," etc., signed "Kern," written by Edward M. Kern at Sutter's Fort, March, 1847, four pages, folio, brought \$1100.00. The reasons for the realization of this amount are not apparent. The letter certainly is unique and doubtless unpublished, but it presents no new facts regarding the ill-fated Donner Party. The details of cannibalism have been written and rewritten often and again, and as frequently denied. The faded sanguinary diary of Patrick Breen still exists in the Bancroft library, and a decade ago was printed, so at best this letter adds but one affirmative to a long list already solidly entrenched in history.

"The only located copy of the 'Weekly Pacific News' printed on wrapping paper!", San Francisco, Mar. 1, 1850, four pages, folio, produced \$300.00. Doubtless the purchaser felt the justification of faith, and his faith was sufficient to remove mountains. The contents are not mentioned, so they must have been of the usual order. That it was a "weird issue on wrapping paper," is not of great moment, for not only was there a marked scarcity of white paper in San Francisco during a part of 1850, but this famine continued to vex the printers, more or less all through 1851 and 1852, and the varieties and colors of the stocks of paper used in the local newspaper offices would dim the iridescence of several rainbows.

"The only known complete file of the first volume of the San Francisco Call," San Francisco, Dec. 1, 1856 - May 31, 1857, realized \$1275.00. In comparison with the preceding lot this sum would appear to be low. According to the catalogue it

is also unique, and contains 158 numbers. But the absence of the "weird wrapping paper" feature, perhaps accounts for the seeming discrepancy in the figures obtained.

A considerable portion of the catalogue is devoted to items of history, etc., of localities eastward and southward of the far western states, and with these we are not at present concerned, although among them are many great rarities.

Aldrich, *Journal of the Overland route to California*, Lansingburgh, 1851, one of the two known copies, brought \$290.00; Bidwell's *Memorial Exercises*, Oroville, 1900, \$65.00; Bolton, *Title-papers, etc., to the Santillan Claim*, with map, San Francisco, 1855, \$155.00; Bouchard, *Travels of a naturalist*, London, privately printed, 1894, \$82.50; Brown, *Political History of Oregon*, Portland, 1892, \$62.50; Broadside, *Celebration Ball in honor of the Admission of California*, San Francisco, Oct. 21, 1850, printed in gold, \$75.00; Map of the Gold Regions (1849), catalogued as "unknown," \$150.00; Memorial of Thomas H. Dowling in regard to his claim to the Island of Yerba Buena (Goat Island), three pamphlets bound together, (ca. 1871), \$210.00; McGarrahan Land Claim, New Idria Mine, nine pamphlets bound in one, 1870, \$250.00; Woolley, *Exposition of the facts connected with the Rio de Santa Clara land grant*, Washington, 1876, \$105.00; *Spirit of the Age*, newspaper, Vol. 1, No. 78 to Vol. 1, No 128, Sacramento, 1856, \$350.00; *Nevada City Daily National Gazette*, Vols. 1 and 2, Nevada City, 1870-71, \$710.00; Carson, *Early Recollections of the Mines*, Stockton, 1852, with map, being the first book printed in Stockton, \$360.00; Damon, *Trip from the Sandwich Islands to Lower Oregon and Upper California*, Honolulu, 1849, being seven numbers of the "Friend", with title-page, \$165.00; Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies, etc.*, Paris, 1844, two volumes and atlas, \$210.00; Gay, *Sketches of California* (New York, 1848), being a medical advertisement in the original wrappers, \$330.00; *The Oregon Archives*, Salem, Oregon, 1853, \$215.00; Harris, *Mormonism Portrayed*, Warsaw, Ill., 1841, \$400.00; Hastings, *Oregon and California*, Cincinnati, 1857, \$290.00; Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, Liverpool, 1855, \$155.00; Lowell, *Map of the Nez Percés and Salmon River Gold Mines in Washington Territory*, San Francisco, 1862, only known copy, \$760.00; Thompson, *Journal of Heber C. Kimball*, Nauvoo, Ill., 1840, \$615.00; Mormon *Constitution of the State of Deseret*, Kanesville, 1849, \$1030.00; Read, *Journal to the*

Gold Diggins, by Jeremiah Saddlebags, Cincinnati, 1849, a humorous pictorial work, \$275.00; Manual of the Corporation of San Francisco, 1852, with two maps, \$235.00; Slater, Fruits of Mormonism, Coloma, 1851, \$375.00; Starr, A California Vision and Reality, Cincinnati, 1864, \$76.00; Walton, The book needed for the times; containing the latest well-authenticated facts from the Gold Regions, Boston, 1849, \$160.00; Wilkes, History of Oregon, New York, 1845, \$100.00. Many other lots, especially those relating to Texas, realized prices equally high.

The catalogue is amplified with many valuable notes, and is also disfigured by many statements which are entirely erroneous, and therefore misleading. That these fictions have been the intention of the cataloguer is not contended. But to state with an assumption of authority that any item is the only known copy, or, that of another but two copies are in existence, is a daring exhibition of superior knowledge, and a dangerous arrogation of superior rights. The gauze of the familiar and reiterated statements, "unknown to Bancroft," and "not known to Cowan," has become sadly threadbare. The results of the imperfect researches, and the more imperfect erudition of these intrepid cataloguers are much like the valiant efforts of Falstaff at the famous battle of Gad's Hill, combined with the touching but simple trust of the ostrich.

On the other hand, however, despite these reflections, the owner of this collection is entitled to a debt of gratitude. He brought together a very large gathering of useful and valuable material, much of which would have gone to destruction were it not for his strenuous efforts. In its distribution a considerable portion of this material has gravitated to permanent keeping and preservation in sundry public institutions. He has shown to the faithful the existence of many items unknown to most of them, which adds to the scope of education, and widens the narrow perspective of many librarians and most collectors; and upon the general results of this sale he is well worthy of congratulation.

Robert Ernest Cowan.

REVIEWS OF RECENT CALIFORNIA BOOKS

The Shirley Letters from California Mines 1851-1852. Being a series of twenty-three letters from Dame Shirley (Mrs. Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe). Illustrated. Printed by Thomas C. Russell at his private press. San Francisco, 1922. 1, 350 pp. 8°.

Whoever is interested in the early history of California, whether as a student or as a casual reader, owes a large debt of gratitude to Mr. Thomas C. Russell of San Francisco for his choice reprints of scarce historical works.

The Shirley Letters is the latest of his books. They are a valuable record of one section of the gold diggings of California in 1851 and '52. They were written with no thought of publication, from Rich Bar and Indian Bar on the North Fork of the Feather River, to Dame Shirley's sister in Amherst, Massachusetts.

In 1854 the Reverend Frederick C. Ewer of San Francisco, a friend of Shirley, eagerly made use of the interesting letters, in *The Pioneer*, a monthly magazine which he was just establishing. Their publication began with the first number, January, 1854, and continued through the life of the magazine, until December, 1855.

Bancroft, in Volume VII of his *History of California* makes note of the indebtedness to Shirley of later writers on the mining days of California. Josiah Royce found in these letters authentic material for his chapter, *The Struggle for Order*, in his book on California. The section, *A Typical History of a Mining Camp in 1851-52* is an epitome of Shirley's account. "A marvellously skillful and undoubtedly truthful history", Dr. Royce tells us, "infinitely more helpful to us than the perverse romanticism of a thousand such tales as Mr. Bret Harte's, tales that, as the world knows, were not the result of any personal experience of really primitive conditions." Suggestive bits from these letters were undoubtedly seized by Bret Harte and expanded and enlivened by his genius into telling incidents in *The Luck of Roaring Camp* and *The Outcasts of Poker Flat*. It is even probable that the incident of the tame frog in the barroom furnished Mark Twain with the foundation of his story of *The Jumping Frog*.

From *The Pioneer* (a complete file of which it is now difficult to obtain) Mr. Russell has gathered these letters of Shirley and made them into a beautiful book, printed on fine paper with wide margins, and handsomely bound. The plates deserve especial mention, both for their intrinsic interest and for their admirable illustration of the text.

Dame Shirley was the pen name of Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe who came, as a young bride with her husband, Dr. Fayette Clappe, to San Francisco in 1849. She was a gifted and educated girl of high connection in the East. The spirit of adventure was strong within her and, after the sojourn of a year in primitive San Francisco, early in 1851 she gladly followed her physician-husband to the gold diggings of the Sierras whither he had gone in search of health. Mrs. Clappe was small, slight in stature and delicate in health; but no hardship daunted her indomitable spirit, and mere inconveniences were good-humoredly accepted and transformed by her into treasured experiences, to be afterwards recounted by her skillful pen.

On her way with her husband from Marysville to Rich Bar she fell twice from her mule; once into dust two feet deep, and once on the only place on the precipitous five-mile descent into Rich Bar which was wide enough to hold her. At any other spot she would have inevitably rolled down the mountain-side and been dashed in pieces.

Two nights she spent in the open, all unprepared to camp, one in imminent danger of an Indian attack (of which she was happily unconscious) and the other disturbed by grizzly bears growling in the vicinity. The other nights of her journey were passed on hard bunks in primitive ranch houses or on the ground in flimsy tents—houses and tents alike infested by fleas, sometimes so many that the air was black with them. At one time she was thirty hours without food, of which nearly twenty-four had been passed in the saddle. But the beauty of the scenery, the majestic, solitary woods through which she passed, the glorious blue of the California sky, the flowers, animals, birds and butterflies, all occupied her thoughts and later her pen more than the dangers and discomforts of the way.

Her first impressions of Rich Bar are vividly described. The Empire Hotel which received herself and husband was "the only building in the settlement with a live up-stairs and

two or three glass windows," both unknown luxuries in all other buildings. Even the "buildings" were mostly tents, flimsy cloth stretched around a few stakes, or *ramadas* of green boughs. The roof of the hotel was covered with blue canvas and the barroom lined "with that eternal crimson calico which flushes the whole Golden West." There were only four women in Rich Bar when Mrs. Clappe arrived. Of these one was on the eve of departure and another soon died.

A few months later a log house at Indian Bar became the home of the courageous little woman and here she and Dr. Clappe remained until they left the diggings late in November, 1852.

During all her stay at the mines Mrs. Clappe kept up her cheery letters to her sister in the old New England home. Life in the camps in all its phases passed before her eyes and was transformed by her pen into mental pictures for her sister's vision. She glossed over nothing. As gambling, thievery, suicide, murder, hangings, floggings and duels alternated with happier sights and experiences she described them all. Her bright courage never forsook her, nor did her serene contentment waver. To the last she was full of enthusiasm for the beauty and wonder of California and of appreciation of the good in her fellow-beings. She saw beneath their rough exteriors and found the worth which still dwelt below the surface in most of them.

After a year and a half Dr. and Mrs. Clappe returned to San Francisco and to such civilization as California then possessed. Here they established a home, but sad reverses came and Shirley's last years in San Francisco were spent as an inspiring and beloved teacher in the public schools. More than one San Franciscan rises now to call her blessed. Charles Warren Stoddard was one of her pupils, and also Mrs. Mary V. Tingley Lawrence who has contributed a delightful sketch for the introduction of Mr. Russell's book.

Mrs. Clappe later returned to her early home in the East, living for a time in close association with Mrs. Bret Harte and her children in Morristown, New Jersey, where she died in 1906.

Helen Throop Purdy

A History of California: the American period. By Robert Glass Cleland, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922. xvi, 512 pp. 8°.

The imperative need of a history of California in its modern phases, has long been experienced. Much has been written upon California Pastoral, and the lotus life of the mission days. The two great histories of California bring the narration of general events down to about 1885. Much literature exists elsewhere, comprehending more or less, every phase and feature of the strangely variegated and colorful pictures that have appeared on the great panorama of events since the Conquest in 1846, but in all of that wealth of literature, no single work has heretofore appeared that has been even approximately comprehensive other than the individual works of Bancroft and Hittell, to which reference has been made.

In his *History of California*, Robert Glass Cleland has treated these many subjects as a whole, and in his efforts he has admirably succeeded. His residence within the state for three decades, and the many years devoted to study, have been his ample endowments. It was projected and carried forward as a continuation of the history of the Spanish period by Dr. Charles Edward Chapman, and in accordance with that plan there is practically no overlap or repetition of history.

The author begins with the early explorers who began to come by sea and land, shortly after the American revolution. Among these are succinct accounts of the whalers, trappers, merchant-traders, explorers, fur-traders, and adventurers, who followed and continued until the gold discovery. He brings forth with clear emphasis the deeper meaning and the truer significance of the Russian colony at Ross, abandoned in 1840. He comments upon the resolute attitude assumed during the Mexican war by President Polk, with the sane observation that no longer can James K. Polk be classed among the "minor presidents."

For the majority of readers, doubtless, the history of California after the coming of the gold seekers, holds the strongest attraction. These chapters are well and entertainingly written. So voluminous is the existing literature upon this sequence of events, that the author has been constrained justifiably to abridge his accounts, and in so doing his results have been entirely happy.

Under the alluring caption of "The Queen of the Cow Counties," is traced the rise of Los Angeles, and to a minority at least, of the present day Angeleños, it must be gratifying to know that the county of Los Angeles had some history before the state of Iowa had been translated.

The chapters upon the more recent events of the Pony Express; the building of the Pacific railroad; politics and political struggles; the disturbed state of affairs in the seventies; and a well-prepared resumé of political and industrial events complete the body of the work. In the appendix are three documents, two of which for the first time appear in print.

In his preface the author states that exhaustive bibliographical notes have been avoided, and somewhat naïvely says that "the standard historians such as Bancroft, Hittell, and Eldredge, have been used throughout the course of the narrative." That these works constitute the collected sources of Californian history is well known, but even a layman realizes that beyond these, Dr. Cleland has studied and consulted a vast number of authorities before undertaking the task that has given us this admirable volume.

The work has been criticised for its lack of literary style. A great deal has been written on the favorite topic of "literary style," which after all in these latter days is mostly but a relative phrase. Many historians have enveloped their works with an atmosphere of literary style in which the fog was so thick, that the facts presented were hopelessly obscured, or altogether indiscernible. Dr. Cleland's work bears its own merits, and they are sufficiently numerous. It is good history, and readable, free from idle vaporings upon the "psychology of history," and not clouded with shadowy or impossible "European backgrounds." Even the casual reader cannot fail to find enjoyment and edification in the chapters, "San Francisco, the boisterous," and "The Day of the Filibusters."

Robert Ernest Cowan.

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**CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY**

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California Historical Society Quarterly

Volume II
1923-24

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SAN FRANCISCO

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JOHNSON REPRINT CORPORATION JOHNSON REPRINT COMPANY LTD.
111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10003 Berkeley Square House, London, W. 1

First reprinting, 1968, Johnson Reprint Corporation
Printed in the United States of America

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California Historical Society Quarterly

THE CHRONICLES OF GEORGE C. YOUNT

California Pioneer of 1826

INTRODUCTION

Through the kindness of Mrs. Mary E. Bucknall and Mrs. Georgina F. Jones, and the courtesy of their friend, Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, the California Historical Society has had access to the manuscript reminiscences of George C. Yount, a representative American pioneer, soldier, hunter, trapper, overlander and frontiersman, who became the first settler and agriculturist in Napa Valley, and in his later days a venerable patriarch known far and wide as a remarkably generous and kindly man. In the course of his life George Yount pioneered almost the entire breadth of the continent and was associated with many very early events during the American occupation of the West.

The manuscript which Mr. Farquhar has transmitted to the Society comprises a series of detailed but disconnected and unarranged reminiscences taken down by the Rev. Orange Clark, whose son, John Goddard Clark, has furnished some particulars regarding his father.

Dr. Clark was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, on September 17, 1797. He entered Harvard College in 1822 and received honorary degrees from Columbia (A. M. 1834) and Hobart College (Sc. D. 1838). After his college career he became principal of a girls' school, and later entered the ministry, becoming ordained in the Episcopal Church. With his son, then a lad of seventeen, he came to California, arriving in San Francisco Bay April 11, 1851. He traveled about the bay region officiating in various country parishes. At this time he met George Yount and conceived the idea of preserving an account of his life. He wrote down the story while Mr. Yount told it.

Mr. John Clark's recollection is that the manuscript was never published because of some objection, perhaps on the part

of Yount's widow. He wishes it stated that whatever errors may have occurred were not the intention of his father, who tried faithfully to transcribe what Mr. Yount said.

Dr. Clark died in San Francisco, October 9, 1869. Part of his manuscript was left in the keeping of Mr. Yount at the time it was finished, presumably in the year 1855. This portion (145+55 pages) was divided into chapters as if for a book and written on loose sheets, at least 125 pages of which are missing.

The section which the Clark family retained was in a large notebook ($8\frac{1}{8} \times 12\frac{3}{4}$ inches, 90 pages of MS, 55 pages blank) and appears to be more disconnected and unarranged than the matter contained in the loose sheets, which it duplicates to some extent. Extracts from both sections of the manuscript have been included in the present account; those from the sheets being designated "(Clark MS a)" and from the notebook "(Clark MS b)."

Clark's account is not used here in its entirety. Parts are excerpted and rearranged to make a connected narrative, and gaps are filled with data from the memorial pamphlet by Yount's granddaughter, Mrs. Watson.¹ Further material has been added from sources noted in the citations and from the personal recollections of Mrs. Bucknall and Mrs. Jones, George Yount's granddaughters.

Mrs. Mary Eliza Bucknall, born April 1, 1845, was the first child of Anglo-Saxon parentage born in what is now San Francisco, then Yerba Buena. Her mother was George Yount's youngest daughter, Elizabeth Ann, who married John Calvert Davis. Mrs. Bucknall has vivid recollections of her grandfather and of the early days in California. She was raised by an Indian nurse on her grandfather's ranch at Caymus. She remembers the parade on the first Admission Day, San Francisco, September 9, 1850, when as a little girl dressed in white, riding in a decorated chariot, she represented the infant State. She is the only woman holding membership in the Society of California Pioneers and had the honor of breaking ground for the California Building in the San Francisco Exposition, 1915.

¹—Watson, Mrs. Elizabeth Ann—**Sketch of the Life of George C. Yount** (without place, date, copyright or pagination; circa 1915, small 8^o, 16 pp., 4 pls., including 2 ports.). The facts were probably taken for the most part from the complete MS a of Clark.

Mrs. Bucknall and Mr. Farquhar have collaborated in the preparation of this paper.

EARLY DAYS

It was no mere chance that among those pioneers who preceded the flood of settlement which peopled in so short a time the expanse of our early West, so many were nurtured in the school of Daniel Boone—the trans-Alleghany wilderness—the forbidding forests and dark battlegrounds of Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, where courage and hardihood were prime requisites, and skill with firearms, the axe and the plow, part of the fundamental knowledge of every man. In this field grew up a race of sharpshooters destined to tread the first paths of civilization across this continent; a race confident in knowledge of superiority in the crafts of woods and plains—in hunting, the establishment of wilderness homes, and defense against savage cunning; and possessed of a peculiar restlessness and love of “elbow room,” a nomadic spirit inherited from their forebears who pressed out from the seaboard into the great unknown. A century and a quarter ago the Kentuckians, Tennesseans and Missourians were all pioneers. Numbers of them, leaving their families, their cabins and clearings, to become wandering hunters and trappers, eventually found their way to California. George C. Yount, the story of whose life is that of a second “Enoch Arden,” was one of these.

George Yount was born on May 4, 1794, at Dowden Creek, Burke County, North Carolina. His father, Jacob, served under General Greene in the Revolution at the siege of Charlestown. In 1804, Jacob Yount journeyed with his wife and his eleven children from North Carolina to Cape Girardeau, Missouri, then a wild region. At the outbreak of the War of 1812, Jacob and five of his sons volunteered. George enlisted on May 3, 1812, and, as related by Mrs. Watson in her pamphlet, pp. [4-5], “was ordered to join a company of mounted riflemen under Captain Maurice Young, and go to the front to fight the Indians. He went from Cape Girardeau to St. Louis, then to Camp Springs, which at present forms part of the city of St. Louis. . . . In 1814, Indian depredations began again and George Yount had another taste of war. Under General Dodge he marched to Cap au Gris, and from there to Boone’s Lick, the Shawnees and Delawares, friendly Indians, going with

them a distance of one hundred and forty miles. The British, as usual, sought alliance with the savage tribes and sent them to murder the peaceful settlers. We, with the aid of the Delaware and Shawnee Indians, captured several hundred men, women and children of the hostile tribes, and for a time peace was restored, but in 1815 another panic spread through the border towns and it became necessary to take the field again and George Yount was made lieutenant of a detachment of four hundred men. Colonel [Nathan] Boone [son of Daniel Boone] now assumed command and George Yount and his men were sent to Fort Sanderson.¹ Routing the Indians after several weeks' service the troops returned to St. Louis. . . . During the winter and spring the farmers cultivated their crops, and George Yount's command garrisoned Cooper's Fort and scoured the country for more than thirty miles in different directions to keep off the treacherous Indians, and in the fall the soldiers were again disbanded and George Yount's military career in Government service terminated.

"In May, 1816, George Yount with a party of youthful volunteers took to the fields again. . . . The Indians, under Black Hawk, resorted to stealing the negro slaves, and it was only after many days' pursuit that they were dispersed, and for a time there was no more trouble in that part of the country."

The following year George Yount engaged as a market hunter, and in 1818 he embarked in the cattle business, driving his stock to market in Howard County, Missouri. He rapidly accumulated property and became the owner of a large well stocked farm. At the age of twenty-four he married Eliza Cambridge Wilds, of Kentucky. Everything went well until he found that his savings had been stolen by a neighbor to whom he had entrusted them. Yount's wealthy father-in-law, who had opposed his marriage, would not assist him. Two or three hard years on the farm caused Yount to sell all his herds "and after paying his debts he gave his wife all that was left and launched out again to try for another fortune." (Watson, p. [6].)

¹—Fort Sanderson—evidently this is *Côte Sans Dessein*, "now called Bakersville, on the Missouri River, in Callaway county [Missouri] . . . settled by the French in 1801. This little town was considered at that time, as the 'Far West' of the new world. During the War of 1812, at this place many hard-fought battles occurred between the whites and Indians, wherein woman's fortitude and courage greatly assisted in the defense of the settlement."—*History of Callaway County, Missouri*, St. Louis, 1884, pp. 25, 166-169.

Leaving his wife and their two children, he made arrangements with "Hickman and Lamme"¹ to conduct their teams to New Mexico over the Santa Fé trail. He received fifty dollars in advance.

Yount now became a wandering trapper. Seventeen long years elapsed before any of his family rejoined him. During this time his son died and his wife, having given her husband up for lost, had remarried. When first news of him was received in 1842, his two daughters, one of whom, although seventeen years old, had not seen her father, were brought across the plains to him. He was destined never to see his wife again. She died in 1850.

TRAPPING IN THE SOUTHWEST

Arriving in Santa Fé, presumably in the fall of 1825, George Yount soon found himself out of work and joined a party of beaver trappers (probably under the leadership of Ewing Young) bound for the Salt, Gila and Colorado rivers.

They passed the Copper Mines of Santa Rita and went down the Salt River to the territory of the Pima and Maricopa Indians. It is evidently this expedition to which Clark refers when he says (MS b. pp. 18-20):

A portion of the party had parted from their fellows to trap the San Francisco alone while the main body pressed their way down towards the Gila—Various incidents & adventures (the wolf, Coyota &c) induced them to retrace their steps to rejoin the main body—On the San Francisco they discovered antient ruins of Adobee & a Canal on each side of the river (50 yds wide) a distance of 30 miles—These canals very antient, dry, the dam gone—Canals 15 ft wide—Soon after commencing their march to rejoin their fellows when seven Indians made their appearance urging on fast to overtake them—Coming up they urged the trappers to encamp and await the arrival of their Big Chief, who they said was coming to smoke with them the pipe of peace & love—with friendly intentions & important communications & advantageous—First affectionate, then invited, then urged importunately, coaxed & finally became insolent, audacious & abusive—They had bows & arrows & were on foot—It became evident they were bent on some evil—& would retard the trappers march—They followed on close behind & could easily keep pace with the

¹—Hickman and Lamme—James Hickman and John Lamb, Kentuckians, were pioneer business men of Franklin, Mo., where they operated a large general store purchasing goods in Philadelphia. **History of Howard and Cooper Counties, Missouri**, St. Louis, 1883, p. 167. I am indebted to Mr. J. J. Hill, Assistant Librarian of the Bancroft Library, for this reference.

horses and mules—At length a portion of the trappers deemed it prudent to ride behind them, which they did all day—Some advised to kill the seven, which might easily have been done, but were overruled—Suddenly appeared coming over the [hill] a band of more than One Thousand, &, then it became apparent that the seven were spies—or decoys—This army kept at a respectful distance evidently waiting the concerted signal—The seven dare not give it, well knowing that it must secure to them speedy death—It was a long day—very hot, no water for themselves or their animals—Every Rifle cocked & every pistol with loosened holsters—The day declining, the tawny host hovering on their flank & how far distant their friends they knew not—The evening closed in, grey mists were fast thickening when as they came over a hillock they discried the camp fires of their friends—The seven fled & the flanking host disappeared—They proved to be a party of Apaches, which nation was then at war with the Pimos & Maricopas—& had lately been severely beaten in a bloody battle—Those indians were at that time greatly afraid of the whiteman's rifle not the lightning to them was more formidable—They could not comprehend it—They deemed the whiteman, with his rifle almost a conjurer—& the instrument a sort of superhuman thing dealing death anywhere in sight at the conjurer's will—They were slow to encounter in conflict even the smallest number of armed trappers, unless they could fall up on them by surprise or circumvent them by treachery—Savages on the Rivers Salt, San Francisco &c are not agriculturists—They do indeed raise meager crops, but they only plant & harvest—But a far different race must have once dwelt there—as the abovenamed Canals & ruins indicate—See Young & Yount¹—The parties of trappers were restricted to certain sections of the rivers, which lead to a discovery of the murder of Reubadeux's party²—This was avenged in a declared war—bloody battle—& afterwards a treaty of peace & friendship which the Pimos & Maricopas have ever since scrupulously kept sacred—Thirty two white men fought and conquered the combined army of both nations—fought from morn till night & slew an immense number

¹—A reference to a chapter of MS a, now lost.

²—Mrs. Watson's account, p. [6], probably taken from some portion of Clark's MS now missing, reads:

"They were encamped on the very spot where the Reubadoux party of sixteen had been killed by the Pimos and Maricopa Indians less than three weeks before. The trappers now numbered thirty-two and it was not long before they were surrounded by Indians."

Joseph, Louis and Antoine Robidoux were brothers. Joseph founded St. Joseph, Missouri, naming it after himself. Louis came to California in 1844 and settled on the Jurupa ranch, now Riverside. Antoine may be the "Miguel" Robidoux referred to by Narbona. He is prominent in the annals of the Southwest, having established a trading post on the Gunnison River, in what is now western Colorado, and another on the Uintah River in an unfrequented part of northeastern Utah, at a date certainly later than the winter of 1833-34 (Carson MS *Narrative*). Here, as before upon the Gila, he was the sole survivor of an Indian attack made on the post in 1844. He acted as Interpreter for Gen. S. W. Kearny in 1846, and was badly wounded in the Battle of San Pasqual. Bancroft says he died in 1860, in St. Joseph, Missouri, at the age of 66.

—Thomas Smith (Peg leg)¹ killed the first Indian in the morning and took his scalp.

Readers of Pattie's famous Personal Narrative² will perhaps suspect that it was Yount's party that Pattie met immediately after the massacre of Pattie's comrades, the "frenchmen." The evidence for this point is sufficiently conclusive. Yount's first journey to the Gila was in the same year (1826) as the younger Pattie's second trip. The number of men in the combined Yount-Pattie outfit after the massacre is stated by Yount to have been thirty-two, by Pattie, thirty-three. Pattie's count included the "french captain" who was wounded and doubtless could not fight. Pattie states that 110 Indians were killed, agreeing with what Yount calls "an immense number." Pattie said there were thirteen all told in his party—and only he and two others escaped. Yount's recollection was that sixteen of Robidoux' men were killed.

The documents of Antonio Narbona, Governor of New Mexico in 1826, have been reviewed by T. M. Marshall (**South-west Hist. Quarterly**, vol. 19, Jan. 1916, pp. 251-260. Also published in Stephens and Bolton, **The Pacific Ocean in History**, 1917). From the Narbona documents it appears that about one hundred foreign trappers invaded the far Southwest in

¹—Clark (MS b, p. 22) has the following note on Peg-leg Smith:

"Thomas Smith

Is a somewhat remarkable trapper, having dwelt & married among the Snakes & Blackfeet—He boasts that he never slew an indian without taking his scalp—& his scalps have been his trophies—He has lost one leg & wears a woden one & therefore is called by his fellows Pegleg—Dwelling among the abovenamed indians, he greatly aided the early emigrants with his numerous herd of horses—There is something in his address, which is difficult to describe, & before which the most daring savage will recoil—Not unlike the notorious Jack Hays in this respect—Smith is entitled to great credit for his humane treatment of emigrants relying on the sense of obligation in the Government of a generous Republic—But the event now in his old age & poverty proves that his reliance was misplaced—Suffering now under the iron hand of poverty, he must continue thus to suffer unless death or the Govt of his country shall interpose for his relief; But the former is more likely than the latter—

"Gold—

About one & a half days march above the head of the Colorado gold has been found in great abundance—many years ago,—I[t] could be gathered on the surface in great abundance—But the country is very barren & hot—"

The note on "Gold" in this connection seems to be an early chronicle of "Peg-leg's lost Gold Mine" which has mystified Colorado Desert prospectors for the past fifty years. "Peg-leg" Smith died in San Francisco in 1866.

²—Flint, Timothy—**The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky** Cincinnati: 1831, 300 pp. (cf. pp. 83-88).

1826. Among the eleven names mentioned are those of "Miguel Robideau" and "Joaquin Joon" [Ewing Young]. Robidoux and Pratt (one of the Pattie party) are said to have led a band of "thirty-odd" trappers, the party that was massacred on the Gila. "Joon" is said to have commanded a like number: the party Yount accompanied.

Pattie, according to his own dates, which are unreliable, left the Copper Mines Jan. 2, 1826. On the 28th he arrived at the "Papawar" [Papago] village where the massacre occurred at midnight on Jan. 29-30. In the evening, Jan. 30, Pattie and his two surviving companions met a party of thirty men. This was doubtless the expedition that Yount accompanied, although from what Yount says it would not appear that he joined Pattie quite so soon after the disaster.

Of the morning on which the two parties united, Pattie says (*Narrative*, p. 89):

As soon as it was bright dawn, we all formed under a genuine American leader,¹ who could be entirely relied upon. His orders were,

¹—This was probably Ewing Young, captain of many of the earlier trapping expeditions through the Southwest, and pioneer of trade routes from Missouri to Santa Fé, Salt Lake, California and Oregon. He seems to have been a man of extraordinary vision, enterprise and true ability as an organizer and leader. His accomplishments as a pathfinder were nearly as great as those of Jedediah Smith. Unfortunately, only the barest outline of his early career in the Southwest is known to us.

Young is said to have first gone to Santa Fé with Captain William Becknell and William Wolfskill in 1822, on the first trip with wagons over that famous trail. In February, 1824, he was with Slover and Wolfskill on a trapping expedition to the San Juan and other tributaries of the Colorado. Wolfskill says he met Young again in Howard County, Missouri, in the spring of 1826 and that they immediately returned to Santa Fé, and Young, being taken sick there, hired Wolfskill with a party of eleven including Sublette and "Peg-leg" Smith to trap on the Gila. The expedition was unsuccessful and was driven back by the Indians. "Soon after the return of this party," says Wolfskill, "Young started out with about 30 men for the same place, where he chastised the Indians, killing several chiefs, etc., so that his party was enabled to trap unmolested."

Allowing for some discrepancy in dates as recorded by Pattie and by Wolfskill, we may surmise that Young's punitive expedition with 30 men was the one that Yount accompanied, and Pattie joined, in 1826. There is also some possibility that Pattie's unsuccessful second trip on the Gila (1825), on which Pattie says his party numbered 14 men, is identical with that disastrous trip with 11 men which Wolfskill commanded in 1826 (cf. Barrows, in *Wilmington Journal*, vol. 2, no. 49, Oct. 20, 1866).

As this article goes to press a paper appears by Mr. J. J. Hill in the *Grizzly Bear*, March, 1923, in which, in independent research, similar conclusions are reached regarding Yount's association with the Pattie expedition of 1826.

that twenty should march in front of the pack horses, and twelve behind. In the evening we encamped within five miles of the Indian village, and made no fires. In the morning of the 31st, we examined all our arms, and twenty-six of us started to attack the village In less than ten minutes, the village was so completely evacuated, that not a human being was to be found, save one poor old blind and deaf Indian, who sat eating his mush as unconcernedly as if all had been tranquil We did not molest him

In the morning of the 1st of February, we began to ascend the Black river [Salt River]. We found it to abound with beavers We travelled up this stream to the point where it forks in the mountains; that is to say, about 80 miles from its mouth. Here our company divided, a part ascending one fork, and a part the other. The left fork heads due north, and the right fork north east. It was my lot to ascend the latter. It heads in the mountains covered with snow [White Mountains], near the head of the left hand fork of the San Francisco. On the 16th, we all met again at the junction of the forks. The other division found that their fork headed in snow covered mountains [San Francisco Mountains], as they supposed near the waters of Red river [Colorado River]. They had also met a tribe of Indians, who called themselves **Mokee**. They found them no ways disposed to hostility

We thence returned down the Helay, We trapped its whole course, to its junction with Red river. The point of junction is inhabited by a tribe of Indians called Umene [Yumas].

Clark (MS b, p. 20) gives Yount's account:

A little below the villages of the Maricopas, on or near the Gila, south side, is a lake abounding with Black Beaver—It is near the junction of the Gila with the Colorado—The Yumas dwell near it—a tribe of agricultural & friendly indians— . . . The Yumas raise all the vegetables but the Potato & they are generous & humane & might easily be civilized—

Pattie indicates that from the Yuma district his party went up the Colorado past the villages of the Cocomaricopas, who were then (March 1) living on the great river, to the country of the treacherous Mohaves who fought them (March 6-12).

Yount's account of the Mohaves (Clark MS b, pp. 20-21) follows:

[THE MOHAVES]

As you ascend the Colorado, much above the junction of the Gila & Colorado, you find the Nation of the Mohavies—a numerous tribe, totally different from their neighbors, the Yumas from whom they have learned a very little of agriculture—live quite nakid—on a very rich soil, but totally neglected—They will sell any quantity of vegetables, when they have any, for a strip of an old worn out shirt of

cotton cloth—faithless—treacherous—cruel and savage in the last degree—The utmost precaution is requisite in travelling thro their territories—But all the region where they dwell is infested with venomous reptiles—The Rattlesnake is found there numerous & very large—They have been killed there six inches in diameter, & twelve feet long with Twenty Rattles¹—Their dens contain hundreds—But the Indians have infallible remedies for the bite of not only the Rattlesnake but all other venomous reptiles—It is made chiefly from a species of the Prickly Pear which abounds there & they always carry it with them in their migrations They take it inwardly & put it in the wound—From the same plant they prepare the poison for the points of their arrows—Very little of the Pear is used in this—They procure the liver of some animal, or of some deceased indian—& then capture one or more Rattlesnake & also the viper—& by provoking them, cause them much as possible to bite the liver—This liver, thus saturated with the venom, they put in a horn & sit it away to rot, having first mashed it together with one or more vipers—When the mass is thoroughly putrified & rotted they dilute it with the blood of a woman, which they deem the most poisonous of fluids except the venom of a serpent—In this they dip the points of their arrows If they exhibit a certain color, after being dried in the sun, they are perfect—if not, the process must be repeated—Thus they prepare the instruments of death which are so very fatal—The Indians can even cure the wound from the poisoned arrow with the remedy above described—When game is scarce or very wild they use poisoned arrows in hunting—An animal shot with these arrows will die in half an hour & their dogs can soon find them—But the poisoned meat is restored & made healthful by being buried for a season in the earth—How did the indian come to regard the blood of a woman as so very poison? Had the fall of our common Mother any thing to do with it? Not the Mohavies alone, but all the indians in their neighborhood adopt this mode of poisoning arrows—The Mohavies are said to number Five Thousand Warriors—& they hold the neighboring tribes in perpetual fear & dread—Bows & Arrows & a huge Club & rude spear were their only arms in 1828—now [1855] they probably have firearms—as have most of the tribes of the west—The cupidity of the large Fur Companies has led them, most unwisely to traffic with these tribes in arms & ammunition for furs, for which they pay, or will pay dear in the end—It would matter but little if the resulting evil could be confined to those who sell them these articles of death But unfortunately it is not so—The emigrant & the adventurous pioneer are the chief sufferers . . .

Pattie's route took him back to Santa Fé by way of the south rim of the Grand Canyon (March 28), the country of the Shoshones (April 16), the "chief village" of the Navajos, possibly on the San Juan River (April 23), the Continental Divide (May 1), the South Fork of the Platte (May 7), the Big Horn River (May 31), the Yellowstone, Clarke's Fork of

¹—Rattlesnakes in the region of the lower Colorado River rarely attain even six feet in length.

the Columbia (June 11), the headwaters of the Arkansas (July 1), the Rio del Norte (July 20), the "chief village" of the Navajos again—"50 miles from the Rio del Norte"—and thence to Santa Fé on August 1—time four months, distance over 2100 miles—better than 17 miles per day and trapping part of the way! It seems incredible.

There appears no mention anywhere in the Clark MS of such a trip. Whether Yount remained with Pattie or came back to New Mexico before him I do not know. Certainly he was again in New Mexico in the summer of 1827, and there is some mention later on of his furs being confiscated, as were Pattie's, by the Mexican governor. He evidently stayed in New Mexico long enough to become acquainted with the Indians of which he has left the following descriptions (Clark MS a, small sheets, pp. 46-50):

THE TAOS INDIANS

The Taos Indians have their town, or cluster of towns at the foot of a lofty chain of mountains—The dwellings are erected in long blocks, five stories high, and are intended, not only for dwellings, but for fortifications—They have no entrance except on the roof by a trap-door—They ascend on rude ladders capable of being drawn up & laid upon the roof—Here they are afforded a secure retreat from their enemies, the Eutaus, Camanches, Apaches & others—It is a remarkable fact that, although the Spaniards who have settled around them & multiplied ever since they overran the country are corrupt to the last degree, so that chastity among the female sex is almost unknown, yet these Indians hold sacred the marriage rite, & nothing is more rare among them than an unchaste woman—No impurity or immorality is tolerated or has ever been—Their sacred fire has always been kept burning—This fire is in a cell under ground, & a certain number of Boys are selected at an early age & promoted to the honorable distinction of feeding this fire—These youths remain at their post day & night until they reach a certain age when they are brought out to light & carried to the top of the loftiest mountain to remain there during a fixed series of years, & others take their place at the fire—Their females are exceedingly beautiful—The men are brave and warlike—Once every year they go on a general hunt for Buffalo meat in the North & at other seasons they are often employed by the Spaniards to guard them in their hunting & trapping excursions—They have a tradition that all that part of the Globe about where they dwell was antiently devastated, how & by what means they cannot tell; & that when their people came nine white men held the country—four of which were slain, & five fled, & wandered off towards the north—and that their own people came from the setting sun—Underground, far beneath the surface are extensive excavations & the ruins of antient palaces; in one of which is the cell in which is the Holy Fire

above described—The above named Chief John God, during his intimacy, informed Y[oun]t that when the Spaniards overran the country all the Gold & Silver in the nation was thrown into a large Lake which lies near the centre of their territory, lest it might excite their cupidity & lead them to search more diligently for the mines of precious metals, which are very rich & abundant & are kept secreted to this day—So cautious are they from generation to generation that where the silver appears above ground, they visit it, after every rain, to cover it, in case the water have washed off the surface-earth—This chief (John God) during their intimacy, had arranged to conduct Yount to these mines but the intimacy had excited the jealousy of the Council of Chiefs & they took him into the Council room & informed him of their suspicions & assured him, that, if he should betray the secret, they would take the life of both him & Y[oun]t The Chief did not venture therefore to do more than point in the direction & describe the spot & Y[oun]t has never ventured to explore or prospect for the mines—

[THE PICURIS¹]

There is another nation living in the immediate neighborhood of the Toas indians, in many respects resembling them—In almost every important characteristic they are similar—These have also sustained the sacred fire—They have a tradition that, Montezuma, when his fortunes became desperate, told them to remove north & establish themselves in the Gold & Silver regions of the north—These are called the Pickarees,—This distinguished Sovereign & Prophet adjured them not only to sustain the sacred fire but, always when they should arise in the morning, to worship towards the east, & they might look for him to come from the east, & upon his advent he would free them & all his people from the domination of the Spaniards—At one period a pestilence nearly depopulated their nation, & fearing utter extinction, twelve of their people were deputed to carry the fire over to the (nation of the Yumas) place called Hamas² [Jemez] where it still burns—& an order of old and venerable priests or Levites are there ordained to watch & feed the fire—It is the policy of the Spaniards to foster among these tribes the most inveterate hatred to (to) the Americans—They teach them that the Americans are the worst people on the Globe—& although the Spaniards are (& are) known to be licentious in the worst degree, yet there is ever among them a hord of American & French trappers & adventurers—who follow rioting in the daytime & ludeness in the night season—Fandangos are the order of the day & they seduce & carry away the Spanish females—bestowing on them the avails of their trapping expeditions for dress & ornaments of Jewelry—Hence arise jealousies & heartburnings, strifes & bloody quarrels—While Yount was there residing among the Toas, a dreadful

¹—Picuris—A pueblo of the Tigua Indians about 40 miles north of Santa Fé (Hodge, **Handbook of N. A. Indians**).

²—"Place called Hamas." This is a correction written in, in pencil, to replace "nation of the Yumas."

quarrel arose between the Spaniards & Americans mingled with French trappers—The Spaniards in their extremity appealed to the Toas people for aid—After a general council the reply was as follows—“No—you have recd these people among you & have cherished them—Your bad women have got their money and their jewels—& now you must take care of yourselves—We will have nothing to do with your quarrels—We are happy & want no aid from you or from any quarter—We have Americans among us & they treat us well—We love them Great John God loves his American friends—He eats at their table & sleeps in their bed unharmed—Fight your own battles—We believe you make them bad—but we are good & we make our Americans good & kind & honest We have no need to fight them & we will not fight with your Americans—But in the late war with Mexico these same Taus Indians were beguiled to espouse the cause of the Mexicans and make common interest—This alliance proved awfully detrimental to them—They were sadly cut to pieces & almost lost their national existence—They will never fight the Americans again—They now hold the American people in great veneration . . .

We continue from Clark (MS b, pp. 22, 41-42):

THE SUNIES [ZUNIS]

On the outermost borders of New Mexico, at the North West, dwell the Sunies—a very kind & humane nation of savages—

These were very good people until corrupted by the Spaniards long since settled around them—Many very excellent traits of their character still remain—& it a sad & mournful reflection that’ a christian people should taint & corrupt the purity, which, but for them, had retained New Mexico a happy land of plenty & virtue—Kindred to the Mocos [Hopi], the Sunies have become the degenerate branch of a noble vine,—Among them are many of sandy complexion [albinos]—They too retain their veneration for Montezuma, & maintain the sacred fire—They also profess to be waiting the return of Montezuma as their great deliverer—But the vices of drunkenness & licentiousness, contracted from the Spaniards, are wasting them away—And the diseases consequent on their promiscuous intercourse with the Spanish, French & American adventurers are transmitted from generation to generation, until all ages & sexes droop about in extreme misery, & find relief only from an early & premature grave—Utter annihilation doubtless awaits them, in common with all the tribes among whom unprincipled whitemen have commingled—It requires no gift of prophesy to foretell the sad & melancholy end of the untold millions of aborigines on this mighty continent—Like the dew before a midday sun—“Like snowflakes on a river, one moment seen then gone forever” thus they live & multiply, & when we fasten our eyes on them, they perish—The current of time, a rapid, but silent, though irresistible current, is fast sweeping them before it, into the great Maelstrom of Eternity—Their fate inexorable, their doom is sealed—

THE SINAGUS¹

Their towns are in the midst of a luxuriant growth of Pitch pine timber of many miles in extent—an immense extent of level & champagne country affording an admirable pass for the great Pacific Railroad thro the mountains of New Mexico—The timber abundant, & of every desirable variety—Grass abounds nearly round the year—One disinterested would not hesitate for a moment in deciding on this route—There is no other pass which bears any comparison to it, or which deserves competition with it—Amidst conflicting interests however some other pass will probably be preferred involving a loss of millions of dollars—On the left of this pass, between the Sinagus & the Laguna are the three lofty rocks called the Candlesticks—Pilot Peake is also in full view of the traveller at a distance of One hundred miles—There is something very remarkable in the transparency of the atmosphere in the northern part of New Mexico, & in many other portions of the Territory east of the Sierra Nevada & also about the Humboldt—The human vision is often able to reach objects at a distance of several hundred miles—The Jesuites had a mission at the Laguna, of very ancient date, under the rule of a very aged Priest who has spent his life there—He is remarkable for his wisdom, gravity, Piety & benevolence—He has always governed with patriarchal sway, & rendered his subjects happy—But the good man is in his dotage if living, & the establishment gone into decay—But its influence on the neighboring tribes is very visible—although the tide of licentiousness & sin is fast obliterating all traces of that influence & deluging the land—& the poor natives are being carried headlong to ruin—The relics of what once existed now serve little more than a monument of what once was—Near this dilapidated Mission is the river Hamas [Jemez]—Near by this river are the famous Bitter Springs—the principal one of these is a round basin where the bitter waters gurgle up continually, & so far as has yet been sounded it is bottomless—All theories hitherto have been quite unsatisfactory—No animal will drink of the water—& it is doubtless highly medicinal, but science has not yet penetrated there— . . .

Yount's next long trip appears to have been another trapping venture in 1827-28 on the Gila and Colorado. He seems to have organized and commanded the party and there is every certainty that the two famous Patties, father and son, accompanied him as far as the bend of the Gila. Clark (MS a, small sheets, pp. 51-56) has left a record of some incidents of the trip:

In the Autumn of 1827 the Subject of our narrative, having carefully saved his earnings, found himself in possession of funds sufficient, with the aid of some credit, to procure another outfit for a trapping

¹—Senecu was a pueblo of the Piro below Socorro, New Mexico. It was destroyed by the Apaches and deserted in 1675. The Indians referred to here are doubtless the Laguna, a Keresan pueblo tribe who live about 45 miles west of Albuquerque (Hodge, **Handbook of N. A. Indians**).

expedition— . . . He had divided his earnings & sent to his wife & little ones a large share—But the long hoped for consolation of visiting those he so dearly loved was denied him; for he must not lose the season for trapping when the furs are valuable—. . . Careful in the selection of comrades & servants he endeavored to take with him only men in whom he could well confide—The sufferings of the past admonished him to lay in store on the first stages of the journey deposits, or Caches as the Spanish hunters & traders call them so that on his return he might have magazines to draw from, when both man & beast should be worn down with exposure & fatigue—The method adopted for caching is curious & worthy of note—The trappers would select a place in the neighborhood of some river & little likely to be frequented—& mark it by spotting trees, in several directions, at certain measured distances of which they kept a record—At this spot they dug deep in the earth, enlarging as they descended, having previously spread blankets on which to lay the sods of turf, & also the superfluous earth which they emptied in the river—At the bottom of this deep shaft they made their deposit of provisions, or Beverskins, or both as the case might be—& covered it carefully over, filled up the shaft & laid carefully down the surface, as it was before disturbed, so that no man nor animal would suspect or discover that the earth had been disturbed at all By this method on their return months after, they could repossess themselves of their property their food or treasure at their pleasure or in time of need—These caches our trappers made at intervals & by this means lightened the burden of themselves & animals as became necessary to pack their Beverskins—Younts personal equipment, beside provisions, consisted of Four Mules, six traps, a Rifle, Shotgun & Pistols & his party of Twenty-four men including Servants & Campkeepers—He shaped his course, as on the former expedition, to the Copper-mines, & thence to the River Gila—& trapped down this River directly to the territories of the Pemos & Maricopas those people with whom the previous year he had waged successfully a sanguinary war—They remembered well their old enemies but maintained a respectful demeanor, tendered the pipe of peace & a cordial hospitality; & permission unsolicited to trap ad libitum all the rivers within their jurisdiction—They avowed their determination never more to molest their “pale brothers & their belief in the justice & integrity of the mighty people who live in the rising sun—It was matter of astonishment to Yount & his party that these people should cherish no spirit of revenge—& during all their sojourn among & in the neighborhood of these singular people they felt constrained to be ever prepared for treachery, and sudden attack—All was peaceful however—& no whiteman has ever to this day been able to accuse them of outrage or molestation¹—They impart freely of food & every comfort at their command & ask only a fair remuneration—While among these peaceful tribes & enjoying their hospitality, one would surely conclude that intelligent Americans might keep peace among themselves; but unfortunately such was not the case—Eight of Yount's party became insubordinate & parted from the main

¹—Cardinell, a lone, penniless traveler, was roughly handled by some of the Pimas, but the statement is mainly true.

body above the mouth of the Gila,¹ built canoes [dugouts] & descended [to] the Colorado, to try their fortune alone—thus reducing his force to 16 men, who wended their devious way on the shores of that mighty River—quite down to tide water—From the junction of the Gila & Colorado throughout the whole meandering course of that river is one entire bed of quicksand—Very numerous sloughs line the shores on both sides & the whole region round about is desolate & dreary, a home for reptiles, serpents & Sonora Leopards (Alligators²)—The traveller there encounters a running vine much resembling a Beanvine through which it is almost impossible to penetrate, & domestic animals are liable to be entangled in them & perish—After descending to a point where the tide rises three feet our party retraced their steps & trapped up again to the junction of the two rivers above named—At this junction it was interesting to observe the lofty natural fortifications—It is a very important point—Doubtless the day may come when here shall be another Gibraltar or Quebec—There is not a more important & valuable region on the Western Continent—Virgin Copper is greatly abundant—An immense slab of it rests upon the bed of a *revene*³ (of the Colorado) & stands as if leaning against its eastern bank, & lifts its head on high—Where washed by the stream it is smoothed bright as polished steel, & as we have before related, there appear to be no limits to the deposits of Gold & silver When these mines shall be opened & the savages dispersed California, so far as gold is concerned, will sink into very insignificance, & crowds will swarm the Colorado, beyond what the Sacramento has ever known At, or near the mouth of the Gila a spectacle was presented painful & distressing beyond what humanity is often called to witness—

¹—This was the fatal split recorded by Pattie. After much privation the smaller party crossed the peninsula of Lower California and reached San Diego. Here they were imprisoned and the elder Pattie died. One of the members of the Pattie subdivision was Nathaniel M. Pryor who died in Los Angeles, May, 1850. Judge Stephen C. Foster was intimately acquainted with Pryor and wrote out recollections of his conversations with the old Kentuckian (*Hist. Soc. Southern Calif.*, 1887, pp. 30-35). Foster says:

"Capt. Youtz's party were very successful, and on the Gila, the two Patys, N. M. Pryor, Richard Laughlin and Jesse Ferguson concluded to leave Youtz, who returned to Santa Fe, and came to California with their beaver. They had heard that there were American vessels trading on the coast, and they reasoned that if their beaver could bear a land carriage to the Atlantic coast for a market, they could realize more by selling to American traders in California than they could by selling in Santa Fe. So they made an amicable division of their traps and peltries, traded off their horses to Youtz, and soon made two canoes out of the largest cottonwoods they could find, and embarked, determined to follow the river as far as they could, . . .

"Capt. Paty had a copy of Capt. Youtz's permit from the New Mexican Authorities to trap on the Gila River."

²—So far as known there have never been alligators or crocodiles along the Colorado River. "Sonora Leopards," perhaps meaning ocelots, has been written in, in pencil, to replace "Alligators."

³—"of a *revene*" has been written in, in pencil, to replace the matter in parentheses. These pencil corrections on the small sheets of MS may be corrections made by Yount himself.

Somewhere in that dreary region resides a tribe of savages more barbarous than almost any other—They have a method of disposing of the old & decrepid of their tribe revolting to the heart of man—Here were found seven very old people, four men & three women brot by their children & left to starve to death—They had neither food nor apparel but were lying upon the bare ground waiting for death to end their sufferings—Emaciated to the last degree, moaning & weeping these aged fathers & mothers begged of the trappers some relief—They were fed & comforted, but it was only to prolong their misery—They could not carry them away—neither could they remain to comfort them but they must leave them wailing in utter despair—As they turned away noone had a heart hard enough to look back—but they stopped their ears & ran till out of hearing—The poor wretches laid dow together & were seen no more—It was their own natural offspring who had thus doomed them & nothing but early death can save these monsters of humanity from the same wretched end—

Clark's account continues (MS b, pp. 34-41):

From the mouth of the Gila seventy miles up the Colorado, until you reach the Mahauvies, the Indians are harmless & sparce—

THE MOCOS [HOPI]

We have described the Taos, Pickarees, the Sunies Pimos & Maricopas, the Yumas & the Mahauvies in part—We will now glance at the Mocos—They live on the borders of New Mexico & in describing them we quote in detail the verbal story of an old trapper [perhaps Yount], whose description well agrees with that of others who have since visited them—"Our horses," saith he, "almost famished for water, on approaching their towns, long before we apprehended an approach to water, to our astonishment started upon a run—& could with difficulty be held in check—In despite of our efforts, they ran till they reached the town—The people came out & flocked around us, unpacked our animals & gave them water with great prudence & precaution lest they might drink to excess, then gave them food, & invited us into their dwellings & spread a sumptuous feast before us—Then was allotted to us a fine, spacious room with mats spread for us Our animals were next led off to pasture & the families vied with each other in bringing into our apartment food & luxuries—We were feasted daily—We found the people sober, civil, chaste & conscientious —During all our sojourn there we heard not one harsh or unkind or hasty word, even among children—Their [food] consists of meat well cooked bread of parched corn, honey & dried fruits—Their houses are built of stone, a beautiful sandstone, which abounds there & is easily quarried—Like the Taos, they enter on the roof, when occasion may require but they have doors also below, for use in seasons of peace & safety—Their buildings are not so high as those of the Taos, not generally more than two stories high—They live on a lofty table mountain, with no more than one passage, by which to ascend to their towns, & this not wide enough to admit one person or animal to ascend abreast—Hence they are strongly fortified by nature—They

are not rich, neither is their land very productive—They have no means of irrigating their lands, but must depend chiefly on the rains from heaven—Rain however is frequent there, except in occasional seasons of drought—Both sexes labor with great industry—They have large workhouses underground in one of which are found only men, & in another only women, save one old greyheaded, venerable patriarch who directs the work & acts as overseer—They spin, weave, make blankets & garments—One large, subterranean hall resembles, in all respects, a Masonic hall—The furniture was all there, & in addition a massive altar carved from stone—They are masons & familiar with the work—Their graineries & storehouses are immense & filled to overflowing—In every granery is a male & female image of stone—Near the female image is an axe carved from stone, with carved vine as if wound around the handle—They are free to communicate with strangers in all their traditions, laws & customs—Their laws are good & wholesome, founded on principles of common sense—& they evince great simplicity—They never raise nor use horses—Other bad people, they say would steal them—Their laws relating to marriage are rigid & rigidly enforced—A person of either sex detected in unchaste conduct, is forthwith banished & forever after regarded as an outcast—Many among them have sandy complexion & blue eyes—So strictly honest are they that if one find an article which may have been lost he will search many days to find the owner—Their elections for rulers are annual They bury their dead much as christians do—They dance very gracefully to music—Dancing makes a part of their religious worship—They keep time perfectly to music in both marching & dancing—They dance for rain in time of drought—& beg the prayers of all strangers who visit them—In 1827 one Williams,¹ an American

¹—Williams—Perhaps this was the famous old trapper, "Bill" Williams, who was said to have been a minister, although his later career would scarcely have indicated it. He was one of the most curious characters known in the mountains. Just after Frémont's disastrous expedition of 1848 in the San Juan district of Colorado, Williams, the guide, went back in search of property lost in the snow and met his death at the hands of the Ute Indians.

August 29, 1826, a passport was issued by Antonio Norbona, governor of New Mexico, granting permission to "S. W. Williams and Seran Sambrano [Ceran St. Vrain]" to engage in "private trade," in Sonora (quoted from T. M. Marshall, *Southwest. Hist. Quarterly*, vol. 19, Jan. 1916, p. 254). Since "Bill" Williams' name, as I am informed by the Hon. Boutwell Dunlap, was probably William Shirley Williams, he may have been the man mentioned by Norbona and spoken of in his letter written after the issuance of the passport. In Narbona's letter many of the names are wrongly spelled.

Hon. Boutwell Dunlap, after examination of his trans-Alleghany and western MS collections, writes from them the following valuable data identifying "Old Bill" Williams:

"'Old Bill' Williams' name was William Sherley Williams. His relative, who gave this information, may have meant "Sherley" for "Shirley," and could easily have transposed the name from Shirley William Williams to William Sherley Williams. 'Old Bill' was a brother, among others, of the Reverend Lewis Williams, a Baptist minister, of Franklin County, Missouri, and the Reverend Alvin

(Continued on Opposite Page)

visited them & spent much time there—Other Americans visited them the year following—This Williams mingled with them in their social customs & religious rights, & became familiar with their rules & usages—He prayed with & for them in public & in private—On his departure, they begged a continuance of his prayers in their behalf—He had told them of Jesus Christ & of his teachings in reference to the efficacy of continued & importunate prayer—& that himself was a disciple of this Great Saviour & Teacher—& that He was allied to the Great Spirit They revered him greatly—The year following was distinguished for remarkably prolific crops of grain among the Macos—which they attributed to the efficacy of his prayers—This fact had given him such influence among them, that, had he returned there, it would have been in his power to convert them all to Christianity—& to gain an almost superhuman power over the nation—They never wage war—Everything sanguinary is uncongenial—At one time an individual of the Navahos, who live Northeast & contiguous, had murdered a highly respectable Moco, in a manner quite unprovoked & under aggravating circumstances, & some very bad people of the Navahos came into the town—But they were not molested, save that an urgent request was issued from the ruling council to these bad men to leave the town soon as convenient—No spirit of revenge or retaliation was entertained—They only expressed an apprehension that the relatives of the deceased might be tempted to avenge a brothers blood—They say God may kill men because he can make men live, but man must not kill because he cannot make alive—They appear to act on principles of calm reason & mercy is their darling virtue—Tobestow benefits too is to them a virtue & a privilege of inestimable value—They grudge nothing whereby anothers happiness or convenience can be promoted—They have learnt by experience, even without any divine teaching, by revelation, “that it is more blessed to give than

Peter Williams, D. D., a Baptist minister of Kentucky and Missouri, and James Williams, said to have been a frontier lieutenant in the war of 1812 under his uncle, Colonel David Musick, of St. Louis County, Missouri. They were sons of Joseph Williams and Sarah Musick born about the middle of the 18th century. Sarah Musick was a daughter of Abraham Musick and Sarah Lewis, of the same family as Meriwether Lewis, of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Colonel David Musick is said to have fought the Cherokee Indians in 1777; was a pioneer of Illinois in 1794; captain of a company of Missouri frontier rangers; and one of the earliest members of the Missouri general assembly. His son, Major James Chiles Musick, married Phoebe Jameson. Her brother, John McKnight Jameson, settled and gave in the early '50s the name, after his place of birth, to Shenandoah Valley, Amador County, California. The latter's daughter, Rachel McCreary McKnight, married T. T. Wright, of Knight's Landing, California, who came to California with Fremont. He was of the wealthy Wright family of St. Louis, one of his sisters marrying Colonel John Knapp, one of the owners of the St. Louis 'Republican,' oldest newspaper west of the Mississippi."

We know that Ezekiel Williams was in Missouri during the spring, at least, of 1827, and there is no mention of his ever having been a minister. This makes his connection with the present account seem unlikely.

to receive"—They call the sun God's smiling face & from the benign influence of its smiles, they have been taught to lighten the heart burdened with sorrow & want—& to illumine the countenance darkened with sadness, by manifestations of smiling love & tenderness—In one spacious room was no furniture, save one massive Stone Altar—& the floor, for a considerable space around it was sprinkled with a substance much resembling the finest flour of wheat—Of what this was emblematic & for what special purpose this was done the visitors did not learn—Altars were numerous—On the borders of the towns, in every direction were large Stone Altars in the open air, on which were sacrificed, at intervals, sheep, goats & other domestic animals, together with every variety of their manufactures, & mechanical productions, the remains of which, after sacrifice, are thrown high as possible into the air from the top of a precipice so that they may fall upon the plain below their towns, & on the uncultivated wastes, with which the towns are surrounded—These remnants are gathered up by outcasts, orbeasts & birds, or they may decay there—They are never to be brot back into the town—Some of their words have a striking resemblance to the French tongue—No history at all exists of their nation, or of its origin, save a vague tradition that their forefathers came from the Big Canon of the Red River—Their musical instruments are very rude, The gourd, & a string of goats claws bound about the leg &c—but it is surprising that, from instruments so rude they should gain so much harmony—and agreeable sounds—Their young females, before marriage, dress their hair on each side of the head, in the shape of a half-moon; while the married women wear it combed neatly & loosely down over the shoulders In all their dress, there is an air of remarkable neatness & finish—No tawdry ornaments are worn about the person of male or female—They are remarkable for cleanliness, & allow the person to wear the form which nature gave—Paint upon the human body is not tolerated in either sex & they wear no jewels nor beads—Among them are some of the most splendid specimens of humanity, symmetrical in form, large & powerful, there are perhaps few handsomer men & women in any nation—They maintain from generation to generation, a total abstinence from everything in the least degree hurtful in food or drink—Pure milk & limpid water from the mountain-spring suffice to allay their thirst, & the plainest, wholesome food adorn their table—All their athletic exercises are salutary to health & longevity, & both sexes are well, but not excessively accustomed to the open air—Quietude & calm serenity mark the deportment of all ages classes & both sexes—The angry passions are rarely brot into exercise—All the inroads of passion on the physical & moral man are carefully guarded against, or avoided—Their games & holyday sports & athletic exercises are interesting—Their prizes are simple & if strangers be among them, they are invited to take part & when the indians win, as they usually do, the prizes are given to their guests—Thus they manifest the utmost respect for their guests—They use no fire arms & entertain no admiration of skill in the use of them—They hunt Rabbits with a sort of Shepherd's crook, which they wield or hurl with great dexterity—Their holidays end with universal harmony & good will, no gusts of angry passions among them—They

throw wide open all their store houses to the inspection of whitemen—The stranger may go where he please & remain without restriction, & always receive a civil reply to his inquiries—The traveller's sojourn among them is like an oasis in the desert & he always leaves them with reluctance—When the stranger leaves the[y] always bestow upon him every expression of good will & load him with food & provisions for his journey, for which they refuse all compensation—In their simple piety they bring their little ones to the stranger for his parting blessing—& by their unaffected piety they often melt the thoughtless young man into seriousness & manly tears as they kneel before him & offer presents, the best they have—None who have ever visited them can forget them—Nothing could be more worthy & interesting to the philanthopist than to study & learn the history & origin of this interesting & obscure people—Are they a remnant of the lost tribes of the house of Israel?—But how came they there?—By what unknown & mysterious means have they been kept so pure, so good, so simple, situated as they have been, during untold generations, in the midst of tribes so vile, so barbarous, so lost to all the better feelings of man's degenerate race?—Every thing possible has conspired to render them anything but what they are—Why have they not been overrun by the hords of canibals around them & long since annihilated?—There has been no lack of temptation—Their vast magazines of food & clothing have remained now during centuries, an alluring bate to the cupidity of thousands destitute of every sense of right or property, & who know no law but that "might constitute right"—of thousands who certainly have had the power, & why not the inclination to exterminate the Moccos from the face of the earth—They have always been a distinct people—peculiar, unprovided with any adequate means of resisting aggression—& yet they have remained there, while thousands, whose hand is against every man, have been passing and repassing them continually—Let such as are able unravel the mystery—But we have another, & alas, a mournful page of the history—We have been detailing the past—what the Moccos were a quarter of a century ago—what they were until 1853—Since that time a traveller has visited that interesting nation, & we have from his own mouth the condition in which he found them in the month of June 1854—The small Pox, that awful scourge of the American Redman, has visited the Moccos—Their happy home is now a desolation—Whole towns & villages are now without an inhabitant—Those immense magazines of food and clothing lie rotting in silent neglect—No human being now walks those once populous & crowded halls—When Trippe, our informant was there, it was still as death—The bodies of the dead had decayed where they, in crowds, had died, but the whitened bones lay thickly strewed around—The scattered few, who had survived, appeared like disconsolate mourners—or rather like the wandering ghosts of the departed visiting the spot where they once had lived—. . . they had a population of many thousands—At present there are probably not left more than two or three hundreds in all their towns; & these heartbroken and disconsolate—They sit in sullen silence, hardly noticing the stranger, as he passes; or they mope from house to house, & appear as if communing only with their own broken hearts—

IN THE ROCKIES

Just when Yount returned from this journey cannot be discovered, but it probably was sometime in the year 1828. It seems evident that he visited the Mohaves and Hopis then. Mrs. Watson, p. [7], says that he had five hundred dollars in money and "several thousand worth of furs, which he cached near Bitter Creek." But whether she refers to this or the previous expedition is uncertain. She continues:

George Yount had to postpone returning to his family for another year. He entered into a partnership and took charge of another trapping expedition and his partner managed the business in New Mexico. He went to Del Port [Rio del Norte], at the big bend called Horse-shoe, then up a small stream, the Campayuta [Cochetoopa?]. They struck the Blue [Grand] River, then White River, which discharges its waters into Green River. Elk were very abundant here, also bear. They continued on from five to ten miles a day; winter came on [1828-29] and after many days of hard travel they reached the spot where the city of Salt Lake is now located. The snow was often two feet deep and after letting their animals rest they retraced their steps to Bear River Valley, settling at Sweet Lake,¹ where they remained until the middle of March. Here they met the red men peculiar to California, called "Digger Indians," from their mode of living on roots and reptiles.

Here also they met other trappers, among them the celebrated Hugh Glass,² of whose frightful experiences Yount gave Clark a long account (MS a, pp. 129-143):

[THE ADVENTURES OF HUGH GLASS]

Among the numerous veteran Trappers, with whom Yount became acquainted, & was from time to time associated, was one by the name of Glass—In point of adventures dangers & narrow escapes & capacity for endurance, & the sufferings which befel him, this man was preeminent—He was bold, daring, reckless & excentric to a high degree; but was nevertheless a man of great talents & intellectual as

¹—Sweet Lake seems to have been a trappers' name for Bear Lake, on the headwaters of Bear River, just northeast of Great Salt Lake, and where the summer rendezvous was held in 1827 (cf. Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations*, 1918, pp. 278-279).

²—Glass' adventures have been reviewed by Chittenden, *History of the American Fur Trade*, 1902, vol. 2, pp. 698-706. The present account agrees well with that printed in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, June 18, 1825, and adds many circumstances hitherto unknown. An account given by Pattie appears to refer to Glass. Pattie mentions having shot a bear which attacked one of his party, who may have been Glass (Arkansas River, 1824) but the date, place and circumstances do not agree with other sources (cf. also Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations*, 1918, pp. 86-87, footnote).

well as bodily power—But his bravery was conspicuous beyond all his other qualities for the perilous life he led—

Glass first commenced life in the capacity of a sailor; & after having followed the seas during several years, was captured by the desperate band of Pirates under the notorious Lafitte—The policy of this piratical champion was to allow all his captives to chose for themselves either to join & share his fortunes, & follow his lead, or submit to immediate death—Little time was allowed them to deliberate—

When the crew, of which Glass made a part learnt their conquerer's terms, he & one other instantly decided to become Pirates; & were hailed as good fellows, when they had taken the oath of allegiance, which was an awful one, & too horid to be written here—All went on well for a season, but the cruel murders to be perpetrated daily,—As they shuddered from their inmost souls & shrunk from those deeds of blood, it was impossible for them to conceal from their despotic lord the emotions of their hearts—

At length, as the piratical craft was lying secreted in one of the secluded friths of Texas, then a territory of Mexico, these two, Glass & his comrade were given to understand that they had been deemed unfit for the work of pirates & would, on the following day, be doomed to death—They therefore concluded to consult their own safety; & in the darkness of night, swam from the ship to the land & fled for life—This event proved the epoch of Glass's life; & from his own lips, Yount received the following history of his career, up to the time of his embarking for the upper waters of the Yellow Stone, on his last expedition, that in which terminated his eventful life—We shall afford the reader a hasty outline, which will make an episode of a few pages—

After leaving the piratical vessel, they wandered far back into the trackless wilderness, they knew not whither nor wherefore,—until they fell in among the people of the Pawnee nation, & were made their prisoners—After having travelled with the savages a few days, & the party having joined a more numerous band of their people, they came to a halt, & the preliminaries of the feat of burning them to the stake began—Tied to a tree they witnessed the whole scene—

One was to suffer at a time—Glass was reserved to suffer last, & therefore was compelled to stand by & witness the tortures of his comrade—An awful scene it surely was—His whole body, from head to foot having been stuck thick with splinters of pitchpine, the fag-gots were lighted, & in the darkness of midnight, his spirit ascended in flames to Him who had given it being—

Now came his own final hour—And as two approached him to strip him of his apparel, the ruling Chief stood by to pierce his skin with the first splinter, which was deemed the royal privilege—Glass thrust his hand into his own bosom & drew from thence a large package of vermilion; an article which the savages value above all price—He gave the packet to the proud & haughty Brave, with an air of respect & affection & bowed his final farewell—The Chief opened & examined it, & then majestically stepped up to him, & cut the thongs

with which he was bound, & taking him by the hand, with paternal regard & smiling delight, led him to his own wigwam. Then with soothing tenderness he lighted his pipe, & having smoked a few moments, in the presence of his numerous braves, he passed it to Glass, who also smoked a few whiffs & restored it to his liege lord—From that time he shared nothing but paternal & tender treatment—

With these Pawnees Glass roamed the wilderness in security many months, until they visited St. Louis; where he found means to escape from the Indians—Having resided in the City some eight or ten months, until Ashley sought him out & employed him to join a band of Thirty Trappers, which he had furnished & equipped to trap upon the Yellow Stone River under Maj. Henry—

Glass with this party of Trappers, ascended the Missouri, till they reached the territory of the Pickarees [Aricarees]—These Indians had become troublesome, & a detachment of troops from Council Bluffs was [sent] out against them—Other friendly Indians had joined the whites & the Pickarees had been routed, & scattered far & near in the wilderness;—rendering it dangerous in the extreme, for the Trappers to thread their way towards their place of destination, to trap for furs—

As Maj. Henry pressed onwards towards the Yellow Stone, constrained to use great caution, he had struck a tributary of the Missouri & was following its channel, where the Buffalo & the Buffalo-berries were found abundant & proved convenient for food—But the band must keep together, as they were liable, at any moment, to be assailed, by the Pickarees in ambush—He accordingly selected two distinguished hunters, one of which was Allen, of Mohave notoriety, & a bosom friend of Yount's, to precede the party, from a half a mile to a mile, in order to kill meat for food—

Glass, as was usual, could not be kept, in obedience to orders, with the band, but persevered to thread his way alone through the bushes and chapparel—As the two hunters were wending their way, up the River, Allen discovered Glass dodging along in the forest alone; & said to his companion, “there look at that fellow, Glass; see him foolishly exposing his life—I wish some Grizzly Bear would pounce upon him & teach him a lesson of obedience to orders, & to keep in his place—He is ever off, scouting in the bushes & exposing his life & himself to dangers”—

Glass disappeared in the chapperel, & within half an hour his screams were heard—The two hunters hastened to his relief & discovered a huge Grizy Bear, with two Cubs—The monster had seized him, torn the flesh from the lower part of the body, & from the lower limbs—He also had his neck shockingly torn, even to the degree that an aperture appeared to have been made into the windpipe, & his breath to exude at the side of his neck—It is not probable however that any aperture was made into the windpipe—Blood flowed freely, but fortunately no bone was broken—& his hands & arms were not disabled—

The whole party were soon there, the monster & her cubs were

slain, & the victim cared for in the best degree possible, under existing circumstances—A convenient hand litter was prepared & the sufferer carried by his humane fellow-trappers from day to day—He retained all his faculties but those of speech & locomotion—Too feeble to walk, or help himself at all, his comrades every moment waited his death—Day by day they ministered to his wants, & no one counted it any hardship—

Among those rude & rough trappers of the wilderness, fellow feeling & devotion to each others wants is a remarkable & universal feature or characteristic—It is admirable & worthy the imitation of even the highest grade of civilized men—We have remarked it at every step in the investigation, which, in preparing this work, has devolved on us—

After having thus carried Glass six¹ (several) days, it became necessary for the party to croud their journey, as the season for trapping was fast transpiring—Maj. Henry therefore offered four hundred Dolls to any two of his men, who would volunteer to remain until he should die, decently bury him & then press on their way to overtake the main body—One man & a boy volunteered to remain—They did so, & the party urged forward towards the Yellow Stone—

The two waited several days, & he still lived—No change was apparent,—They dressed his wounds daily & fed & nourished him with water from the spring & such light food as he could swallow—Still he was speechless but could use his hands—Both his lower limbs were quite disabled—As he lay by the spring, Buffalo berries hung in clusters & in great profusion over him & around his bed, which was made soft with dry leaves & two blankets—

Quite discouraged & impatient for his death, as there remained no hope of his recovery, the two resolved to leave him there to die alone in the wilderness—They took from him his knife, camp kettle & Rifle, laid him smoothly on his blankets, & left him thus to die a lingering death, or be torn in pieces by the ferocious wild beasts & to be seen no more till they should meet him at the dread tribunal of eternal judgment—

He could hear their every word, but could not speak nor move his body—His arms he could use—& he stretched them out imploringly, but in vain—They departed & silence reigned around him—Oppressed with grief & his hard fate, he soon became delirious—Visions of benevolent beings appeared, Around him were numerous friendly faces, smiling encouragement & exhorting him not to despond, & assuring him that all would be well at last—He declared to Yount that he was never alone, by day or by night—

He could reach the water & take it to his mouth in the hollow of his hand, & could pluck the berries from the bushes, to eat as he might need—One morning, after several weeks, he found by his side a huge Rattlesnake—With a small stone he slew the reptile, jambed

¹—"Six" has been written in, in the manuscript, above the word "several."

off its head & cast it from him—Having laid the dead serpent by his side he jumbled off small parts from time to time, & bruised it thoroughly & moistened it with water from the spring & made of it a grateful food on which he fed from day to day—

At length the wolves came & took from under him his Blankets, & having dragged them some distance, tore them in pieces—Thus he was left solely on his bed of leaves—In this condition he must have lain many¹ (several) weeks how many he could never tell—Meantime the two, the man & boy, false to their trust, came up with Maj. Henry & the party, & reported that Glass had died & they had decently buried his remains, & brot his effects with them, his gun, knife & Camp kettle, & received the promised reward for their fidelity, Four Hundred Dollars—

After a long period, his strength began to revive, & he crawled a few rods, & laid himself down again during several days—Then again he resumed his journey, every day increasing his distance some rods—after many long & tedious days, & even weeks—he found himself upon his feet & began to walk—Soon he could travel nearly a mile in a day This distance he even increased daily more & more—Thus covered with wounds, which would frequently bleed, & require much attention, he urged his journey, through a howling wilderness, a distance of more than Two Hundred miles, to the nearest trading post—

Often by the way he would find the decaying carcasses of Buffalos, which, wounded by the hunter, or some more powerful animal, had died—From these he gained nourishing food, by pounding out the marrow from the bones, & eating it seasoned with Buffalo-berries & moistened with limped water from the brooks & springs—With sharp stones he would dig from the earth nourishing roots, which he had learned to discriminate while sojourning with the Paunees—

At this trading post he passed the winter, as Autumn had worn away, & the cold season had overtaken him there—During the bracing season of winter, his strength was rapidly restored—As the following spring opened, he found himself again a well man, able to resume his journey to rejoin Maj Henry & his band of trappers—Fortunately as he was about to depart, an express party arrived, on its way to carry orders to Maj. Henry, at his post on the Yellow Stone, & Glass joined this party to accompany them to Henry's Fort—

This journey was to Glass no more than a season of pastime & pleasure—Days, weeks & even months of journeying were as nothing, after the scenes of the previous Summer & Autumn—He knew no fatigue but after a day's travel, could leap and frolic, like the young fawn—On reaching Maj Henry's encampment, the reader can better imagine than the writer describe the scene as he rode up to his old party of fellow trappers—One without, on seeing Glass ride up ran in to report to Maj H. & the rest that Glass had arrived—

Impossible! Glass had been dead and buried more than a year & one of those who buried his remains was present—But Glass entered,

¹—"Many" is interpolated in the manuscript above the word "several."

told his story & recapitulated his wrongs & sufferings & asked for his Camp kettle & his Rifle—The Major replied by bringing the recreant boy before him—His Camp kettle was there, but the false & dastardly man had gone with Glass's Rifle to Council Bluffs—To the boy Glass addressed himself after the following manner—"Go, my boy—I leave you to the punishment of your own conscience & your God—If they forgive you, then be happy—I have nothing to say to you—but, dont forget hereafter that truth & fidelity are too valuable to be trifled with"—

He had still to mourn the loss of his Rifle, which he valued above all price—During this year Glass remained to trap with the party with which he had left St Louis under Maj H.—At the opening of the following Spring, he accompanied this party to trap again on Platt River;—where they were remarkably successful & accumulated an immense amount of furs—

It then became necessary to send an Express, with a freight of furs, down the Platt River, & thence to Ashly at St. Louis—Glass & four others volunteered for this hazardous enterprize—One of the four was Dutton; the individual who gave to Yount the balance of Glass' adventurous life, & the particulars of his tragical death—Up to the present date Glass told to Yount all which we have here written & Allen confirmed the truth of it all

As this Express Expedition was descending Platt River, in Boats made of Buffalo skins & fully freighted, they made the shore upon the prairie, where they found a very numerous body of Indians, which they mistook to be Pawnees, but who proved to be Pickarees—These two nations speak nearly the same language, & were often mistaken one for the other—The savages manifested great cordiality & friendship—At that time the Pawnees were in friendly alliance with the whites, but the Pickarees were deadly hostile—

This error proved fatal in the following manner—As the expedition approached the shore, a multitude of the savages met them with great cordiality, invited them into their wigwams & spread a feast before them—All except Dutton left their Rifles in their boats; he carried his with him—While eating some words were dropped which led Glass to suspect the error, & he said to one near him—"these are Pickarees"—The Chief understanding him, replied, "No, Pawnees we"—Glass ran & the rest followed him—But, on reaching their Boats, the guns were all missing,—& the savages were close in pursuit—

The party rowed hastily across the River, & fled—The savages swam after them & a running fight ensued—They did not pursue Dutton for fear of his Rifle—but he looking behind, saw all his fellows, except Glass, killed; & three savages in close pursuit of him as he entered a ledge of rocks—He afterwards saw the savages walking leisurely & sitting upon the rocks, & naturly concluded that they must have slain Glass—

Dutton then bent his course towards a place in the wilderness, where he with the other trappers & with Glass had cached a large supply of provisions & other property—After many days wandering, he

reached the near neighborhood of the cache & secreted himself to wait for the darkness of night, before approaching it—

After dark, to his astonishment, he beheld numerous fires lighted in its immediate vicinity, & naturally concluded that a party of savages lay encamped there—He accordingly waited during another day, in a secluded cave of the mountain—But yet the following night the fires appeared again—Thus night after night, those fires appeared, till he was in danger of perishing with hunger—

At length at midday, as Dutton lay secreted in his cave, almost famished with thirst, a man passed the mouth of his cave—He crept to the light, & to his astonishment, there was Glass—whom he had supposed to have been slain by the savages, in the ledge of rocks—

Glass had lighted those fires, night after night, in order to deceive the savages, & cause them to suppose that a large company of white men were there encamped—The two then remained & lived sumptuously on the provisions there cached, until well recruited, & then took up their march for Council Bluffs—

At this fort Glass found the recreant individual, who had so cruelly deserted him, when he lay helpless & torn so shockingly by the Grizzly Bear—He also there recovered his favorite Rifle—To the man he only addressed himself as he did to the boy—"Go, false man, & answer to your own conscience & to your God;—I have suffered enough in all reason by your perfidy—You was well paid to have remained with me until I should be able to walk—You promised to do so—or to wait my death & decently bury my remains—I heard the bargain—Your shameful perfidy & heartless cruelty - - - but enough—Again I say, settle the matter with your own conscience & your God" "Give me my favorite Rifle"—

It is remarkable to observe how highly these men of the wilderness value their firearms—No amount of money can purchase one of them—Next to his own heart's blood, the trapper's Rifle is the dearest object to him on earth—Yount has slept with it by his side more than forty years & solemnly avers that if it be not near him, sleep loses its refreshment & the world is desolate—nothing can supply the lack of it, & all the luxuries of the world are vanity without it—

After leaving Council Bluffs Glass encountered another adventure similar to the last described & was the sole survivor of the whole party of trappers, with the exception of one, & this one reached the identical trading post, to which Glass had crawled two hundred miles, after having been torn by the monster Bear, & two days after to the astonishment of all in came Glass, having wandered more than three hundred miles, with no other weapon than a sheath knife, & subsisted on berries & the carcasses of deceased Buffalos—

At the Fort a purse of Three Hundred Dolls was bestowed upon him & with this money he travelled to the extremely western settlements on the Missouri & became a partner in an enterprize for trading in New Mexico—But the same passion for travelling alone never forsook him, & he would never encamp with his fellows, but always miles

distant roaming solitary & sleeping in silent loneliness—Often he would not be seen by his fellow travellers during many weeks, & yet he always knew where to find them, & could at any time fly to their aid when danger threatened—

After a year's labor with but indifferent success, he found himself at Toas on the borders of New Mexico, where Provost, a merchant of some distinction, employed him to conduct a band of trappers into the territory of the Eutaus—At that time the Snakes & Eutaus were engaged in a very sanguinary war: & all white people who were found among either of those savages, were regarded by the other as their enemies & slain or made prisoners without mercy—

The whole of this band, while trapping in the Eutau country, were fallen upon by the Snakes & his escape then was hardly less remarkable than those before related—They were descending a river in canoes, & leisurely trapping for Beaver with great success—In their canoes they had very many carcasses of the animal, from which they had taken the pelts, & the choice bits for food—At noon day, they discovered a solitary squaw upon the shore, busily employed in digging roots—

She did not discover them, & one proposed to land & give her some carcasses of beaver—The boat glided toward the shore so still as hardly to occasion a ripple upon the water—So soon as they made the land, three of them hastily ran up the bank, each with a carcass in his hand, towards the squaw—On a sudden as she saw them she sat up an unearthly scream—One huge savage was lying a sleep, a few yards beyond her, who, on awaking, hastily let fly an arrow, which pierced one of the trappers quite through the lungs

Others came flocking over the hills & arrows filled the air—The one first shot was mortally wounded, & could not survive more than a few moments—The rest betook themselves to their boats, & pulled out into the stream beyond the reach of the arrows—As the savage ran up hastily to take the scalp of the wounded man, he levelled as he lay & shot the villain dead at his feet—

The wounded one now called to his fellows in the Boats, & begged them to return & reload his Rifle & leave him there to die, his rifle by his side—Glass complied, & pulled toward the shore, charged the dying man's gun & had only time to lay it thus by his side, when showers of arrows flew thick around him—

The poor dying brother begged him not to move his body for it was torture; & Glass turned to flee to his boat, & at the moment was struck in the back by an arrow, which broke & left the point bedded deep near the spine—He reached his boat & the expiring fellow cried aloud, "leave me & consult your own safety—I can live but few moments, but if breath & strength remain I will yet kill one of them"—The party pulled lustily out into the River, where they sat & saw the tawny host come down upon the dying brother—The sharp crack of his Rifle was heard, & one savage fell near the ill fated trapper, & in an instant he was torn in pieces & his sufferings ended—

The party sailed fast down the river & escaped—But Glass, after

all was the greatest sufferer—This the reader will readily believe when told the fact which not only Yount but other credible witnesses can attest, that he travelled through the Wilderness Seven Hundred Miles with that arrow in his inflamed back & then submitted to be laid upon his face & endure the cutting of the missel from his flesh swollen & inflamed to an astonishing degree—Yount well knew the hardy trapper who performed this awful operation with a razor

Of the above narration the writer entertains no doubt whatever—It is no fiction, neither is it exaggerated—All must admit that there was in this brawny trapper a fortitude & a capacity for endurance such as rarely falls to the lot of mortal man—And such a series of adventures, dangers & sufferings has rarely fallen to the lot of humanity—

But we now approach the termination of his very remarkable career—After remaining at Tous many months, while his wound was healing, & his bodily health & strength recuperating, Glass again embarked with a party of trappers, far up the Yellow Stone, near its source; to remain there during a year & gather furs to be sold to the American Fur company, & also to hunt during the winter months—

It was a cold & dreary winter in those bleak regions—The party erected for themselves huts of logs, from which they sallied out to return at evening, or frequently & be screened from the frequent storms—One pleasant day, Glass, with two others, proposed to cross upon the ice to an Island & there erect for themselves a temporary abode, where to remain a few days, & return at intervals to the main encampment—

All being made ready, two having taken upon their backs their load of provisions & implements to start, the third having casually omitted some trifling preparation, proposed to them not to wait, but proceed & he would follow their footprints in the snow; & soon overtake them—The two accordingly took up their journey not at all apprehending danger—The distance to the Island was but a few miles, & no savages had for a long time molested, or even visited them—

The third was soon ready, & followed not more than a mile behind—It was easy to trace them as they travelled on snowshoes—Just before he reached the Island, to his astonishment, there lay one of his comrades weltering in his blood, an arrow having passed quite through his body—No savage was near, nor any sound or appearance of man or beast—

Resolved to know the worst, he laid down his burden & ran hastily forward—Soon however he realized the whole—Within a hundred yards, there lay the body of poor Glass, pierced through & through with arrows, his life extinct, & his blood melting the untrodden snow still warm & quivering—No savage had approached them, nor was any footprint near—But the deed was done—

The whole party were hastily in pursuit but the savages were gone beyond the reach of their pursuers, & none could avenge the

death of those two favorites of the camp—That was a day of mourning—The remains of poor Glass there interred in the lonely wilderness—He had his failings—But his fellow trappers bear testimony to his honor, integrity & fidelity—He could be relied on—& no man would fly more swiftly, nor contribute more freely to the relief of a suffering fellow man than he—

We quote now from Clark (MS b, pp. 44-46):

SYSTEMATIC HUNTING OF THE GRIZZLY BEAR THE GREAT ARENA

Not many leagues from the spot where now stands the great Salt Lake city of the Mormons, in the Eutau Territory, is the great arena; where all the most powerful tribes west of the Mississippi have been accustomed, from time immemorial, to resort & fight their great national battles—There the Blackfeet, Snakes, Crows & many other powerful nations of warriors are at home—It is to them what Kentucky & Tennessee once was, during thousands of years, to all the Indians east of the great prince of rivers—& the bones of slaughtered Thousands lie there bleaching & whitening the desert waste over many thousands of acres—The aged warriors conduct thither their youthful sons to shew them the field of glory, where their ancestors have been immortalized from generation to generation—Monuments of great deeds mark many a knoll & dell, where the Redman is wont to bow with reverence, as he passes & repasses in token & memory of his illustrious fathers who fell there in in glorious battle—They tell us that it was & is still the custom of all the Redmen of the west & north & south to place an additional stone upon those monuments of past renown, whenever they chance to pass there, & until the piratical white man came these fields were sacred in both Kentucky & the west—& beneath these numerous heaps of stone are the bones innumerable & the implements of sanguinary war—over which, in many cases have grown lofty forest trees which have stood for untold ages, like silent mourners, of the brave dead, who lie in solemn stillness in the earth beneath them—The Bear river region is the spot where nations, in long centuries passed, have met to determine their comparative strength in battle & the whole valley is one entire graveyard of their braves—The tribes are as familiar with every rod of that valley as the New England farmer is with his wheatfield—The indians love to roam & linger there, for by doing so they imagine they commune with the spirits of the departed brave—& that by a pilgrimage there they & their sons are made better heros, more brave by communing with the departed brave—They suppose that those spirits love to congregate & linger on the fields of the brave—& will not fail to meet their the children they left behind upon the earth—

THE TRAPPER & THE GRIZZLY

One delightful spring morning the whole party of trappers scattered off in different directions to examine their traps, & to bring in their game—One after another returned, till all but one were in—&

that ones mule came in without his rider—As evening advanced all began to inquire for the lost one—It was an unusual occurrence, & there was a stir throughout the camp—When suddenly in came the lost one as the shadows of twilight had begun to thicken fast & all were just about starting out in search of him—He was an object of admiration—His apparel, which was of Buxskin, throughout was most thoroughly saturated with water, & his visage wore an aspect of mingled terror & chagrin—All gathered around him—But he stood most in need of nourishment, having passed the entire day in fasting—Give me food, said he, & you shall know the whole—It was told them to their no little mirth that he had tied his mule, & proceeded down the bank of the river to adjust his traps, when one of those terrible monsters, a grizzly bear, evidently with an empty stomach, approached—The mule took fright, broke from his fastenings & fled—His trusty Rifle was lying on the ground & bruin assumed to stand sentry over it—He then marched down the bank to the water's edge—licking his chops in anticipation of a delicious meal—The trapper fled into the middle of the River—where the water was quite up to his neck—The monster placed his foot upon the edge—stretched out his neck, smelt the water, & then, with his foot tried its temperature—drew back & shook his paw & sat himself down upon his haunches to await his victim's coming on shore, evidently not doubting that he must & would come soon, & there he sat all the live long day, & to the trapper the day was very long—As twilight approached Bruin be-thought himself of the family at home & "the evening chores"—& making a respectful bow magestically retired—Our trapper did not even invite his stay till morning—but hastened to the camp to announce his noble guest It was an incident fraught with much amusement, although an adventure which hardly anyone would covet—No one envied him—

Yount's trail now crosses that of the noted explorer, Jedediah Smith. It is of great interest to see the effect upon Yount's future career made by Smith's glowing account of California.

Dale tells us that Smith and Arthur Black, after the massacre of their party on the Umpqua, set out from Fort Vancouver in March, 1829. They found their way to the rendezvous of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, held in that year at the junction of the Popo Agie and the Wind River (Coutant, *History of Wyoming*, 1899, p. 132). Jackson was not at the rendezvous that year. Smith went into winter quarters on Wind River, January 1, 1830, and was at the rendezvous, at the mouth of the Popo Agie again, with William L. Sublette and David E. Jackson (Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations*, 1918, pp. 277-288).

Mrs. Watson tells us, p. [7], that Yount's outfit "met four

men named Jackson, Smith, Milton Sublette and Black, who told them they had made a successful hunt in California on the San Joaquin and had discovered gold there. This was in 1830. Smith had a lump of gold with him in 1829, but was attacked by the Rehue [Requa] Indians and lost it."

Clark (MS b, pp. 46-48) has left the following story:

FIRST DISCOVERY OF GOLD IN CALA

A man by the name of Black with one Jackson & Sublitz trapped on the San Joaquin in the year 1829 & discovered gold there in great abundance—and all were afterwards slain by the Rogue Indians except Smith—This was Smith's second defeat by the Indians in the first he lost 16 men—Carelessness was the cause—suffering a multitude of the indians to come into camp who rose suddenly upon them & butchered indiscriminately—The cannot be trusted—Smith's party confidently communicated to [Yount] that they had made a successful hunt on the San Joaquin & reported California to be the finest country in the world—having a charming Italian climate & a soil remarkably productive—They said the vallies swarmed with Inds, peacefully disposed, & the hills, mountains & streams with a profusion of game of every kind—that the Sacramento & San Joaquin abounded with Salmon & that Beaver were abundant in all the Creeks & Rivers—In this representation they did not at all exaggerate—nay—they fell far short of the reality— . . . Smith, Jackson, & Sublitz sold out the fruits of their enterprize here for Seventy five thousand dolls They returned, keeping their own counsels, & Smith immediately purchased several wagon loads of Picks, Shovels & Crowbars, with other merchandize, & with his two younger brothers, emigrated westward, on a secret expedition, unfortunately not even communicating to his brothers the object of his enterprize, nor whither it was destined—I say unfortunately—I should rather say fortunately; for evidently the time had not come for opening those treasures of Gold, of which he was doubtless the first American discoverer—At that time Mexico held jurisdiction over both New Mexico & California, & the first essay of Americans to appropriate the country or its productions would have been the signal for a bloody & protracted war—Smith's journey was prosperous, until he reached the westernmost borders of Arkansas, when, as the wagons were dragging heavily over the sandhills, at midday, an Antelope was discovered basking in the sun—He ordered a halt, & with his Rifle crept over the hillocks, till he reached a convenient distance, & shot the animal—At the instant, two Camanche Indians, from behind, plunged their spears into his back—He instantly whirled & shot the indians with his pistols, & the three died on the spot together—It has been conjectured that the Antelope was a tame one & used as a decoy for Smith—the Indians not apprehending, that after the discharge of his Rifle, they might expect any further demonstration of firearms from Smith—The train came on to Santa Fe; but the brothers knew no use for the implements they were transporting, & they were pro-

foundly ignorant of their brother's intentions—There can hardly be a doubt however that he was on a secret expedition to dig gold in California—Certain it is, that, in a previous year, he had discovered the gold in great abundance; & that only Smith & Black & one more knew that gold had been discovered, & that Smith alone knew the spot where it could be obtained—The locality remained a secret in his breast, & the discovery died with him in Arkansas—His goods, together with all the implements, Picks & Shovels &c, were disposed of in Santa Fe at auction for a mere trifle, & all Smith's great outfit having been sacrificed, his brothers wended their way back to Missouri—

There appears to be not the slightest corroboration of the view that Smith, on his last fatal expedition, was bound for California to dig gold. Nor can I reconcile Yount's recollection of the manner of Smith's death and of the details of the massacre of his party in Oregon with accounts drawn from more direct authority.

J. J. Warner was clerk for Jedediah Smith on the fatal trip to New Mexico (see **Ann. Publ. Southern Calif. Hist. Soc.**, vol. 7, pp. 176-193). Warner met Smith in St. Louis in the fall of 1830 and says that Smith told him at that time that "he had spent eight years in the mountains and should not return to them." Warner saw Smith again in March, 1831. He then told Warner that "he had determined to accompany a trading expedition which he had been fitting out for Santa Fé for a couple of his younger brothers as the capital invested was much larger than he had at first intended and that he should return in the fall and that he would give [Warner] a situation if he was disposed to go to New Mexico and be left there as an employe on the business or return with him as he might elect. . . . There were twenty three wagons," and a party of eighty-three men (Warner, Calif. MS, D. 23, Bancroft Library, pp. 3-5).

All this makes it improbable that Smith intended to return to California in search of gold. Yount apparently had first-hand information that Smith had discovered gold in California. This is a tradition that has been handed down by the miners.

Smith's stories inflamed in Yount the desire to visit the Coast. He began to make his arrangements in the fall of 1830, when he joined a trapping expedition fitted out in New Mexico by William Wolfskill. The party included Francis Z. Branch, Lewis T. Burton, Samuel Shields, Zacharias Ham, Juan Lobar, François le Fourri, Baptiste St. Germain, Bautista Guerra and

Cooper, all of whom including Wolfskill and Yount remained at least temporarily in California. It was Wolfskill's intention to join Ewing Young, then in California on his first expedition to the San Joaquin, to enter California at the south, traverse the San Joaquin and return by way of the Great Salt Lake. We quote from H. D. Barrows:¹

Last of Sept., 1830, the party, with Mr. Wolfskill at its head, left Taos for this then far off Territory of California. They came by a route farther north than that usually adopted by the Spaniards in traveling between California and New Mexico—their object being to find beaver. They struck the Colorado just below the mouth of the Dolores, at the head of the "Great Cañon," where they crossed; entering the Great American Basin, striking the Sevier; thence southward to the Rio Virgin, which they followed down to the Colorado; thence descending the Colorado to the Mohave [Desert]; where they hoped to obtain some provisions of which they were in want, and also to find beaver. From there they took across to the sink of the Mohave river, through the Cajon Pass to San Bernardino, and finally to Los Angeles, where they arrived in February, 1831. Here the party broke up—being mostly without means. Some fitted out with what guns, etc., there were left, and went to hunting otter on the coast. Very few of the disbanded party had any intention of stopping in California permanently. But they must do something, to enable them to get away. Mr. Wolfskill, with several others, went to work and built a schooner, at San Pedro, with which to hunt otter among the neighbouring Islands. With this schooner, which they called the "Refugio",² they went down as far as Cerros or Cedros Island off the coast of Baja California. They had indifferent luck. . . .

Wolfskill's route from his crossing of the Grand River at the mouth of the Dolores through the Wasatch Mountains to the Virgin is difficult to trace. Clark's manuscript preserves only scattering incidents of the journey. Wolfskill evidently intended to continue southwestward from the crossing of the Green River but was hindered by snow in the high mountains

¹—William Wolfskill was a native of Kentucky, born near Richmond, Madison County, March 20, 1798. He will always be remembered as the leader of the expedition of 1831 from New Mexico to California along a new route through Southern Utah and Nevada. Shortly before he died in Los Angeles, October 3, 1866, he recounted his adventures to his son-in-law, H. D. Barrows, the Southern California historian, who published them in the *Wilmington [California] Journal*, vol 2, no. 49, Oct. 20, 1866; and later in abbreviated form in the *Ann. Publ. Southern Calif. Hist. Soc.*, vol. 5, 1904, pp. 287-294.

²—Warner says that Yount was a member of the party that went with Wolfskill, Pryor and Laughlin to the San Bernardino Mountains and cut timber which was taken to San Pedro to build the boat. I am not able to find confirmation of this in Clark or in Watson, who do not indicate that any of Yount's sea-otter hunts were made in company with Wolfskill.

southeast of Sevier Valley. Warner (Calif. MS, D 23, Bancroft Library, p. 41) says he followed down the Grand to near its junction with the Green, "crossed the latter and struck the Sevier river and pursuing a Southwesterly course for the California valley encountered cold weather and snows in the mountains which demoralized and disorganized his company." Clark's narrative evidently begins after the crossing of the Green. He says (MS b, pp. 51-53):

They shaped their course in a South-west direction, to a place known then by the name of "St-Joseph's Valley" [perhaps Castle Valley]—Which they found to be the most desolate & forlorn dell in the world—Every thing about it was repulsive & supremely awful—Unanimously they resolved to abandon so dreary a region, & rather than sojourn there, forego the acquisition of any benefit in the world—Two short days march however brought them to a place entirely the reverse of it—to which they gave the name of "Pleasant Valley" [Sevier Valley]—Sweet water, luxuriant grass, & beautiful timber were abundant— . . . This valley lies in the Utah Territory at some distance from the Great Salt Lake city, in the southwest— . . . On leaving this garden of nature, the party realized the forlorn condition of the first human pair, when expelled & driven out from Eden—Their spirits drooped and their hearts sank within them—As they pursued their journey, all around them was soon wild wintry waste—The party encountered deep snows and solitary gloom—very little timber, interspersed with scattered clumps of dwarfish cedars & Juniper Bushes, & rugged, icebound streams—Nature's verdure all departed—Cold, chilling winds murmured thro the scattered, leafless & dwarfish trees, one here—one there—No feathered songster, but in the place there of the forlorn woodpecker toiling thro the dry & hardened bark, in search of some torpid worm or insect & gaining a meager subsistence from the frozen remains of nature's insidious destroyer—Wading, in the snow, as the sun went down, one dreary evening, a solitary Indian was discovered, whose dwarfish stature & lean, half starved, nakid person, a heap of bones & skin, well corresponded with the region where he dwelt—A single rabbit-skin hung over his otherwise nakid shoulders—With a rude bow & arrows he was hunting rabbits—He was met by surprise & started, with affrighted visage, to run—But impeded by the deep snow he could not escape, & stood trembling with affrighted visage, in expectation of immediate death They soothed him with presents of awls, beads and vermilion, & he sat down to contemplate the articles given him—At the request of the strangers he led them to his people, a groupe of the lowest & most degraded of all the savage hords of the west—The individual called to his people to allay their fears, for they were greatly terrorstricken—All they had in the world was some dried rabbit-meat—The party gave them knives & awls—These people are an anomaly—apparently the lowest species of humanity, approaching the monkey—Nothing but their upright form entitles them to the name of man—They had not a hatchet, nor any instrument to cut or perforate the softest wood—One discovery they had made, or had learned it from

some more intelligent savage—They would get fire by rubbing together pieces of hard wood—But it was a long & tedious process—When they would fell a tree for fuel, or for any purpose they built a fire about its roots—& they cut it up with fire—To erect a dwellinghouse for their own abode & shield them from the severe cold, they were accustomed to break off boughs & stick them in the snow & sloping the tops inward they would pile bushes on the top—Thus they were little else than animals in human shape—The name of their tribe is Piuch [Paiute], a corruption of the word in the Eutau tongue which means Rootdiggers—They have but few words, & communicate chiefly by signs—They live in little clans scattered over a great extent of country—A traveller who has been among them within a few months informs us that they have now become the most adroit thieves in the world—Their food consists of occasionally a Rabbit, with roots & mice, grasshoppers & insects, such as flies, spiders & worms of every kind—Where nuts exist they gather them for food—They also luxuriate & grow fat when they find a patch of clover—On many kinds of grass they feed like cattle—They love to be covered with lice because they appropriate these for food—

Yount's reference in the following paragraph to the Old Spanish Trail would make it appear that the Mexicans had traveled this route before Wolfskill's journey. It has been stated that Wolfskill "opened" the Spanish Trail but there may well have been travel over it before his time. Fray Escalante and Jedediah Smith had of course already traversed Central Utah. The course subsequently followed by the Spanish traders between Santa Fé, Abiquiu and Los Angeles led somewhat to the south of Wolfskill's crossing of the Grand and his uncomfortable situation in the mountains. We quote from Clark (MS a, pp. 43-44):

The two leaders, Yount and Wolfskill, now resolved, if possible, to strike the old Spanish Trail leading from New Mexico to California—But the snow was deep and it was almost impossible to find the trail, or to keep it when found—No dependence could be placed on Indian guides, besides, at this wintry season, few indian wanderers could be met—In the winter they are wont to follow the game into portions of the wilderness where snow rarely falls—All the Tribes are more or less migratory, and their indolent nature leads them to prefer the places where they can live with least toil and exposure—Our trappers, with much toil, reached a strip of Table land, upon a lofty range of mountains, where they encountered the most terrible snowstorm they had ever experienced—During several days, no one ventured out of camp—There they lay embedded in snow, very deep, animals and men huddled thick as possible together, to husband and enjoy all possible animal warmth, having spread their thick and heavy blankets, & piled bark and brush wood around & over them—The Blankets used by these travellers of the wilderness are of a peculiar kind;—very thick and almost impervious to water—A small stream of water, running directly through a corner of their camp, they found not difficult to be kept open for the use of

themselves and their animals, and a blazing fire was kept burning night & day in the centre—With their Beaver-skins they were enabled to cover themselves and provide a comfortable bed—Thus they lay, shut out from all the world, while the storm was howling around them, and the snow falling in astonishing profusion—The snow-storm ended with rain during several hours, and then followed a season of piercing cold; by means of which was formed, on the surface of the snow, a strong crust of ice, which would bear the weight of the heaviest animals—After the storm subsided and the weather had softened, Yount & Wolfskil ascended a lofty Peak of the mountains for observation—In the whole range of human view, in every direction, nothing could be discerned, in the least degree encouraging, but only mountains, piled on mountains, all capped with cheerless snow, in long and continuous succession, till they seemed to mingle with the blue vault of heaven and fade away in the distance—It was a cheerless prospect, and calculated to cause emotions by no means agreeable in the stoutest heart—The party had missed their way, and had taken the left hand route, when they should have taken the right hand,¹ before they ascended that table mountain—It was by this error that they encountered the snow-storm—This was all they had learned by the laborious ascent up the Mountain Peak—Several of their animals had perished in the piercing cold," . . .

We conclude the narrative from Clark (MS b, pp. 53-55):

So soon as the wind had lulled away & the weather had cleared up, all were impatient—They accordingly broke up their encampment & resumed their march—The reader must imagine the journey from this lofty station, to Virgin River Valley, for words are poor things to describe it; neither can words describe the feelings & emotions, which struggled in the breasts of the party, while there encamped, & when groping their way upon the glare ice, & frozen snow, down the steep declivities & into the vallies which lie beneath them—After a few days march, they knew not whither, & what to hope for, to their utter astonishment, they were ushered into another of those enchanting vallies—There the earth was bare of snow, & the evergreens waved in gentleness & calm serenity—The Elk, deer and antelope, driven from the mountains, by the snow & piercing cold, were basking, with their frolicsome fawns, unawere & unintimidated by the sight of man—They would flock around like domestic sheep or goats, & would almost feed from the hand—Flocks of their young of every age & size, would bound & glide gracefully from hillock to hillock, & approach like lambs, in the farmer's farmyard—There, at evening, our adventurers encamped in a perfect Elysium—Instead of the howling and tempestuous winds of the mountains—calm zephyrs played around them— . . . Our travelers lingered here, reluctant to again to resume the toils of travel which lay before them . . . They had heard of California by the hearing of the ear, & had a continually increasing prospect of seeing that Eldorado

¹—Wolfskill evidently became confused near the junction of the forks of the Sevier River and went due south or southeast onto one of the high plateaus, the southern continuation of the Wasatch Range—elevation 10,000 feet.

—so that any lengthened delay, even in that valley of delights, was undesirable, whenever sober reflection assumed its prerogative, & pleasure yielded to reason—They had farewell to this enchantment & resumed their journey—The soil is red sandstone & therefore the waters of the River are almost like blood—Within twenty five miles of its mouth some Indians brot them salt—Ere long mountains of the purest white salt were found—Some of the salt they sent by ship to Boston—Virgin River empties into the Colorado—Mahauvies again in their old character—A small brass swivel [gun] upon a packsaddle, on a mule—deterred them—Gen. Karney afterwards used the same & it now lies a trophie in the Navy Yard of Boston alongside of Alvarado Hunter's long Brass Gun a trophy also—

IN CALIFORNIA

From the mouth of the Virgin River the trappers continued down the Colorado and struck out across the desert to the Mohave River. They traveled up that, crossed the Cajon Pass and descended into the Spanish settlements of Southern California. We quote from Clark's account of the San Gabriel Mission (MS b, pp. 55-56):

MISSION OF SAN GAVEIL

The Priest & Father of the mission had just completed a **Rodeo**— & turned out his herds, to the number of One Hundred & Thirty Thousand head of cattle¹—These were spreading themselves out over the Mission lands—In addition to this immense array of animal life, were horses, hogs, & goats & other domestic animals almost innumerable—The establishment was on a scale of immense magnitude & grandeur, & there was a profusion of wealth & magnificence, which would do honor to any noble of Castile or Arragon At that time Cattle & Horses bore a low price, no more than one & a half dollars a head—& travellers did not hesitate to take one as they might need—All rode fast till the animal tired & then turning him loose took another without ceremony by the wayside—There were neither roads nor fences—but only trails—[continuing from Clark MS a, pp. 50-60] and all travelling was on horseback, and all transportation on packhorses or mules—Each Ranchero had his own mark which was branded on the hip of his animal, and this mark was registered at the Pueblo office, and he might take his stock where he could find it—The land was either owned by the Government, or by grants of from, one, to twenty leagues, bestowed by Government on individuals, favorites, or men of distinction and renown—No Protestant could hold land, or any real estate—Throughout a distance of seventy miles, about the Mission of San Gaveil, one would pass through almost one continuous herd

¹—José Bernardo Sanchez was in charge at San Gabriel at this time. The Mission herds of cattle numbered 20,500 in 1831, according to Father Eugene Sugranes, **The Old San Gabriel Mission**, San Gabriel, 1909, p. 71.

of cattle & horses—& the land was very fertile, covered, like all the territory of Californial, with a heavy burden of wild oats, on which the herds thrive and fatten wonderfully—The oats, when cut early, before the kernel will shed itself from the stook, make the best of hay—But the farmer needs very little hay—Only during a month or two, after the dry season is past & the winter rains commence, to cause the dried crop of the past year to decay, do any of the domestic animals need any care—So soon as the earth is saturated, the Oat springs anew, a beautiful carpet of green is again spread over the surface, and nature pours forth anew an abundance for animals of every kind—There is no frost, to bind up the face of nature—& all the herbage, annually springs anew from the seed, self sown—Hence the farmer never encounters a tough and obstinate greensward in the tilling of his grounds, but only a soft & yielding surface—Yount & Wofskil felt an irrepressible curiosity to visit the Mission & its venerable Father—But totally ignorant of the spirit and customs of the country, & of those establishments, they were embarrassed with a thousand misgivings—In their rude, unique Buckskin garb, & rough personal appearance, they could hardly expect any favor, even if they should gain admittance, which they deemed doubtful—

THE VENERABLE FATHER

They however dismissed their misgivings and called at the Mansion to pay their respects to the Lord of such a Manor—To their no little surprise, they met a most cordial reception—They encountered nothing of that superciliousness which they had anticipated, but, on the contrary, the dignified and cordial address of a truly great man—They found the Holy Father bland, meek and accessible, and all the comforts of the establishment thrown freely open to their enjoyment—Their scrupulous honesty had preceded them there, and the Priest, in the most delicate and gentlemanly manner, alluded to it, as to him satisfactory evidence that they were worthy of his hospitality. Apartments neat, clean and sumptuous were allotted to them, and they were fed richly, and attended like guests of distinction and renown—Having returned with provisions, they brought in their party, all of whom were duly cared for at the Mission—Vespers and matins were daily had before the door of the Priest's residence, and the Roll of several hundreds of the Indians was daily called, all of whom were well clothed and fed—That Priest had, at the time of Yount's arrival, more than two Millions of Dollars in his coffers, which were strong, rude oaken chests, safe and secure as if guarded by the strongest bolts and bars of Iron—and, as we have stated above, One Hundred and Thirty Thousand head of Cattle, besides horses, hogs, goats and fowls and Poultry of every kind—The breeding of Sheep had ever been prohibited by the laws of Spain, in all their Transatlantic Domain—Such was the shortsighted and narrow policy of the Spanish Government, lest the value of wool might be depreciated in the Mother Country—Yount and Wolfskill fed at the Priests table with himself—It was interesting to observe the perfect neatness and cleanliness which marked the establishment throughout its every department:—And nothing could exceed the order and system

maintained everywhere and in minute detail—The Priest was all the Father, Patriarch and Lord Supreme of the immense family—At his daily advent, before his subjects and dependents he blended all those attributes sweetly together—His spirit was everywhere, & pervaded everything like that spirit, which of old “moved upon the face of the waters”—He was a man of the highest order of talents, and withal so bland, so gentle, so affectionate and paternal, he gave dignity to everything, with which he came in contact—All looked up to him as to a parent, dutiful and affectionate children, look up & bow with entire reverence—His wishes were the all prevailing law, which no one would violate—Even the most minute want of everyone was attended to in detail and cheerful complacency seemed to smile everywhere—No harsh or supercilious word or look was heard or exhibited—Every department of the establishment bore the impress of his very enlarged & comprehensive mind—Order, method and regularity were perfectly maintained—Not only were his manors largely stocked, but his vineyards, orchards and gardens alike planted not merely for the present but also for future generations to enjoy—Tropical fruits, and the productions of every clime were there & in rich profusion—He raised the finest wheat and mills for grinding it were to be seen on various parts of the ranch; and consequently the finest wheat bread adorned his table—It was common for this Priest to purchase whole cargoes of Groceries & Provisions, and to freight the Ship with Hides and Tallow for its return voyage—He would order out his vaqueros for a Rodéo, and the herds were gathered in for the slaughter—and many hundreds were slain in a day—Here might be seen thousands of hides drying and being packed for the Market and there the numerous cauldrons trying out the Tallow—A thousand carcasses of Bullocks lay about the slaughtering-houses, on which were feeding first the Indians, who selected the choice pieces for their families;—Next his hogs and many dogs, and then the Vultures and Buzzards by day harmonious, and on their retiring, the Coyotes and Wolves in their turn by night—There was enough for them all—As these animals were fed profusely, they had no motive nor inclination to destroy even the tender kid—If the Grizzly Bear attempted an inroad, the dogs and Indians, with their lariats, on fleetest horses, would soon lasso the monster and drag him to a cruel death—His mangled body soon paid the forfeiture for his insolence, to increase the immense heaps of carcasses, on which the other abovenamed animals were daily fed—But Bruin paid his visits “few and far between”—Yount and Wolfskil, we have said, were entertained at the Palace table of his Reverence—The men were allowed to pitch their encampment, in the place they might chose, nearby, and were supplied with meat and Bread and other food, of the choicest quality, and to entertain themselves as they would—Every delicacy at the Priest’s command was sent them, and no effort was wanting to promote their happiness—The hunters, in their leather apparel, mockasins and strange accoutrements, were of course a great curiosity there, and the Indians, so civilized, were hardly less a wonder to the trappers, than the trappers were to them—Many feats of skill were mutually exhibited—Wild Redmen of the woods the trappers had known full well enough; but these same human beings, brought under salu-

tary rules of living well, educated and civilized, they had never known, nor had they even supposed it possible thus to tame such wild and wayward beings—Their feats with the lasso or Riata astonished the Americans hardly less than did the latter excite in the former amazement by their skillful use of the Rifle. These tamed Indians had never been allowed the use of firearms;—and even to this day the Digger Indians peculiar to California, have contracted no taste for the use of such weapons—In fact they do not possess sufficient enterprise or energy to gather any improvement whatever from their intercourse with Americans—They do gather some gold, and that very little, which they barter for ardent spirits or tobacco—But we shall have occasion to enter into a minute history of them hereafter—One morning, the vaqueras had lassoed a wild Bullock, strong & furious, and were about to drag him up to the slaughter, when one proposed to have him shot—The venerable Priest, with his two guests, was standing to witness the work of his servants, and Yount, after the hunter's fashion, was leaning on his Rifle—The Bullock was fifty yards distant—the Riata over his horns and across his forehead—One exclaimed to Yount—“Cut off the riata with your shot”—The Priest replied, “that is asking too much, more than can be expected; you may hit his head”—Yount fired, and the riata dropped off as the animal fell—Shouts of astonishment rent the air, and the venerable Father raised his hands in astonishment and exclaimed—Impossible as such accuracy may appear to the inexperienced, it must not be forgotten that a lifelong practice had attained to it—Even to this day, in his old age he retains the skill thus acquired—It has been to him profitable, and has in several instances saved his life—Two weeks [?] of one continued holiday were thus spent at the mission—A rich and valuable refreshment indeed to our trappers, after those long months of exilement, suffering and exposure in the wilderness—Feasting and merriment are indeed not only admissible, but commendable after such a season of hardship and privation—While at the Mission of San Gaveil all were happy and, on their

THEY LEAVE THE MISSION

departure, the venerable Father dismissed them with apparent reluctance and many blessings—He tendered to them every comfort, and begged their frequent return—He intermingled with his farewell blessings many wholesome admonitions, and begged them to obey God and keep his commandments—to confide in his Eternal Son for future Salvation—to worship him while life should last, and do nothing which would give them pain to remember on a bed of death—His precepts had been well enforced by example, for surely, while in their presence, he had well exemplified his christian profession, specially in obedience to the precept, “use hospitality without grudging”—It was now the month of February 1831—The season was far advanced for trapping Beaver on the San Joaquin, & Yount must come to some determination as to the future—To remain idle was inconsonant to his feelings, and to the habits of his life hitherto—He would fain devote a season to learning something of the country, so new to him, and of which he had heard such glowing descriptions—His first impressions had indeed

been calculated rather to enhance the ideas he had formed of it, but he was without the means of embarking in any considerable business—He had learned that an animal called the Sea Otter abounded on the coast and on the Islands contiguous to the seashore, & that the gathering of the fur of that animal had sometimes been made lucrative—He finally came to the determination to send back to New Mexico the men he had hired there, with his outfit and equipments, and remain himself one year, in California, & to wait the result of future exploration as to the enterprize he should embark in—The desire he had long entertained to gain a knowledge of the Pacific coast had, by recent events, been much augmented—Having despatched his party homeward, he passed a few weeks in exploring the region which now makes the lower part of the state of California—At length a proposition was made to him to embark in hunting the Sea Otter, but as the briny Ocean & himself were total strangers, he was slow to embark in it—He had never yet seen the seashore, and was ignorant of all watercraft except those boats of Buffalo-skins, in which he had so often navigated the rivers of the West—Up to this time, and months afterwards, he remained beguiled in relation to the real state of his affairs in New Mexico—He fully believed the story, which had been so often, and with such apparent truthfulness, told him of outstanding debts & floating capital;—and he fully expected to return & enjoy the wealth which he possessed in the East—In all good faith, therefore he sent back consigned to his partner the avails of this hard and severe campaign—A merchant by name of Denny,¹ of some wealth and reputation, having heard of Yount at Los Angeles, despatched a messenger, a Spaniard, in search of him to embark in hunting Sea Otter—Denny proposed terms quite satisfactory, but he felt as yet unprepared to undertake any enterprize—His strange apparel and perfectly unique appearance excited some attention and made him a object of notoriety—He had by some means gained the soubriquet of "Captain Buckskin", by which name he is known, in that part of the country to this day—He was at length cited to appear before the Civil Authorities, and give bonds for his good behaviour—A law then existed, under the Mexican rule, imposing this duty indiscriminately upon every stranger—He had already been so fortunate in making friends, that he found no difficulty in complying with this provision of the laws—This being done, he purchased a horse, and with his Rifle, that trusty companion, made the journey of One Hundred miles to Santa Barbara—After which, he

¹—Undoubtedly William Goodwin Dana, formerly master of the ship *Waverly*, on this coast in 1826-28. He owned the Nipomo Ranch in San Luis Obispo County. "One source of revenue was the letting-out for a percentage of results of his otter license to foreigners who could get no such paper"—Bancroft, *History of Calif.*, vol. 2, p. 774.

George Nidever (Calif. MS. D 133, Bancroft Library, pp. 66-67, 73), at Santa Barbara after 1834, says: "Capt Denny the Capt of this port, had a license and Burten, Sparks and other hunters then here, hunted . . . paying him a share of the skins . . . I hunted under Capt. Denny's license for about a year and a half or two years . . . We paid Cap't. Denny 4% of our skins, he furnishing our provisions and paying the wages of one man for each hunter."

sought to obtain specific terms of Denny for hunting—An arrangement was accordingly made that Denny should provide the outfit, furnish everything & carry it to the hunters upon the Islands or coast, & receive one half of the avails—

OTTER HUNTING

Yount found himself extremely ignorant of everything about the Ocean, so much so, that many of his inquiries became a subject of amusement to those with whom he had become associated—But on an occasion of a sail for pleasure in a small craft off Santa Barbara, where the sea breaks in unobstructed upon the Beach, all his associates, many of them experienced sailors, became extremely seasick, and he alone of all the invited guests, was able to enjoy his dinner—This circumstance afforded him quite a triumph; The sea was unusually rough, and the vessel danced merrily before the wind—Yount had much difficulty to stand upon the deck—It was the first vessel he had ever seen, and all the vessel's furniture was a fruitful subject of study and admiration—But as he alone, of all the party, was able to enjoy the Captain's company, on the quarter deck, the excursion proved, not only pleasurable, but very profitable and gratifying to his inquisitive disposition; and he became the favorite of the master mariner with whom he sailed—The Otter boats were all absent which occasioned a season of delay, and Denny, in order to secure his services, proposed to allow Yount One Dollar per day during the interval—In due season however, the boats arrived & Yount, with one Gilbreth,¹ a mulatto and two Kanaka servants made his exit on this novel expedition—They made a point of land which had been named "Gilbreth's point"—On their arrival, much to his admiration, they found the Otter lying upon the surface of the water, near the land, in groups of several hundreds together—The business of slaying the animals, commenced and to Younts astonishment, his Rifle, ever before true to its mark, missed his game fifteen successive shots—He was confounded, and made the Island forthwith, if possible to learn the cause—After repeated experi-

¹—Gilbreth—perhaps Isaac Galbraith who came to California with Jedediah Smith and was said to have been an American blacksmith, "a crack shot and a man of gigantic size and strength,"—Bancroft, *History of Calif.*, vol. 3, p. 750.

William Waldo (MS *Reminiscences*, Missouri Hist. Soc.) has some account of Galbraith's experiences with Jedediah Smith and makes it appear that Galbraith accompanied the explorer on his second trip to California in 1827, and was one of the survivors of the massacre by the Mohaves on the Colorado River. During the fighting—"A ball struck Galbraith in the forehead . . . but a paper of vermilion which he carried in his cap, . . . prevented the ball from entering the skull, although he was struck down . . . After exhausting his ammunition . . . he performed such prodigies of strength and valor with his gun barrel, that the Indians fled from him and he made his escape. After long wandering, without gun or blanket subsisting upon frogs [and] snakes, . . . he reached the Mexican settlements of California." Waldo tells us that Galbraith died at Independence, Missouri, "bequeathing his herculean frame to a physician who had befriended him; and, up to the commencement of the late civil war, his skeleton could be seen in the doctor's office—a fine specimen of a Maine giant."

ments, he found that the sight of his rifle, had by accident, been disturbed, so as to cause a variation of eighteen inches from the point at which he aimed—The day was wasted in making the necessary experiments and corrections; and, on the following morning he killed ten of the animals without once missing his aim—This restored to him his character as a marksman, which he found not difficult afterwards to sustain—It was their method to be seated in a convenient position in a light boat, which was propelled with paddles in the hands of two sturdy Kanakas—until reaching within easy shot of the animal, as he lay basking on the quiet surface. Upon his being shot, one of the Kanakas would plunge into the water, & swim for his game and bring it into the boat—These Kanakas are at home in the water almost like the duck, and always go clad in no garment to encumber their swimming—During several hours, of a calm and pleasant morning, he would keep his Kanakas very actively employed in bringing in his game—Each hunter, was armed with two Rifles, & with every possible convenience for charging very quickly—His powder was carried in a horn by his side, with small bits of cotton or linen strung upon his vest conveniently, one of which was hastily laid over the muzzle after the powder had been poured into the Rifle, & a bullet placed upon it from the mouth of the hunter, which was kept always full, and all hastily rammed down—They used flint locks, and their pieces were self-priming—By this means no time was lost—Yount gathered Otter very fast, and the skins found a ready market—Each skin was at that time worth at least Thirty Dollars—and the employment, very lucrative, afforded an agreeable excitement—After a few days, Gilbrath, his companion, was so unfortunate as to lose his Boat, by the faithlessness of his Mulatto, who carelessly slept upon his watch, and Yount's boat & Kanakas were, for a long time, employed in endeavoring to recover it; but the effort was fruitless—Gilbrath thence became illnured and uncomfortable, and the business was thereby much interrupted—Yount had little peace until this man had left the Island—

PECULIARITIES OF THE SEA OTTER¹

To describe Certain habits and peculiarities of the Sea Otter which Yount discovered during his season of hunting, cannot be regarded as out of place, in this connection—They afford a valuable contribution to natural History, and we have no recollection of having anywhere seen them recorded—When one is wounded by the hunter, his fellows will all set upon him, entangle him much as possible in the kali, commonly called kelp, and drag him to the bottom, and there fasten him, by weaving seaweed or kali about him, lest the hunter obtain and bear off his body—They are most commonly lying among the kali or kelp, and while on the surface of the water, they lie very still—They move from place to place chiefly beneath the surface—The Otter

¹—Much of this account of the sea-otter is highly fanciful, but may be included here as a record of hunters' lore. Little is known of the habits even at the present day. Perhaps the most detailed observations are those of H. J. Snow who wrote *In Forbidden Seas*, London, 1910. The sea-otter is now almost extinct and soon will go if not more thoroughly protected. The animal bears the most prized and valuable of all furs.

feeds much on muscles and other bivalvular shell fish—He descends and brings up one of these fish, and also brings two stones of convenient size to the surface of the water—He then turns over upon his back, & lays one stone upon his breast, and placing the muscle upon the stone, & with the other stone, he breaks the shell of the muscle in pieces to obtain the fish within—At a certain season of the year they take in ballast sufficient to carry them to the bottom of the ocean—After thus sinking themselves, they crawl into some cavern, or secure place among the rocks where none of the monsters of the deep can reach them—There they lie, in a torpid state, it is supposed; or it may be, to give birth to and nourish their young—And after a certain period, they discharge the ballast and come up again to the light of the sun—Their ballast consists of stones of different sizes, from that of an ounce bullet up to that of a large goose egg—Yount has shot them immediately after they have come up from their long confinement to their ocean-bed, when they were covered with Barnacles, very fat and clumsy, and had discharged only a part of their ballast—So heavy were they that they would sink to the bottom immediately on being shot & he was obliged to wait till the ebbing of the tide to get the bodies—There are many traits peculiar to this animal, and which afford to the naturalist an interesting subject of study and reflection—It would be difficult to determine whether the Sea Otter or the Beaver of the interior mountain streams, is the most sagacious, we would almost be justified in using the word intelligent—After Gilbreth and his mulatto had lost his boat, and a long and fruitless search for it, a storm appeared to be gathering, and they were constrained to put themselves in a condition to encounter it—They had prepared their camp on the Island & brought up their boat, when a vessel of considerable size appeared in the offing, and boats put off from it for the Island—The poor Kanackas, were unfortunately in the worst state of feeling possible for such an event—Yount had been so unfortunate as to eat of some herb which proved poisonous, and occasioned him great distress, & much vomiting—This alarmed these superstitious creatures, & they connected this event with the loss of Gilbreth's boat, and insisted that the Devil was on that side of the Island—They had therefore been obliged to remove the camp—& immediately after this was done, the strange vessel made its appearance—& put off its boats—The poor creatures greatly alarmed, could with much difficulty be quieted—Six canoes of men from the vessel were fast approaching, and Yount took his [Portion of MS missing, probably some reference to a fight with the Northwest Indians.]

We continue from Clark (MS b, p. 56):

On the coast of California are the following named Islands—Santa Rosa—Santa Cruz, San Michael, Santa Clemente, San Nicholas, Santa Barbara, Catalena & several smaller ones off San Iago [San Diego] & Encinanta [Ensenada] far below—& there are many off the coast of Lower California—Clementina is destitute of water except such as stands in basins of the Rocks—But when watered by artesian wells it will become immensely valuable—Mines of the Precious metals are said to exist there hitherto undisturbed—The Rattlesnake is found on

only three Islands viz Santa Crus, Catalena & Ceres¹—All the rest are free from venomous reptiles—but they abound on the main land—near the Island of Ceres, on the main land is a Jesuite Mission— . . .

GOLD ON CLEMENTE

On the east side of the Island of Clemente, at very low tide, in the year 1833, a little more than half way down the Island, was found a ledge of rocks projecting out into the sea, which was full of Gold—Doubtless the Island has since much washed away & the ledge must be quite under water except in extremely low tides; & it may be now quite submerged at all times—but still it is believed that it reaches back into the bank which is rather abrupt—It is worth looking after²

Mrs. Watson, pp. [8-9], informs us that:

. . . from the first island they visited [on Yount's first sea-otter trip] he returned after a few weeks with seventy-five skins that brought him the snug sum of two thousand dollars. After such success he visited the other [channel] islands . . . [including] San Clemente . . . Mines of precious metal are supposed to exist here. On the island of Santa Barbara he took ten sea elephants and otter in great abundance. On the island of St. Clemente he built a boat of sea-elephant skins. It was constructed after the fashion of those used by trappers on the western rivers [perhaps the only instance of a "bull-boat" being used to navigate the open sea]. The skins were cleaned of hair and fur, scraped down very thin upon the flesh side and while moist rolled into the smallest possible compass. When wanted for use they were soaked in water, while timbers from the flexible willow were being prepared. The hides are then skilfully stretched over the timbers and the boat is ready for use. In such hastily made crafts the largest rivers could be crossed. They would carry many tons [pounds] and five or six men in each boat. They were easily transported on the backs of men or animals, and when not needed were carefully soaked and rolled as before . . . [In the ocean the sea-elephant skin boats] were short lived, as salt water was fatal to them.

After a second trip to the Islands and to Lower California (1831-1832), Yount went to Santa Barbara where he met a "Dr. Cooper"³ and Thomas O. Larkin, the U. S. Consul. Mrs. Watson continues, pp. [9-10]:

¹—Rattlesnakes are not known on Santa Cruz Island at the present time although they still occur on Catalina and Cedros.

²—Yount's story of gold on the islands caused a stampede to Catalina in the early sixties. Yount himself is said to have gone out three times before 1855 to look for the lost "mine," which he never succeeded in finding.—J. M. Guirín, *Ann. Publ. Southern Calif. Hist. Soc.*, vol. 9, 1912-13, pp. 43-48. (Also printed in the *Overland Monthly*.)

³—According to Bancroft "Dr." Fernando M. Cooper did not arrive in California until 1835. Probably Yount had met Capt. John B. R. Cooper, Larkin's half-brother. In '33 he was "licensed to hunt otter" and Yount seems to have been with him on at least one hunting trip to the Islands.

Mr Larkin came to Santa Barbara to be married, but being a Protestant, the Mexican laws would not permit a padre to solemnize the marriage on Mexican soil. A captain of an American ship [the Volunteer, Captain Shaw] . . . offered Mr. Larkin the use of his ship, so with his bride-to-be and many friends he sailed out to sea and the nuptials were celebrated under the Stars and Stripes. Mr. Larkin, with his bride, servants, vaqueros and horses, all well armed, as was the custom in those times, accompanied by George Yount and several other friends, started for Monterey and being several days on the road, would camp out unless they were at one of the numerous missions where they always were made most welcome. . . .

[They followed El Camino Real to Monterey; here] George Yount built another boat for otter hunting, but met with poor success. He decided to go further north, and after shipping his boats and other possessions on a Russian ship bound for Yerba Buena, . . . he started overland.

Clark preserves Yount's description of the San Francisco of that time (MS b, pp. 56-58):

CHOLERA OF 1832

San Francisco was then a mere cluster of barren Sandhills, with a half dozen wretched sheds and adobas—This only marked the spot which has now, (1855) become a proud city of more than sixty Thousand inhabitants—An occasional watercraft, or coasting vessel, or ship weatherbound on its passage to China or the Sandwich Islands, or some wandering whaler touching for wood & water, only, disturbed that Bay, which has since been burdened with a fleet of more than seven hundred large Ships, freighted with the merchandize of every nation in the world—The Bays & Rivers of California were navigated by only the Indian in his frail canoe—To the traveller ascending the San Joaquin & Sacramento in the year 1833 a most melancholy & heartrending scene was presented—Within the year preceding the Cholera had spread over the valleys of not only these Rivers, but also those of the American, Feather, Uba, Tuolumna & Merced, as it had done over almost all the world—It took the name Asiatic because it began its ravages in Asia—Of the millions, its victims during that year no accurate estimation has ever been attempted—Nowhere upon the globe was it probably more fatal than in the above-named territories in Cal.—On the first two Rivers above named, a population must have swarmed more dense than in any of the indian settlements of America—But they fell before that awful pestilence, like the grass before a mower, & disappeared as the dew before a midday sun Whole Tribes were exterminated—The poor ignorant creatures knew no remedy—Resorting to their charms & flocking into their sweathouses, in groups of several hundreds they would dance frantic around a blazing fire, & while thus dancing the disease would sieze them & they fall down in death—till the sweathouse could contain no more—After burning the bodies of their friends in heaps of hundreds, in despair the living fled to the mountains & wandered desolate &

forlorn they died alone—The bones of untold thousands lay whitening the vallies—Travellers ascending the Rivers found the stench almost intolerable & the following year heaps of whitened bones might be seen everywhere in those fertile vallies—Deserted & desolate Rancherias were frequent and numerous—Only here & there a remnant remained of the thousands & tens of thousands who lived there before the pestilence—The scattered few in sullen silence appeared like disconsolate mourners—They seemed unwilling to hold conversation with the stranger whiteman & little could be learned from them—In some instances parentless orphans were found alone, whom no one would own or succor—Doubtless they half suspected every whiteman as having had some agency in their calamity—It was a pitiful spectacle to see the survivors wander about among the bleaching bones of their tribe—We have known an instance of an infant female found there deserted & alone which was humanely cared for, cleaned of its filth & vermine & raised into womanhood & who afterwards married & was murdered by her husband after having been the mother of several children—“Blessed is he who careth for the poor and needy—The Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble”—

THE RESCUE OF THE INDIAN CHILD

George Nidever, famous trapper and sea-otter hunter, long a resident of Santa Barbara, was an early associate of Yount's in California. Nidever relates (Calif. MS, D 133, Bancroft Library pp. 62-66):

I remained in Monterey [1833] with a few others of our company [the Walker expedition which had just crossed the continent]. Here I met Yount who had been in Cal. some time. he was about to return to S. F. and invited me to go with him and to make an otter and beaver hunt around the bay and up the San Joaquin River. I sent my baggage in a Russian brig and I accompanied Yount in his canoe. We hunted a little on the Petaluma side of [the] Bay, and then proceeded to the San Joaquin river, where we trapped with very fair success for about two mos. We returned with about 30 beaver, 2 sea otter and 14 land otter. Sea otter skins were then worth \$30 ea, land otter \$2, and beaver about \$4 While on this hunt we found among the Tulares a little indian girl, that had been abandoned by its parents probably.

One afternoon having found a strip of dry land among the tules, we decided to camp thereon for the night. As we landed Yount saw what appeared to be indian huts about a quarter of a mile above us on the same strip of land, and while he got supper I set out to reconnoitre. Arriving at the huts I looked into them all, but found them empty. I passed on some distance but saw no signs of indians It was dusk when I started on my return. In repassing the huts I heard a moan then others in succession which I traced to one of the huts. Looking in I saw nothing at first, but my eyes soon becoming accustomed to the darkness I made out a small child seated on the farther

corner of the hut. I went in and the little thing tried to talk to me but I could of course understand nothing of its language. I left it and returned to camp where I found Yount somewhat alarmed at my absence, and who when I told him of the child and proposed to go back and get it, would not listen to me. He was afraid the Indians might return in the night. All night it seemed as though I could hear the little one's cries. Early in the morning I went to the huts and found the little one so weak that she could not sit up. Upon bringing her out of the hut we found her nothing but skin and bone. She had probably been without food for three or four days. We took her to camp and gave her a piece of boiled beaver, and it was pitiful to see the eagerness with which she caught it to her mouth and sucked it voraciously. We feared to allow her to eat too much at first, and so took the meat from her after she had sucked it a few minutes, but so tightly did she have it pressed to her mouth that main force was necessary to take it from her. We made clothes for her and with a little care she soon recovered. When we returned from our hunt Yount took her home with him, after having her baptized and christened at the Mission of San Francisco.

A few weeks after our return to S. F. Yount took a contract from Capt. A B Thompson of Santa Barbara to furnish him with 20,000 shingles for his hotel which was then being built and is now known as the San Carlos.

The following is from Clark (MS b, pp. 58-60):

BENICIA

In 1833—Benicia was visited & has been thus described It was then nothing more than a wide and extended lawn, exuberent in wild oats & "a place for wild beasts to lie down in"—The Deer, Antelope & noble Elk held quiet & undisturbed possession of all that wide domain, from San Pablo Bay to Sutter's Fort—near which now stands the large & flourishing city of Sacramento—The above named animals were numerous beyond all parallel—In herds of many hundreds, they might be met, so tame that they would hardly move to open the way for the traveller to pass—They were seen lying, or grazing, in immense herds, on the sunny side of every hill, & their young, like lambs were frolicing in all directions—The wild geese, & every species of water-fowl darkened the surface of every bay, & frith, & upon the land, in flocks of millions, they wandered in quest of insects, & cropping the wild oats which grew there in richest abundance—When disturbed, they arose to fly, the sound of their wings was like that of distant thunder—The Rivers were literally crouded with salmon, which, since the pestilence had swept away the Indians, no one disturbed—It was literally a land of plenty, & such a climate as no other land can boast of—The few & scattered Spanish Rancheros owned large herds of cattle, but all combined in California were not a fiftieth part of what the land was competent to feed—During hundreds of years, fires have spread over all the country, in the dry season, of the year, & by this means the timber has been destroyed, except on the tops of lofty

mountains, & in the neighborhood of creeks & Rivers, so that all is one wide spread Prairy, of richest soil, ready & waiting for the plough of the husbandman—Instead of the long and tedious task of clearing away a mighty forest, & extracting stumps & roots, & subduing a hard & unyielding surface, the farmer of California has only to plough & sow & reap—And to facilitate this prompt & easy process, all the year round, nature provides spontaneously food for the horse & the ox—and as if this were not enough, she has laid by her stores inexhaustible of fish, poultry & venison—Of these no country was ever more prolific—But it lacks the enterprize, industry & frugality of the New England farmer—Could a colony of those snug, neat and industrious farmers of Western Massachusetts be transported hither & set down on these rich & productive lands, it would present a sample of thrift & comfort & happiness such as has never been seen on earth since our first parents were driven out from Eden—

From Benicia Yount proceeded to Petaluma, and the Missions of San Rafael and Sonoma. The padre of the two Missions, recognizing his all-around frontier ingenuity, hired him to make some needed repairs on the buildings. Mrs. Watson says that Yount was the first person to make shingles in Alta California. For details of this enterprise we may turn to the relation of Charles Brown (Calif. MS, D 53, Bancroft Library, p. 8) who says:

I made arrangts. with Geo. Yount to manufacture shingles to shingle Vallejo's house in Sonoma.

The shingles had to be made in the most primitive manner as we had no machinery. The tree was felled, barked, cross cut off in blocks of 18 inches long—then split, and shaved. With all those difficulties Yount & myself used to make abt 1000 shingles a day each—and I have seen men make as many as 1500. Those shingles we made were the first that had been seen in the country—

Brown says his wages were \$25 per month “and found,” and that later he got \$8 per thousand shingles.

The Mission life pleased Yount. He remained in Sonoma till 1835 and helped Gen. M. G. Vallejo to fight the Indians. Through Vallejo and Father José L. Quijas, friar of the northern Missions (whom Bancroft characterizes as “a good man when sober”), Yount obtained his grant of land in Napa Valley, where he made his home and spent the remaining years of his life. His papers to the Caymus Rancho were confirmed in the spring of 1836. Mrs. Bucknall in her address entitled “The Days of Long Ago” (*St. Helena Star*, April 6, 1917) has given the following account of how her grandfather came to locate in Napa Valley:

Toward the close of a beautiful Spring day in March he said he was riding his good horse Hunter along a narrow trail over Mt. St. Helena from Sonoma to Napa, and suddenly the matchless valley came into view, "It was gay with early eschsoltzia. . . and I exclaimed 'This is Paradise: it is here I would like to live and die.'"

It seems to have been the prudent policy of the Spanish Californians to protect themselves from Indian invasion at the north by granting lands on that frontier to foreigners. Under this procedure Yount obtained his grant and was the first white settler in Napa Valley. His nearest neighbors in 1836 were at Sonoma. Sutter came into the Sacramento Valley three years later and Fitch, the American, did not obtain his grant at Healdsburg in the Russian River Valley until 1841.

Mrs. Watson says that many of the Mission Indians went with Yount to his new home and helped him build his Kentucky block house,¹ perhaps the only one of its kind ever built in California. It had "a room eighteen feet square below and another twenty-two feet square above, fitted with port holes through which he defended himself and the friendly Indians by firing on the wild tribes who came down from the mountains . . . Always keeping his block house well stocked with food, he could withstand a siege many days . . . [After his] battles with the savages . . . [the] prisoners . . . were sent to San Rafael . . . [and] the Mission Dolores . . . where they were taught"

Yount assisted Vallejo in his fight with the Okechumne (Miwok) and other wild tribes on the 27th of December, 1840, at the Trancos (now Suscol) eleven miles south of Yount's Ranch.

Bears were numerous and Yount is said to have killed five or six in one day, and "it was not unusual to see fifty or sixty in twenty-four hours while in low and marshy tule grounds along the river a great many gigantic elk were found." (Watson, p. [12].)

¹—The block-house apparently did service as a fort during the first year that Yount lived on the ranch. In 1837 Yount built his "fort," a low, narrow adobe about one hundred feet long, with massive walls, and loop-holes. According to Mr. Isaac A. Johnston of Yountville, the "fort" was torn down about the year 1870. After Yount moved into his new adobe house, built on the spot which the Napa State Farm buildings now occupy, his daughter, Mrs. Vines, lived in the old fort. Yount's fort antedated that of Sutter by two years, and when it was built was the only white habitation inland between Sonoma and the settlements on the Columbia River.

In 1843, according to Bancroft, Yount obtained the adjoining La Jota Rancho and built his saw-mill upon it. This grant consisted of "over four thousand acres of table land" and was heavily timbered (Watson, p. [13]). Yount now began to exchange shingles for stock to replace those stolen from his ranch by the Indians. He also built a flour mill, planted a vineyard from cuttings of Mission grapes procured from the padres, and set out fruit trees.

His was the simple rude life of the frontier. Sitting before his hearth in the evening, he would mould his bullets for the old muzzle-loader, in preparation for the next day's hunt. The Indian bucks "looked after the stock and farmed while some of the squaws did the cooking." The squaws "washed the clothes . . . on flat stones" and, lacking soap, lathered them with the California soap root (Watson, p. [14]). In making wine the Indians trampled the grapes in a hide trough with their bare feet.

Some account may here be drawn from Clark (MS a, pp. 82-85) of the Indian neighbors with whom Yount was practically alone for many years:

[THE INDIANS OF NAPA VALLEY]

Within a distance of no more than One Hundred miles in length & twenty in width, including the Napa Valley, were five distinct nations, no two of which could converse together . . . without an interpreter . . . The names of these five nations were as follows—The Napa [Wappo, a Yukian tribe. Perhaps Yount refers to the southern Wappo villages near the present site of Napa city], the Ouluke [perhaps one of the villages of the Wintuns], Caymus [a middle Wappo village near Yount's house, four miles north of the present site of Yountville], Conahomanas [an unidentifiable name, perhaps a Pomo village], & Miacamus [a northern Wappo village near Calistoga], the last named tribe inhabited the region of the Hot Springs of that valley [Calistoga] & their name is significant of the region where they dwelt—These nations were remarkably jealous and tenacious of their rights—The limits of the territory of each were distinctly marked, & it was a capital offence for an individual of one tribe to transgress & infringe upon the territory of another—Death was the inevitable consequence of even the least transgression—Not so much as an Acorn, or a spire of Clover might be taken from beyond the established boundary—These Indians knew nothing of Agriculture, although their land was some of the most fertile in the world—It would be difficult in any country to find land, in point of fertility, superior to that in Napa Valley,—The whole cerealia flourishes there, & fruits of almost all descriptions are now successfully cultivated;—

& yet the natives knew neither seedtime nor harvest—Their food consisted of wild meats, Acorns, Clover, the Tagrogos Root & Grasshoppers—In the dry season the squaws spread themselves over the land to gather Wild Oats & Grass seed—The women performed most of the manual labor, the men hunted, ensnared the Deer, & gathered the fish from the Lakes & Streams—Their method of ensnaring the Deer was rather ingenious & remarkably successful—Wherever they might find the paths of the animal, or the trails which they frequented on their way to watering places, they would erect long fences to turn the animal towards a single opening in which was fixed a rude pitfall, or heavy timber to fall upon & crush the unsuspecting victim—These animals were so very numerous that their trails were frequent, & it required little industry to ensnare meat in sufficient quantity for a whole tribe, at all seasons of the Year; & the fawns could always be slain with their bows & arrows, until they had grown to maturity—Such were the indolent habits of the Indians that it was never tedious to waylay the timid Deer & Antelope & to shoot them in ambush—

DIMINUTION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES

It is not yet eight years since the abovenamed valley swarmed with not less than eight Thousand human beings, of whom there are not now left as many Hundreds—They have been hunted down by the murderous white man—Ardent spirits have been afforded them by the same all exterminating foe; diseases of the filthiest & most fatal kind have been contracted & disseminated from the same source, the same intruders have usurped their land, scattered & exterminated their game & fish, corrupted the habits, as well as infected the persons of their females, which has rendered them feeble, torpid & indolent—Hence they murder their offspring at their birth, to rid themselves of the care & toil of nursing & raising them into life—If they do not murder them, the little innocents come into life diseased, & are born only to suffer & to die—Yount has exhausted all his influence, & exerted himself to the utmost to dissuade & prevent the squaws from the practice of destroying their infants, but in vain—The tribes are wasting away, like the dew of a summer's morning—They have already dwindled to such an extent, that almost all distinction of tribe & nation is gone forever—The poor remnants of all the five tribes above named now mingle & wander up & down the valley promiscuously together; they sit broken hearted & disconsolate by the sides of the streams, & under the antient widespreading oak; most of them mere bundles of corruption & the most loathsome of all diseases, offensive even to themselves—Their ardor & vivacity is gone—They eat when they can get food without effort, but they will all but starve before they will make any exertion; every step they take gives them pain & anguish—They are profoundly ignorant of the cause of their sufferings, languor & torpidity; & they are equally ignorant, of course, of any remedy, or preventive—In sullen silence they suffer,—unpitied and unlamented they die—Such the present condition of those once noble, proud & athletic nations, who, when Yount came among them, and during more than ten years afterwards, were generous, honorable, thrifty and free—In

agility & fleetness of foot they would almost vie with the Antelope, & in aspect & bold address they equaled the lofty & majestic Elk—They were true to the marriage covenant, & their females were chaste, pure & constant—They would stand before Yount, receive his precepts, heed his counsels & in grateful return for his care & kindness; when the wild & treacherous hords of the mountains besieged his Block-house; or stole his herds they would defend him, & pursue and punish the depredators—

[MS b, pp. 86-89] Of the five Tribes there the Caymus was quite the largest, & a history of them may be regarded as a general history of the whole—At certain seasons of the year they have always been in the habit of wandering off into the mountains, & scattering themselves, in small groupes, over the country—None of the Tribes of Cala. will compare at all with the Eutaus, Snakes, Crows, Apaches & Camanches—Nay they are inferior to all the Tribes east of the Sierra Nevada—These Cala. Indians, although subject to national wars & fightings, have [n]ever been known to have their great Park or Battle ground—whither to resort & try their comparative power or skill—Their offensive armor corresponds, in its main features, with that of all the Aborigines of the Western Continent—The Bow & arrows of the westernmost indians are much shorter than are those of the regions farther east—Clubs & spears are much lighter & are less used—corresponding with their size & comparative strength . . . Their government is arbitrary & absolute & tyrannical—An incident will serve as an illustration— . . . [Yount] was getting timber in the forest & had hired a multitude of the natives to labor for him in cutting & hawling his timber to the waterside—On one occasion he was alone with the Indians & no Chief was there The[y] combined together & forbade him from taking more trees from the forest—He buckled on his pistols, took his Rifle in hand & assumed the defensive—They armed themselves with their knives & in a menacing attitude, were about to carry matters to a fearful crisis—He bade them not to speak to him, assumed to be a Chief himself, & assured them that he should negotiate with none but a Chief—They approachd him, brandishing their knives—At that moment a Chief approached & spake to them—They assembled around him, & were clamorous, endeavoring to explain to him & satisfy his mind & exhonorate themselves—He stood listening to them in silence, for some moments, when, from apparent carelessness his cloak fell from off his shoulders,—At the instant, without uttering a word, he struck the foremost of the party & laid him stiff upon the ground—The whole party instantly fled in all directions into the forest—The chief turned, without uttering a word, & walked away—The white man entered his own log cabin & was sitting alone, when shortly the Chief walked majestically in, threw down a pair of fine ducks at his feet, lighted his pipe & smoked a few whiffs, and then passed it to his white friend, who well understood the ceremony & smoked the pipe & returned it again to his Excellency—Not a word was spoken, but the Chief, with great dignity retired & walked off to his cabin—From that hour business went on as if nothing adverse had occurred—The indians all returned to their labor & the work of cutting timber was no more interrupted—Unless they get ardent spirits the indians of the

same tribe rarely quarrel—Their females never gossip—Hence the chief source of quarrelling among neighbors is entirely wanting. The more northern tribes are remarkably imitative—They will form & fashion almost anything which is new to them—It was not many days after the first Steam ship appeared in their waters, viz Puget Sound¹ before the natives appeared in boats, with a pair of rude paddle wheels, & an Indian lying in the bottom of the boat to turn a crank & keep the wheels in motion & a smokepipe raised with another Indian feeding a fire to create smoke much as possible—All their boats are Clipper built, in imitation of the swiftest fishes seen in those waters—Although thus imitative they cannot be called ingenious—They are not inventive at all, but they will toil a whole year to carve & construct a stone pipe, after the model of anything which is new to them—They contrive peculiar methods of capturing game or fish—To obtain possession of the wild geese & ducks which abound in all their waters, they dress one of their number in a garb of feathers, down to the waste, & place him in the bow of one of their light canoes, with a brilliant light from a pitch-pine knot—He holds in his hand a spear, while two others lightly paddle the canoe, sitting in the extreme stern—Thus they approach a flock of hundreds of the unsuspecting birds, in the darkness of night—The disguised individual will spear as many as he desires, while their eyes are fastened on the bright torch-light—Often in this way they capture two thirds of the entire flock—By similar methods they beguile & capture the Salmon from the streams, & the Deer in the forests—Their bows & arrows are quite adequate to slay the Antelope & the noble Elk. But the Grizzly Bear & California Lion they rarely molest—If they meet these, they retire if possible and avoid a contest—Multitudes however have fallen the victims of these ferocious monsters—We have stated that Caymus Tribe was originally much the largest & most numerous of the five tribes in Napa Valley—Some fifteen years ago, a Master Spirit having wandered off, or been expelled from his own nation, far in the interior, came to the San Rafael Tribe, which dwelt some thirty miles Southwest from the Caymus, & associated with himself a kindred spirit of that tribe, kept the Indians, for a long time in a state of turmoil & tumult—The nation, for a long time could devise no means of quieting these turbulent fellows, till they elected them as Chiefs of the Tribe—Although peace at home was thus purchased, the two could not rest—They had learned the strength & power of the Caymus and burned to humble them, or at least to make them feel & recognize their own segacity & genius—Finally having learned that, on a certain night, the Caymus Tribe would be engaged in a grand religious ceremony, or celebration, which would end in a grand dance, within what was called the Sweathouse, which answered to the Church or Temple of Civilized nations—It was built of poles stuck in the ground & sloping inward so as to render the building a perfect cone—The polls were covered with reeds or tulies & then the whole overspread with earth to the depth of two or three feet or more—There were only two apertures, one for the escape of the smoke, at the top, & the other upon the ground, thro' which was

¹—Mrs. Bucknall says that Mr. Yount went as far as Puget Sound on horseback in the early days.

the only ingress & egress—and that upon all fours—In this building the Indians were wont to assemble for religious festivals, & for all their dances for pleasure or worship—

DESTRUCTION OF THE CAYMUS

[MS a, pp. 76-82.] In this Sweathouse or Temple were assembled, on the occasion abovenamed, a large majority of the Caymus Tribe, with a huge fire in the centre, around which they were dancing—They had collected a supply of dry & combustible fuel, intending to continue their dance till day light—This fuel was heaped up outside—The two San Rafael Chiefs had secreted themselves in the dense chapparel, during the day, to abide their time,—and they crept stealthily up, at a late hour, & threw some clumps of wood over into the chimney—The poor Caymuse within attempted to creep out & were slain, as they placed their heads out within reach of the two clubs, which were wielded dexterously, until the aperture was quite closed with dead bodies—The two then hurled the fuel fast down upon the fire within, & the Sweathouse was soon in flames—The morning presented a most tragical scene—Nothing was left but a smouldering heap of human bodies dead & smoking, half consumed—A large majority of the great Cayms Tribe perished in that awful night—Before the sun was fairly up, the two murderers were far on their way towards San Rafael—The anniversary of that mournful night is to this day observed by the Tribe, or rather the remnant of that once powerful nation—Yount well knew those two monsters of evil, & mischief, but he could do nothing to redress the wrong, nor was it in the power of anyone to bring the perpetrators to justice—Ever after however, the two Chiefs behaved well; apparently satiated with cruelty & blood—They ruled well & wisely their people, & within three years, they have paid the last great debt of nature & been gathered to their fathers—

THE TUTELAR SPIRIT OF THE CAYMUS

At a period long previous to the tragical event above related, Yount embarked in erecting a small flouring mill, to be driven by the waters of the Napa Creek—He employed a large number of the Caymus Indians, paying them, as he was ever wont to do, their stipulated wages—When about to commence his dam, about One Hundred yards up the stream from the mill, where he would take the water out from the Creek into a canal, which he had dug for the purpose, he encountered a very unexpected obstruction—He found his Indians grouped together in the morning, & apparently sad and disconsolate—He ordered them to their work, & they declined, apparently not willful nor capricious; but bourn down with grief and sadness—He was induced to inquire the cause of their strange deportment—The Chief advanced & disclosed the fact, that the spot where Yount would erect his dam had then, during many centuries, been the abode of the tutelar & protecting spirit of the Caymus nation; & that, in the darkness of the preceding night, that great & good Spirit had come to him (the Chief) & earnestly remonstrated to his dwellingplace being broken in upon, or disturbed—He said the Spirit appeared bourn down with grief; &

had intimated that, thus to allow of his mansion being desecrated, savored of extreme ingratitude on the part of the Caymus Nation—He recapitulated his numerous past kindnesses towards the nation; said that he had been their good Spirit & protector during thousands of years; that he had been with them ever since they first became a nation; that when they were few in number & a mere infant people, he had been to them a father; he had never forsaken them, nor in any instance neglected them; & that now he was grieved to the heart to think that his children, his idols, dearer to him than the apple of ones eye, could thus requite his kindness & disinterested love—And the Chief choked as he spake & wept—Yount bade the Chief inform the good spirit that never under any circumstances would he disturbe or molest him—If by erecting the dam he (the Spirit) would be deprived of his dwelling place, it should never be built; but that he thought that the bare erecting of the dam, & turning the course of the water would not incommode him at all—He requested the Chief to ask the good Spirit to call on him, & he certainly would make everything quite satisfactory—The Chief was then left alone during the space of an hour, when he came out and announced that the good Spirit, disposed in every possible degree to accommodate Yount, had concluded to remove his residence across the Creek, upon the side of the hill, where he earnestly requested Yount never to molest him; & he would become alike the guardian angel & protector of Yount & the Caymus Indians, & remain so forever; and that prosperity & happiness should be theirs to enjoy—Upon this ununciation the countenances of the Indians brightened, & they went cheerfully to their work—The enterprize of erecting the Dam & completing the Mill progressed with despatch & was soon completed—

RELIGIOUS RITES AND CEREMONIES

The religious customs of all the Tribes on the coast of the Pacific are similar—Their Religion consists chiefly in dancing, strange contorsions of the body & imagined familiarity with good & bad spirits, & the Ghosts of departed friends—All the tribes have their Sweat-houses, or Temples to which they resort for all religious rites & ceremonies—These buildings are so constructed that they are capable of being heated like an oven—They creep into these heated houses, & lie around the fire for the healing of all maladies—Many of their cures are effected by dancing around the fire in these houses—Often they dance till they fall senseless—Always, in their religious dances, some individuals are appointed to sit & watch those dancing, lest they should fall into the fire & be burned—They will lie till the sweat stands in pools upon the ground—They believe in witchcraft, & that by a certain process of sweating they can bewitch their enemies—When in their religious dances, they become stupefied & fall, they often lie an hour or more, with no other indication of life than the mere beating of the pulse—No one is allowed to molest them then, & when they rise they generally have oracular or preternatural communications to make; to which all listen as they would to communications from heaven—They are represented & believed to be communications from supernatural

beings, or from the ghosts of departed friends—After thus holding converse with the dead, or with celestial spirits they are very eloquent & tell many strange & wonderful things—If the spirits tell them that they are about to die, they will publish the communication & then invariably lie down in death—If one receive a revelation that one of his kindred, or a neighbor is to die, immediately he will lie down, and expire without a groan or murmur—In their falling at meetings for religious worship, the phenomena of falling resemble those of the Methodists & some other Denominations, in the days of Whitfield, & in subsequent periods in the United States—There is this difference only—The Indians carry the custom farther, & are more extravagant—

TUMULA OR SPIRIT PLACES

Like all the Indians both East & West of the great Mississippi, they have their sacred tumula, or spirit places—No Indian ever passes one of these tumula, without laying something upon it—It may be a Bead, a Pin or some larger article; but generally a stone or a stick—Should Five Hundred, or a Thousand or more come together to such a spirit place, every one will place something upon it—They are very scrupulous in all their religious observances—They deem it very irreverent, inkind; nor is it safe to appear to entertain contempt for their superstitions—Yount's policy with them has always been to treat all their religious notions with respect & never to make light of their scruples—In the instance when the tutelar Spirit felt so aggrieved at the prospect of his home being disturbed by Yount's dam, the mode of treatment he adopted is a fair specimen of his policy towards them—In his bidding the Chief to inform the Spirit that he (Yount) fully appreciated his greatness & great goodness, & should ever respect his rights, he struck a cord which vibrated happily through the whole Tribe; & satisfied all their minds, & at the same time secured to himself an influence over them for good—To this day the Spirit's home is respected, & by the Indians venerated and deemed holy—

TRADITIONS OF THE ABORIGINES

Yount has labored hard & unweariedly to gain a knowledge of the history & traditions of the Indians about him—But hitherto all he has been able to gain, is very meager & defective—It is unsatisfactory, & in the estimation of the antiquarian, must appear almost trifling—They tell him that the Indians believe that many thousand years ago existed a great Good Spirit & a Bad Spirit equally Great—The bad Spirit was ever engaged in works of evil—Mischief was in his heart continually—At length the Prince of goodness made war against the Spirit of evil—That war was long & bloody; & finally terminated in the death of the Prince of evil—Subsequently to this event, so infested had all the world become with the Spirit & influence of that Prince of evil, that it was found necessary to burn & destroy the whole fabric; earth & water,—the atmosphere, all must be purified by fire universal—White men had not then been made; & Indians were, of course, all destroyed—In rebuilding the world, after the universal conflagration—California appeared anew, but only one great sea of water—save two

Islands; one of which was Mount Diabalo, & the other the lofty Peak of San Rafael [Mt. Tamalpais]—Upon these two Islands ever blew a very severe & cold wind; so severe that, in the beginning man could not live in it—Upon the Peak of San Rafael chanced to be a solitary Cayote—How he came there they do not attempt to explain—Perchance a feather, wafted by the wind, lodged upon a lofty rock of the Peake—behind which rock the Coyote was accustomed to lie screened from the piercing wind—The feather, by the mysterious agency of the Great Prince of Goodness, became an Eagle—The two, Cayote & Eagle lived in great intimacy—In process of time, among other productions, they chanced to manufacture an Indian—Being peculiarly pleased with this rare product of their united genius they bent their attention to the manufacture and improvement of the species—The early indians of the New World were amphibious, hence the natives suppose that the Kanaka is the purest species of mankind; because they pass so large a portion of their life in the water—They were accustomed easily to swim from one of the above named Islands to the other; & they subsisted chiefly on fish—The waters gradually subsided from the territory of California, & the dry land began to appear—As the land increased, the Indians multiplied, till they filled the land—At the Straits called the Golden Gate, they are particular to remember, (& this is doubtless almost the only truth in their traditionary history) there was no outlet, but dry land extended quite across from Saucelito¹—They say there was an outlet of the interior waters at Russian River, & another near San Jose—They chronicle a great Earthquake, which opened the great Golden Gate, & thereby drained the great vallies of the Interior After this great event transpired the Indians multiplied rapidly till they filled the land—They entertain no traditionary reason whatever for the confusion of tongues; & it is truly mysterious that such an almost infinite variety of entire & distinct languages should have found existence on the Pacific coast—

Yount remained almost entirely out of touch with the world during his first five years in Napa Valley and had no news of his family. The few foreigners had filtered in principally by way of Oregon. In 1841 came the Bidwell-Bartleson party, the first immigrants to cross the Sierras. With them was Joseph B. Chiles of Kentucky and Missouri, who returned east in '42 taking with him news of Yount for Yount's family in Missouri and a commission to bring the family out with him on his return. We may see by the dictated narrative of William Baldrige (Calif. MS, D. 36, Bancroft Library, pp. 3-4) how well Chiles executed this trust:

¹—Geological and biological evidence does not support this tradition. The Golden Gate must have been formed long before the Indians came to North America. A river channel extends out of the Gate, several miles off shore, to the edge of the continental shelf. Small mammals have become differentiated into subspecies on opposite sides of the present waterway.

[The] two daughters, Frances, who was then married to Bartlett Vines, and Elizabeth, a young girl of sixteen years of age made ready and joined the party, of sixteen men, to start May 30th 1843, The outfit consisted of three waggons drawn by mule teams, and a number of riding animals. All being ready they left the fronteers with high spirits but much anxiety, for a seven month's journey through a pathless, country to a little known home in the west, They made (they made) the trip however with very little adventure, with the Indians, about the only thing of note being, an arrow wound in the breast, while on guard one night of Milton Little, which gave him much suffering, for a year or two when the point was extracted.

On arriving at Owens's Lake, they found that, their beasts were not equal to their burdons, and discarded the wagons and packed their mules with such as was most needful to them, Being unable to bring [the flour mill] machinery any farther they cached their supply in the sand, hoping to return for them at some future time, but as the Spanish people lived on beans and beef, and built their homes of adobe, there was little need of mills, and the iron remained in its hiding place until the year 1860, when it was found with great surprise by the miners, prospecting for gold. Shortly after arriving in California Colonel Chiles obtained from the government a three leagues of land in Napa Co. now known as Childs [Chiles] Valley upon which Mr Baldrige and himself gave their attention to stock raising which they continued with much proffit to themselves until the Mexican War.

By 1846 the Americans in California had become sufficiently numerous to take governmental affairs into their own hands. Yount preserved neutrality during the Bear Flag trouble and "acted the part of a mediator . . . having never held any public office [he] shared the confidence of both parties" and his house was kept open "for the relief of both the suffering American and the Mexican" (Clark, MS a).

In the middle of January, 1847, came the first news of the fearful plight of the Donner Party. Yount, Vallejo and others subscribed a sum of five hundred dollars and fitted out a relief party in charge of the trapper Britain Greenwood. This expedition, known as the "Second Relief" succeeded in bringing out a number of the sufferers from the mountains in the dead of winter.¹

Yount is said to have had a dream which prompted him to despatch the relief. It is the recollection of Mrs. Bucknall and of Mrs. Frank Lewis of Santa Cruz, one of the few members of the Donner Party now living, that Yount's dream was instrumental in causing the relief party to be sent out. Ban-

¹—cf. Eliza P. Donner Houghton, *The Expedition of the Donner Party*, Chicago, 1911.

croft, however, doubts the story and Mrs. Watson makes no mention of it. The Clark MS contains merely an allusion to the dream. Certain it is that members of the Donner Party had arrived in Sutter's Fort before Greenwood reached San Francisco and Yount perhaps had heard in some vague way of the starving party in the mountains before he had his dream. The Rev. Horace Bushnell (*Nature and the Supernatural*, N. Y., 1858, pp. 475-476) gives an account of the circumstances as he claimed to have heard them from Yount. Yount himself was apparently convinced that it was his dream that gave the relief party their guidance.

Mrs. Lewis, who was Martha Jane Reed, "Patty" Reed, a girl eight years old in 1846, says that her father, James Frazer Reed, went from San Francisco to Napa in December to get equipment for the relief of his family in the mountains. He was surprised to find preparations already in progress at the Yount Ranch and still more so when Mr. Yount told him that the supplies were being brought together because of a dream that he had had a short time before. When Reed told Yount of the plight of his party Yount exclaimed: "My God, Mr. Reed, that's an interpretation of my dream! I saw a body of water, a caravan with women and children all just as thin as they could be. There was one tall woman with many children. Mr. Reed, it must have been your wife. I have ordered my men to drive in young steers and sheep and to make flour; 600 pounds of meat and 400 of flour is now ready. I'm carrying out my dream."

All five of the Reed family were rescued from the mountains and were taken to Yount's Ranch where they were given quarters for some time and treated in a most generous manner.

We include the following account of the celebration of the Fourth of July, 1847, at Yount's ranch, from the Autobiography of Major Stephen Cooper (*History of Howard and Cooper Counties, Missouri*, St. Louis, 1883, pp. 152-156):

We struck the Sacramento Valley on the 5th of October, 1846. That winter I stopped at Yount's ranche in Napa valley—a man who, in my opinion did more for the early immigrants of California than all the Sutters ever did. . . .

On the 4th of July, 1847 George Yount and myself gave the first public 4th of July dinner ever given in California. We had a large turn out, and everything passed off pleasantly; I still have the flag improvised for the occasion. It has the stripes of our national flag,

with a lone star, and the inscription, "California is ours as long as the stars remain."

From the time when immigration from the States began Yount found increasing difficulties with squatters on his property. His land was being taken, his goods and produce stolen and his stock gradually run off. Finally he had recourse to law and, in 1855-60, after a painfully long period of litigation he recovered most of his possessions. In 1855 Clark records (MS a, pp. 109-110):

His lands are cultivated with remarkable success—From Four to Eight Hundred acres of Wheat annually is the product of his farm—Two Hundred Hogs, seven Hundred Sheep. Five Hundred Horses & Two Thousand head of Horned Cattle, until the intrusions of squatters, have been the number of his flocks & herds—One year ago, he marked & turned off into his pastures, Seven Hundred Calves, the productive annual increase from his herd of Cows—His vineyard yields him annually Two Hundred Gallons of Wine, & his Orchards & gardens are studded with fruit trees of every kind—His fig trees yield him two crops annually—All these are the proofs of his industry & enterprize; & the products of them all are consecrated to the rendering of others happy— . . . his was the first Flouring-mill in California—That mill having grown old, & worn by long use & service, within the last year, he has rebuilt it upon an enlarged scale, & is now able to boast of the best & most productive mill in the state—It has four runs of stones, & he has spared neither toil nor expense to render it perfect as can be made in the country—The writer once chanced to be present, on an occasion when it was discovered that all his large crop of Peaches, of the last season, had been stolen & carried away, in a single Sunday's night; & it was then that he witnessed an exhibition of genuine philosophy—Yount had doated on that crop of Peaches—Many of the trees were loaded to bend quite down to the earth, & he had cultivated them with great care & dilligent labor—But he only said, "I can bear the loss, although I could not endure the stings of that man's guilty conscience, who has gone with his load of stolen fruit to the market—It is hard thus to lose my labor & its fruits; & that they should go into the hands of a man too lazy & indolent to cultivate & raise the fruit, although he has stolen the use of my best land, is harder still—

We may here notice the remarks of Nicolas Carriger (Cal. MS, E 65 [No. 6], Bancroft Library, pp. 5-6) who visited Yount in the fall of 1846 or thereabouts:

From Woolscale's farm¹ we went to Napa Valley where we stopped at the flour mill of Mr Yont; said mill was run with an over-shot wheel and turned out excellent flour, by way of remark I will observe that Mr Yont is or was an excellent man, a good citizien, kind to

¹—Probably the ranch of William Wolfskill's brother, "Uncle John", on Putah Creek, at the present station of Wolfskill in Solano County.

every body, well liked by white men and indians, and always ready to extend the hand of friendship to the new comers; in fact he was, what may be called a kind father to every poor man; . . .

Yount was married again in 1855 to Mrs. Gashwiler, who made his home "a charming place" where he passed the rest of his days in contentment. He died at Caymus Rancho, October 5, 1865, aged seventy-one years and five months, and was buried with Masonic honors in the cemetery at Yountville, where a monument has been raised, sculptured to represent his life as a hunter and agriculturist.

A brief account of his last days and the honor in which he was held may be found in the volume by the Rev. J. L. Ver Mehr, entitled **Checkered Life** (S. F., 1877, Chapter 28).

Other accounts of Yount's life are contained in Bancroft's Pioneer Index (**History of California**, vol. 5); the **Hesperian [Magazine]** S. F., vol. 2, March 1859); the **Napa Register**, (October 1865, quoted in the **Wilmington Journal**, vol. 1, no. 49, Oct. 21, 1865); C. A. Menefee's **Sketch Book of Napa, Sonoma, Lake and Mendocino [Counties]** (Napa, 1873, pp. 125-127). A statement of Yount's career contained in Revere, **Tour of Duty in California**, (N. Y., 1849, pp. 93-94) appears to be largely erroneous. Eldredge, **History of California**, (vol. 2, opp. p. 324) publishes a portrait taken from the original daguerrotype now in the possession of Mrs. Bucknall.

George Yount was a prominent Mason, being one of the organizers and the first treasurer of Yount Lodge No. 12, Napa City (Edwin A. Sherman, **Fifty Years of Masonry in California**, S. F., 1897, p. 124). Yount was baptized a Catholic at San Rafael in 1835. The priest named him Jorge Concepcion. He bequeathed a church at Yountville to be used by all denominations, and his funeral was conducted by an Episcopalian minister, so he could scarcely have been called a sectarian.

Charles L. Camp.

THE FAMILY OF GEORGE C. YOUNT

From a chart in my trans-Alleghany MS collection, I find that George C. Yount, by his first wife, Eliza Cambridge Wilds, "of Kentucky," whom he married in 1818, had three children, Robert W., Frances, and Elizabeth, as follows:

I. Robert W. Yount, born 1819, married Pamela S. Grigsby, and died in 1846. By her, he had one child, Elizabeth, who married Thomas L. Rutherford, after whom the town of Rutherford, Napa County, is named.

II. Frances Yount, born 1821, married William Bartlett Vines, they coming from Missouri in 1843 with the Walker-Chiles party. Of this marriage, there was issue, two daughters, and a son, George Yount Vines.

III. Elizabeth Ann Yount, born 1826, married (1), at San Jose, 1844, John Calvert Davis; married (2), at San Francisco, 1850, Eugene L. Sullivan, state senator, collector of the port of San Francisco, author of the bill creating Golden Gate Park. There were three children by the first marriage, and two by the second, as follows:

(1) Mary Eliza Davis, born 1845, married Dr. George J. Bucknall, of San Francisco, surgeon-general on the staff of Governor Newton Booth. One of their daughters is the wife of Fred S. Myrtle, well known San Francisco newspaperman, and the other was the wife of Frederick Marriott, publisher of the **San Francisco News Letter**.

(2) Elizabeth Ann Davis, born 1847, married William C. Watson, one of the founders of the Bank of Napa and state bank examiner. Their daughter, Maud Watson, married Thomas B. Dozier, an eminent San Francisco lawyer, and their son, Erwin Yount Dozier, a descendant in the fourth degree from the pioneer stirps, George C. Yount, was a second lieutenant in France in the World War.

(3) John Calvert George Frederick Davis, born 1849, married Margarethe Claus. He was educated in Germany as a mining engineer, but never practiced. One of their daughters, Daisy Anna Davis, married Horace Crabb, an extensive vineyardist, of Napa County, and another, Susie Frances Davis, married Dr. Stephen Maynard, of San Jose.

(4) Charles Edward Sullivan, born 1851, died young.

(5) Georgina Frances Sullivan, born 1853, married John P. Jones, for many years United States Senator from Nevada. Of their three children, Alice married Frederick MacMonnies, sculptor, of New York and Paris; Marion married Robert D. Farquhar, architect, of Los Angeles, designer of Festival Hall at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition; Georgina Frances married Robert Walton.

It will be noticed that all of the present descendants of George C. Yount trace to him on the distaff side.

It may be of some interest to add that I have data in my collections indicating that Herbert C. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, who descends from North Carolina Younts, is of the same family as George C. Yount, a native of Burke County, North Carolina.

Boutwell Dunlap.

DOCUMENTARY

[From Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts. This translation and the reply given below are in the same clerical handwriting.]

Letter from Genl. Castro.

Translation

Office of the Commanding General of Upper California.

The undersigned, Commanding General of this Department, has the honor to address you, asking explanations upon the conduct observed by Captain Fremont; who without the formalities established among civilized nations, invades this country with his force, operating against its National and Private interests, taking possession of the Military Post of Sonoma; where he has made prisoners of the Colonel Commanding that post, Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo; Lieut Colonel Don Victor Prudon; Captain Don Salvadore Vallejo; and Mr. Jacoba Leese. These scandalous and unwarrantable offences (atenhados) place me under the necessity of waiting an answer from you, certain that the undersigned will behold with pleasure whatever that may be.

God and Liberty. Head Quarters
Santa Clara June 17th, 1846.
Signed

JOSE CASTRO.

A literal translation by
Signed

WASHG. A. BARTLETT.

To/
Senor Commander
of the Ship of War of the U. S. of America
Anchored in the Port of St. Francisco.
Lieut. U. S. Navy.

Reply

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Bay of San Francisco
Anchorage of Sau Solito June 18th. 1846

The undersigned Commander of the United States Ship Portsmouth, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of General Don Jose Castro's communication of yesterday which was handed to him late last evening, and in reply begs leave to

assure General Castro of his entire conviction, that Captain J. C. Fremont of the United States Topographical Engineers, whose visit to California has reference only, to scientific researches, is in no manner whatever, either by authority of the United States Government or otherwise; connected with the Political movement of residents of the country, at Sonoma.

The undersigned feels pleasure in communicating to General Don Jose Castro, that at the instance of General Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, thro' his Messenger Don Jose de la Rosa, an officer of the United States Ship Portsmouth was promptly despatched with overtures to the Chief of the party in possession of Sonoma, in behalf of the families of the captured officers, and other defenceless inhabitants with a view to their protection from injury in their persons, property, and privileges; and is happy to inform General Castro, that on the arrival of the deputed officer at Sonoma, so far from the Anarchy and disorder which seemed to have been apprehended by General Vallejo, he found the most perfect order and quietude prevailing throughout the place, and that in no instance had there been on the part of the Captors—a deviation from the most delicate regard for the happiness and protection of all.

The undersigned, feels constrained to avail himself of the opportunity now presented, to express to General Don Jose Castro, his unfeigned surprise that the Commanding General of Upper California, whose facilities for obtaining correct information concerning events, transpiring within the Department, under his own immediate observation: is naturally inferred; should by any means, this second time, have fallen into error, respecting the designs and operations of a scientific party, whose approach to the vicinity of Monterey in March last, had been preceded by a visit and explanation from Captain Fremont, to General Castro and the Authorities of Monterey (as I am credibly informed) which appeared at the time, perfectly satisfactory; illiciting (a direct, or implied assent on their part, to the prosecution of Captain Fremonts peaceful designs.

The undersigned, Commander of the United States Ship Portsmouth, with all due respect for the high station of General Don Jose Castro, begs leave to remark, that under the circumstances above stated, he is constrained to regard the belliger-

ant demonstrations, made against the scientific party of Captain Fremont in March last, as wholly gratuitous on the part of General Castro, having no plea of necessity, or expediency even, for its justification; and furthermore, professes himself wholly at a loss to understand upon what ground the Commanding General of California, predicates the unqualified assumption of the co-operation of an Officer of the United States Army, in the recent transactions at Sonoma: thereby impugning the integrity of the United States Government.

The undersigned, concludes by expressing the supposition, that General Castro may possibly have overlooked the implication named, in the next preceeding paragraph; and regrets very much, that the tenor of his communication of yesterday, to which this is a reply: had not been restricted alone, to the simple inquiry, respecting the position of Captain Fremont in the premises, leaving out the slanderous imputations so copiously bestowed by the Commanding General of Upper California upon that officer.

Signed

JNO. B. MONTGOMERY.

To/

Don Jose Castro
Commanding General of the
Department of Upper California.



[Mr. Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]
[Original.]

Rising of Foreigners at the Pueblo of St José—Company from Oregon, &c &c

[July 12, 1846]

Sir—

I can send an express whenever you wish the roads are becoming more safe, in particular after being 40 miles North of this. With the exception of putting in writing any information, the other party could use against you, I recommend to write in any mode you please, and explain yourself—to Capt Montgomery, in full.

I suppose Captain Fremont entered the pueblo to day. 40 Foreigners yesterday in that town wanted to hoist a flag, but had no Bunting—seven men have reached the Sacramento,

from the Origon leaving their party 100 young men in the rear, coming in, they had heard that the Foreigners was to rise in California I will be on board by 12—

Yours &c &c.

THOMAS O. LARKIN

Com J. D. Sloat
Comr &c &c



[Larkin Documents IV, 233, Bancroft Library.]
[Original.]

[Letter from Thomas O. Larkin to Jacob P. Leese concerning
the arrest and imprisonment of the latter.]

Monterey July 29 1846
at Night

Mr Jacob P. Leace
Sir—

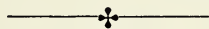
This morning I rec'd letters from Don M. G. Vallejo and Sen Prudon. also the representation of the former to Com^o Sloat. which in a Boat I carried out to sea some miles, the Com^o having left the Port in the Levant for home. on reading the letter to him I returned with it to Commodore — Stockton, and did not have the tranlation before sun set—including the two letters to myself—during this time—I hurried Mr John Murphy off to inform you that two days past a Courier was dispatched to Captain Montgomery with orders to have you released, and I wanted Mr Murphy to return here immediately in case the orders of Com^o Stockton was not complied with—that others may be forwarded. As the first orders may not reach, or the Person in charge may not act as directed. I now send the com^o orders again to Captain Montgomery to give immediate release to you all, also the Com^o letter to Don Guadelupe, which goes first to the Portsmouth thence direct to you by my Courier engaged by me for the purpose. having no other business but see Don G. and return to me with the result of his mission. should you not be clear before you receive this—I can rest assured you will from the second orders.

You may believe I commiserated your situation—I engaged Mr Murphy on Don G. expence to go direct to your place of confinement to know your state—and whether believed or not. as I suppose on raising our flag you would all enjoy

its protection. the letter of Sor Vallejo was well wrote, mild, firm and respectfull and fully to the purpose. the Comr rec'd the English copy on board at sunset. and by 9 this night sent his Secretary to me with the letters I now send. As he was to sail tomorrow and myself to be gone 25 or 30 days. I asked him to answer Don G. letter before we left—you will see his anxiety by his dispatch. should things not go as they ought Mr. Murphy can first return to Capt. Montgomery then to Capt Mervine in command of Monterey—I think yourself and Don G. would do well to see Commodore Stockton soon.

It is not for me to question the motives of those who made you Prisoners. as I knew nothing about them. nor did I say more to Messr Fremont and Gillespie than I could not understand your imprisonment. and thought you would be put at large at the time. you will show this letter to Don G, and those interested—the safety to your persons—and vast increase of property here after to you, I hope will in a manner compensate for the actual amount in property you may have lost by your absence your personal sufferings is another thing—the where and the wherefore of it all—I suppose the Authors will in proper time give with their reasons & motives—That you all may safely return and find your Families well is the wish as you have not seen the proclamation I now send it of your &c &c

THOMAS O. LARKIN



[Larkin Documents IV, 252, Bancroft Library.]
[Original.]

[Letter from Jacob P. Leese to Thomas O. Larkin in which the former acknowledges the services of Mr. Larkin in effecting his release from prison.]

Sonoma August 12th 1846.

Thomas O Larkin Esquire
My Dear. Sir

I hav the pleasure once moor to pass you a few lines to inform you that I am in the Bosom of my familey, after having been seperated from them by the and unjust Cause and for which reason I am not able to inform you as yet, I received your kind Letter to me of the 29th of last month, and

through which I am Perfectly satisfied that you have been My Liberator in this Cause and for which all I can say in a Declaration to you that (Proven Friends is never to be Forgotten.) I should be happy to say more to you but have hopes to see you shortly—Dear Larkin you know you have a friend here and more so now than ever at your Command, also the same with my family which will never be forgotten I do here close to you say excuse the few lines, and receive the best Respects from my Wife and family to Mrs. T. O Larkin and the same from your Friend and Well Wisher And

Am Sir yours & Truly

JACOB P. LEESE

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Laws for the Better Government of California, "The Preservation of Order, and the Protection of the Rights of the Inhabitants," during the Military Occupation of the Country by the Forces of the United States. By Authority of R. B. Mason, Col. 1st Drags. & Governor. San Francisco: Published by S. Brannan, 1848. 68pp. 8°.

This document, which is of most unusual importance and of great historic value, appeared in the catalogue of the American Library of the late William H. Winters, whose collection was dispersed in the Anderson Galleries in New York, March 8 and 9. Mr. Winters was formerly librarian of the New York Law Institute, and it would be of much interest to know when, and from what source this tract came into his possession. But that dim trail is doubtless lost.

The cataloguer states that this is "apparently the only known copy," and his deduction would seem to be entirely sound. It has heretofore been unrecorded by all bibliographers, and unnoticed by all historians except Hubert Howe Bancroft who mentions it in the abstract only, and from no positive knowledge of its definite existence.

It is not "the first book printed in San Francisco," for the "Laws of the Town of San Francisco: San Francisco, Printed at the office of the Californian, 1847," antedates it by an entire year. This latter work is a tract of eight pages only, and while the former pamphlet has sixty-eight pages, the difference is scarcely sufficient to dignify it as a "book." It therefore is the **second** work printed in San Francisco.

The title-page bears an inscription in the autograph of Capt. Joseph L. Folsom, who at that time under Governor Mason was Assistant Quartermaster and Collector of Customs for San Francisco. This inscription, wholly autographic and signed, has been transcribed by the cataloguer to read "Act published in consequence of the news of peace. J. L. Folsom." This is an innocent and natural error on the part of the cataloguer, and is entirely due to his unfamiliarity with the handwriting of Captain Folsom. The correct reading of that inscription is, **Not published in consequence of the news of peace. J. L. Folsom.** This fact does not affect in any way the rarity or

importance of this item, but it does alter radically its historical significance.

The following letter written by Governor Mason to L. W. Hastings would seem to establish fully the above fact.

Headquarters Tenth Military Department,
New Helvetia, October 24, 1848.

Sir; Your communication of the 18th has been duly received; but the one of the 2d ultimo, therein mentioned, has never come to hand. I had prepared a code of laws, and a judicial organization; and, although they were sent to the press in due season, I did not succeed in getting them printed before I received official notification of the ratification of the treaty of peace between the two republics, owing to the stopping of the presses upon the discovery of the gold mines, &c.

As I am very certain that Congress has already organized a territorial government for California, and that we shall now, in the course of a very short time, receive the official intelligence of the appointment of the civil officers, a proper organization could not be put in operation now before we receive the new government.

I am well aware of the want in California of a regular organized government, and I have every reason to believe we shall have it in the course of a very short time.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

R. B. MASON,
Colonel 1st Dragoons, Governor of California.

L. W. Hastings,
Coloma, California.

[Message from the President of the United States, communicating Information called for by a resolution of the Senate of the 17th instant, in relation to California and New Mexico. January 24, 1850. 31st Cong., 1st sess. Sen. Rep. Com. No. 18, p. 653.]

The document accordingly while printed was neither published nor used, and was doubtless suppressed, which with other existing factors would account for its superlative rarity. In his official capacity Captain Folsom received this copy which in some way has come down to us. Its present and final disposition is in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

Robert Ernest Cowan.

AUCTION SALES OF CALIFORNIANA

Western material has long held attractive features for certain collectors, but the scope of the subject and the activities of collecting this class of Americana have in recent years been greatly developed. Material relating to the Great West is being drawn forth from every known existing source and placed upon the market. The supply however is not inexhaustible, and many of these items although perhaps not unknown are so scarce that the entire available number is quite insufficient for the purposes of the collector.

There is a considerable discussion at this time of the prevailing prices that have been realized in the auction rooms. Some of these prices appear extravagantly high, and others are obviously absurd. The latter class needs no comment, for the discriminating and intelligent collector (and most of them are such) forms his own conclusions and establishes his own standards.

Of the prices of the former class—those which appear extravagantly high—there is much to be said, but space does not permit discussion. Certain Eastern Americana have commanded high prices for more than a half century and the book-world has not been staggered. But when Western material gradually approaches its own estate and realizes values which by Eastern comparison are as yet merely fractional, the book-world receives a shock that leaves it stunned and gasping.

The fact is that the blind side of the book-world has been turned to Western Americana and that a lack of imagination always has been a broad feature in the poverty of human limitations.

Literature of the West. Duplicates from the Library of Henry E. Huntington.

This sale was held at the Anderson Auction Galleries, Jan. 8-10, and included 1014 lots. Many of these works were of much scarcity, and some were rare, although generally known by bibliographers. The prices realized were good, and some new records were established. A few lots appear to have brought indifferent prices so far as present prevailing values are concerned, but this probably may be traced to the condition of such individual items rather than to the apathy of the bidders.

Some of these results are given. An account of California and the Wonderful Gold Region, Boston [1849], \$87.50; Bar-num, *The Traveller's Guide*, Great Barrington, 1847, \$190.00; Constitution of the State of California, San Francisco (Alta Office), 1849, \$250.00; *Reminiscences of Travel*, 1852-65 [Middletown, n. d.], \$75.00; Truman, *Life, Adventures, and Capture of Tiburcio Vasquez, the great California Bandit and Murderer*, Los Angeles, 1874, \$62.50; Hawes, *The Missions in California*, S. F., 1856 (being an argument on a Mexican land claim), \$125.00; La Reintrie, *The Other Side* (of the Limantour claim), S. F., 1858, \$72.50; Carson, *Early Recollections of the Mines, and a Description of the Great Tulare Valley*, Stockton, 1852 (being the first book printed at that place), \$470.00; Clarke, *Travels in Mexico and California*, Boston, 1852, \$135.00 (appears to be a record price); Delevan, *Notes on California and the Placers*, New York, 1850, \$120.00; Elliot, *the Presidio of San Francisco* [Washington, 1874], (privately printed), \$125.00; Fedix, *L'Oregon et les Côtes de l'Océan Pacifique du Nord*, Paris, 1846, \$57.50; Gibbes, *New Map of the Gold Region in California*, Stockton, Cal., 1851, \$70.00; Hastings, *A New Description of Oregon and California*, Cincinnati, 1849, \$130.00; *Murder of M. V. B. Griswold, by Five Chinese Assassins*, Jackson, Cal., 1858, \$120.00; Johnson and Winter, *Route Across the Rocky Mountains*, Lafayette, Ind., 1846, \$310.00; Junta de Fomento de Californias, Mexico, 1827, \$710.00; Kip, *The Indian Council in the Valley of the Walla-Walla*, San Francisco, 1855 (privately printed), \$210.00; Leonard, *Narrative of the Adventures of*, Clearfield, Pa., 1839, \$1700.00; Lewis and Clark, *Mes-sage from the President of the U. S., communicating discoveries made in exploring the Missouri, Red River and Washita*, Washington, 1806, with the map, \$192.50; Mercer, *Washington Territory*, Utica, 1865, \$200.00; *Miner's Progress*, Sacramento, 1853, \$50.00; Pratt, *Proclamation Extraordinary* (to the Mormons, printed in Spanish and English), San Francisco, 1852, \$250.00; Kelly, *Second Directory of Nevada Territory*, Virginia, 1863, \$70.00; Oregon, *Statutes passed by the Legislative Assembly, at the Second Session, Dec. 2, 1850*, Oregon City, 1851, \$155.00; [Ortega] *Apostolicos Afanes de la Campaña de Jesus*, Barcelona, 1754, \$100.00; Palou, *Noticias de la Nueva California*, San Francisco, 1874, \$142.50; Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, Cincinnati, 1831 (the very rare first edition and the first copy to be offered at auction), \$360.00; Pike, *An Account of a Voyage up the Mississippi River, in 1805 and 1806* (with map), [n. p. n. d.],

\$400.00; Reid, Reid's Tramp . . . Ten Months' Travel Through Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Sonora, and California, Selma, Ala., 1858, \$600.00; Sage, Scenes in the Rocky Mountains and in Oregon, California, New Mexico, Texas, and the Grand Prairies (with map), Philadelphia, 1846, \$110.00; San Francisco, Proceedings of the Town Council, 1849-50 (parts II, III and IV), San Francisco (Alta Office), 1849-50, \$240.00; Sherwood, California: and the Way to get there, New York, 1848, \$125.00; Simpson, Three Weeks in the Gold Mines (with map), New York, 1848, \$140.00; Stewart, Last of the Fillibusters, Sacramento, 1857, \$90.00; Street, California in 1850, Cincinnati, 1851, \$170.00; Vallejo, Comunicaciones, Sonoma 1837-1839 (set of six documents), \$360.00; Dimsdale, Vigilantes of Montana, Virginia City, M. T., 1866, \$100.00; Wadsworth, The National Wagon Road Guide, San Francisco, 1858, \$290.00; Walton, Facts from the Gold Regions, Boston, 1849, \$180.00; Wierzbicki, California as it is, and as it may be, San Francisco, 1849, first edition, \$280.00; same, second edition, \$350.00; Wilkes, History of Oregon, New York, 1845, \$135.00; Wyeth, Oregon, Cambridge, 1833, \$215.00.

Historical Americana relating to California and the West collected by Mr. H. C. Holmes of Berkeley, Cal. American Art Association, Jan. 9, 1923. 678 lots (of which about 400 were Western Americana).

Most of the prices realized were quite consistent with the present market. A few items of great rarity, although probably not unique, appeared for the first time in the auction room.

History of the Hunt Family, Boston, 1890, \$80.00; California Murder Trial. Life and Confessions of James Gilbert Jenkins, the Murderer of Eighteen Men, Napa City, 1864, \$60.00; The Pioneer, or Cal. Monthly Magazine, San Francisco, 1854-1855, \$197.50; San Francisco Almanac for the Year 1859, San Francisco (Herrick and Hoogs) [1858], \$130.00; Walsh's Humorist, A Chronicle of Life in California, Vols. I and II, San Francisco, 1861-1862, \$610.00; History of Idaho Territory, San Francisco, 1884, \$42.50; Pickett, Gwinism in California, San Francisco (ca. 1860), (a Lincoln item), \$67.50; Pico, A los Californios, San Francisco, 1860 (a Lincoln item), \$57.50; Nevada newspaper, The Daily State Register, Vol. I, No. 1-Vol. III, No. 56, Carson City, Nevada, 1870-1872, \$400.00; Oregon, Biographical Sketch of James Clark Strong, Los Gatos, Cal., 1910, \$42.50; Overland Mail, Rules and Regulations for the

Government of Officers and Employees of the C. O. C. & P. P. Express Co., Saint Joseph, Mo., 1861, \$205.00; Overland Mail, Charter of the Holladay Overland Mail and Express Co., New York, 1866, \$170.00; Overland Mail, Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Co., N. Y. [n. d.], an original folder, \$140.00; Overland Mail Co., Articles of, established 1857, New York, 1860, \$210.00; Tuttle, Six Months on the Plains, Chicago, 1868, \$80.00; Washington Territory, Walla Walla Country Directory, Walla Walla, W. T., 1881, \$55.00; Western Railroad Broadside, Completion of the Pacific Railroad Celebration, Salt Lake City, May 10, 1869, \$400.00.

Far West and Gateway Literature, Feb. 5 and 6, Anderson Auction Galleries. 704 lots.

Some of these lots had not been offered in recent years, and a few were of much importance as well as rarity. Bilson, *The Hunters of Kentucky*, New York, 1847, \$140.00; Bolduc, *Mission de la Colombie*, Quebec [1843], \$220.00; Bolduc, Same, *Deuxième Lettre et Journal*, Quebec, 1845, \$405.00; Rathgeber für Auswanderer nach Californien, Bremen, 1849, \$80.00; Riley, *Proclamation to the People of California*, June 3, 1849, Broadside, \$500.00; Riley, Original Manuscript "Proclamation to the People of California of the District of San Francisco, June 4, 1849, \$500.00; *Thirty-six years of a Seafaring Life*, Portsea, 1839, \$130.00; Velasco, *Noticias del Sonora (y California)*, Mexico, 1850, \$305.00; Vischer, *Missions of Upper California*, San Francisco, 1872, \$125.00; Zakreski and Hartmann, *Latest Map of the Mining District and Bay of San Francisco*, San Francisco, 1851, \$110.00; *California Railroads*, George, *Our Land and Land Policy*, San Francisco, 1871, \$150.00; Hastings, *The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon and California*, Cincinnati, 1845, \$520.00; Linforth, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, Liverpool, 1855, \$102.50; Merrill, *The Northern Route to Idaho: and the Pacific Ocean*, St. Paul [1864], \$230.00; Maguire, *Historical Sketch and Essay on the Resources of Montana*, including a Business Directory of the Metropolis, Helena, 1868, \$390.00; Oregon, *Brown's Salem Directory*, Salem, 1871, \$125.00. There were also numerous items relating to early Utah, and to the early Western Railroads, some of which were of very unusual occurrence. Several of these established new records of values.

Robert Ernest Cowan.

REVIEWS OF RECENT CALIFORNIA BOOKS

Argonauts of '49. History and Adventures of the Emigrant Companies from Massachusetts, 1849-1850. By Octavius Thorndike Howe. Cambridge: (Harvard University Press) 1923. Pls. 221pp. 8^o.

In all ages and under all colors the "Gentleman Adventurer" was a picturesque figure, and no less picturesque was that part of the innumerable company which journeyed toward the golden Mecca of '49—California.

In his "Argonauts of '49" Mr. Howe has set forth fairly and clearly the history of the many companies of these gentlemen-adventurers formed and outfitted in the good old state of Massachusetts. The gold excitement was definite and great, but the venturing was vague and uncertain. Companies were formed for protection, socialistic purposes and profit-sharing. They were regularly organized and were under some form of constitution and by-laws.

The journey was long, the hardships were severe and the difficulties were great. It was only the adventurous spirits who went forth upon this "splendid wayfaring." The timid remained behind to give advice and to dream. Those who ultimately reached California and the mines were a veritable survival of the fittest.

The long journey "round the Horn" took from five to six months in the greasy slow-going hulks of that day, frequently with fever and cholera aboard; beaten back, becalmed or storm-driven; with a scarcity of food and water, and the deadly ennui of the intolerable monotony of life and association in close quarters which bred dissatisfaction, and sometimes culminated in mutiny.

The journey across the plains by northern or southern route was but little better. There was more freedom, but to the fever and cholera there were added the blinding storms; the swollen dangerous rivers; famine; and the arrow of the hostile Indian. Nothing was gained in time for it took also six months to plow across the prairies behind the old "bull-teams."

The Panama and Chagres routes were equally difficult and deadly.

The author has gone most interestingly into the many details of the organization of these companies and of their subsequent histories. Few of them survived, for the long and tedious voyage with its enforced inactivity and its too close daily association, tended to disruption rather than to consolidation. Most of these companies disbanded when San Francisco was reached.

One of the most elaborately organized and extensively equipped of these companies was the "Boston and California Joint Stock Mining and Trading Company." This was also the first regularly organized company to sail from Boston bound for California. The vessel was the "Edward Everett," and there were 150 men in the company. "The company was the best organized and most representative of any that left Massachusetts during the gold excitement. It consisted of one clergyman, four doctors, eight whaling captains, a mineralogist, a geologist, fifteen professional men, including medical and divinity students, a number of merchants, manufacturers, and seventy-six mechanics." A truly miscellaneous assemblage; and that lone clergyman is somehow reminiscent of the half-penny's worth of bread found among the other items in the accounts of the slumbering Falstaff. Whether or not the theological students lent moral support is not recorded, but the tedium of the voyage appears to have been disastrous, for the author entertainingly comments upon their ultimate fall from grace.

The outfits and supplies carried were equally strangely assorted and Mr. Howe has given highly interesting details concerning these features. The "Edward Everett" carried a library of about 300 volumes. Some of these companies were advertised as carrying no spirituous liquors, whereas others were abundantly supplied. All of them seem to have carried chewing tobacco, for according to the author "it was estimated that the stock of chewing tobacco in San Francisco in 1850 was sufficient to supply every inhabitant of the city for sixty-five years."

In an "Appendix," Mr. Howe has given an abstract of the histories of 124 of these vessels carrying mining company adventurers that sailed from ports in Massachusetts in 1849. The entire work reflects much consistent thought and represents an extensive and careful research. The volume is extremely readable and should be most acceptable to the investigator and collector of the pioneer history of California.

One error—an inadvertence or misapprehension—invites correction. In his introduction the author refers to the discovery of gold in California as having occurred “on January 19, 1848.” This error in the date, which long persisted, was settled definitely and finally by John S. Hittell, as being January 24, 1848. Notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Hittell’s researches were published in 1893, it took our California legislature twenty-five years to realize that fact, for it was not until 1919 that that body in an official act recognized the date of January 24, 1848. In these circumstances we would suspend the statute of limitations and grant Mr. Howe an unconditional pardon, with sincerely grateful feelings that he has given us a book both entirely worthy and acceptable.

Robert Ernest Cowan.

Autobiography and Memorial of Jacob Detweiler, 1922. [Privately printed.] Port. 20pp. 4^o.

The author, a later Argonaut, having arrived in California in 1854, was one of that great body which has left a lasting impress upon this State.

Born in Pennsylvania in 1833, he received a common school education, but as he himself says amid “unfavorable conditions.” He was fourteen years old in 1847 when his father died. After the estate was settled his experiences were various until 1854 when he started for California by the Panama route. There were the usual discomforts, and the passage to San Francisco was made in the “Oregon,” commanded by Captain Hudson, and with 1500 passengers aboard. Among the general inconveniences were several cases of cholera, and a fire which occurred in the vessel’s hold. The steamer was saved, not by its captain but by a passenger, Commodore Watkins, a retired naval officer.

On arriving at San Francisco, Mr. Detweiler started for Stockton and the mines. His narrative is brief but distinctly entertaining. In the vicinity of Cooper’s Flat and Chinese Camp he was employed by “Kentuck & Company” for four dollars per day. After working for a few weeks they cleaned up and found that it paid only three dollars per day to each man. “As soon as I learned that it did not pay what was considered day’s wages I went to Kentuck and said I did not want him to pay me four dollars when the claim only paid them three dollars per day to the man. He was pleased with what I told him and

made me this proposition: You come and live with us, work with us and take an equal share of the profits after paying water money. Then I was to bear my share of the cost of the provisions, without paying rent for room or cooking utensils or sluice boxes and mining tools, of which he had a good outfit. There were now four of us working together. We continued work on this ground two weeks longer and then cleaned up. After paying water money we found we had about fifty cents per day per man. Kentuck said we must go out and prospect for better placer mining."

His next venture was at Table Mountain where fortune was more kind, for before it gave out the claim yielded daily thirty dollars to each man. Later, Detweiler returned to Stockton, where he engaged independently in "mule-teaming," and for this purpose appears to have been the first individual to receive a state license. He then purchased a one-fourth interest in a quartz mine near Jamestown which he retained for thirty-eight years. He returned to Ohio in 1866, where his later years were mostly passed.

Mr. Detweiler withdrew from active affairs in 1911, but his long and useful life did not come to its close until 1922. It is quite characteristic of this staunch and sturdy old pioneer, that wherever he lived he had always retained his citizenship in Ohio, wherein when a boy he had received his start in life, and where in 1860, he was married.

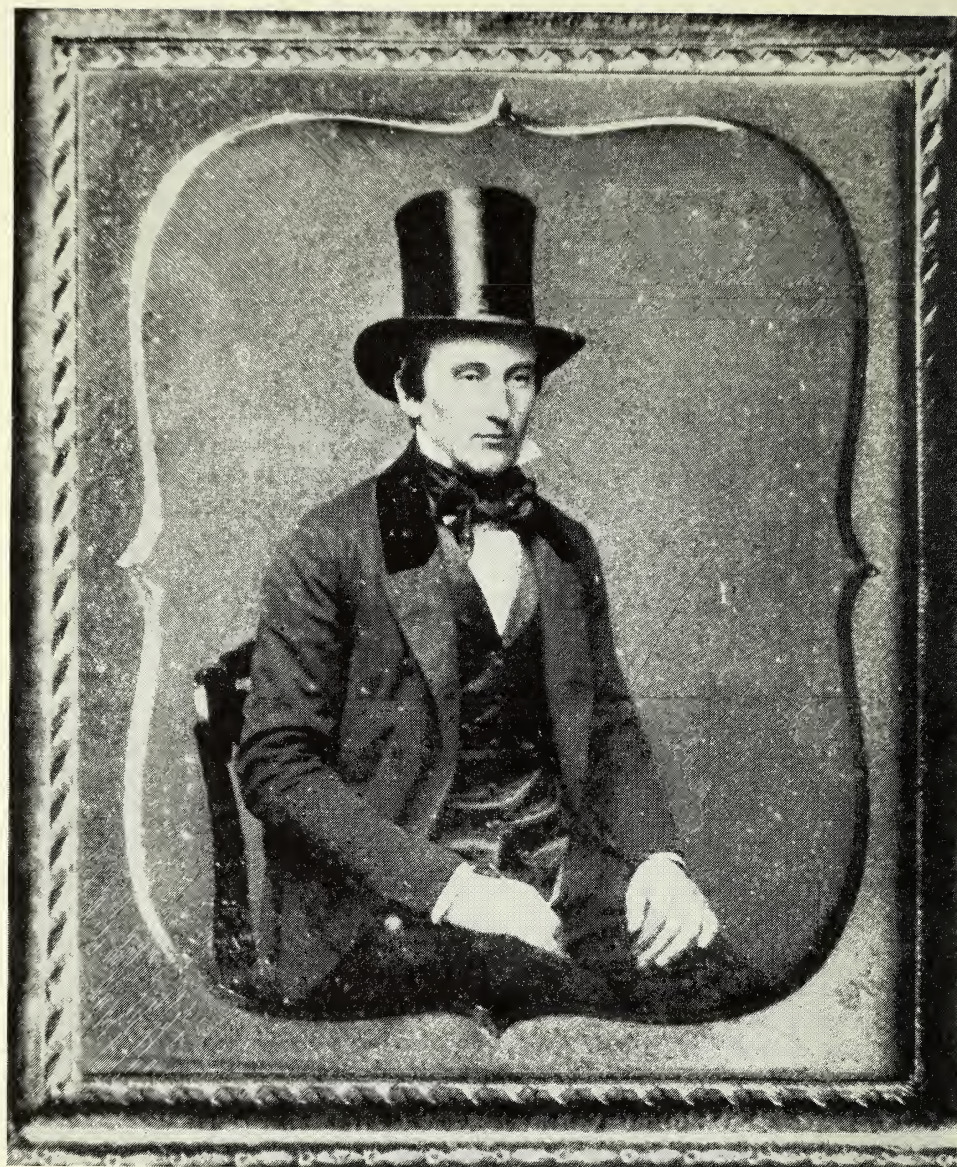
Robert Ernest Cowan.



A Pioneer Mother of California. By Elisha Brooks. Written for his grandchildren to show them how the emigrants crossed the Plains, and also what manner of person was their Great Grandmother. San Francisco: (Harr Wagner Publishing Co.) 1922. Ports. 61pp. 12^o.

The tribute of the writer to a gentle pioneer, his mother who endured the hardships of the overland route in 1852. Many interesting incidents are given, and there is added a sketch of the life of the author who is a man widely and well known as an educator, having been for many years principal of the Girls' High School of San Francisco.

Robert Ernest Cowan.



BENJAMIN DORE

From a daguerreotype taken in San Francisco
in the early Fifties.

California Historical Society Quarterly

THE JOURNAL OF BENJAMIN DORE

One of the Argonauts

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Harry E. Dore, of Berkeley, California, has kindly permitted the publication of extracts from an interesting journal of his father, Benjamin Dore, who came to California from Bangor, Maine, in the bark "Cantero," in 1850. Benjamin Dore's journal, besides presenting an intimate and detailed account of the trip around the Horn, contains a narrative of the first voyage by steamboat into Humboldt Bay and records incidents of the early fifties at Portland, Fort Vancouver, San Francisco, Napa, Sacramento and the mines. The journal is written in ink in a small hand on the first 104 pages of a board-covered, small quarto notebook of 146 pages. There are several sketches and decorations.

The following account of the life of Benjamin Dore is quoted from the **History of the Dore Family**,¹ pp 9-11:

Benjamin Dore [born July 7, 1825 in Athens, Maine] was the second child and the eldest son of John Dore. When he was three years old his mother [Sally Wing Dore] died, and he was placed in the care of his aunt, Sally Hathern, who lived in Solon, Maine. When his father remarried, he was taken to Harmony [Maine] with the family, where he worked on the farm until he was nineteen years of age. He was then apprenticed to a carpenter to learn the trade. A year and a half later, he went to Bangor, where he continued his work as a carpenter.

In 1849, he became interested in the discoveries of wealth in California. He became one of a company of fifty-six men who bought a bark, the Cantero, in which they sailed for San Francisco with a cargo of lumber. On the voyage two stops were made of one week each. The first was St. Catherine on the coast of Brazil, the second

¹—Dore, [Harry E. and] Walter H., **History of the Dore Family** [San Francisco: C. A. Murdock, 1908] 8°, 27pp.

at Valparaiso. They rounded Cape Horn, and after a voyage of six months arrived in San Francisco April 29, 1850.

The vessel and its cargo being disposed of, the company disbanded. Benjamin Dore then followed his trade in San Francisco for some months. He then went to Vancouver, Washington, where he worked upon the government barracks. Later he went to Portland, Oregon, where he helped reconstruct the sailing vessel Willamette. It was changed into a side-wheel steamer, and was the first steamboat to ply between Portland and Astoria. After finishing his work in Portland he returned to San Francisco.

In 1853 he entered the lumber business, which he successfully pursued for eleven years. In 1854 he married Jane Amanda Hall, daughter of Elijah Dewey Waters of Bennington, Vermont, and widow of Hiland H. Hall, Jr. They have had four children, of whom three are now living.

The resources of San Francisco in the early days were taxed to their utmost to deal with the large criminal element which thrived in its midst. The young municipal government was entirely inadequate to meet the emergency and the condition grew steadily worse. When it finally became almost intolerable a number of prominent citizens formed an organization known as the Vigilance Committee, which had for its object the establishment and maintenance of law and order. By means of a few wholesome examples of uncompromising justice, this organization succeeded in ridding San Francisco of its terrible curse. Benjamin Dore was an active member of the Vigilance Committee, and afterwards of the political party which followed up the committee's work with a most successful fight for good government.

In 1861 he was elected to the California State Legislature, where he served two terms. In 1865 he was Sergeant-at-Arms of the Assembly. In 1864 he became interested in mining. He continued in this work for sixteen years, to his heavy financial loss, however. He engaged in the printing business from 1873 to 1883. Both of his sons were associated with him in this work and remained printers for a number of years.

In 1883 he went to Fresno, California, and settled in West Park Colony. He was the first settler, ploughing the first furrow and building the first house in that district. After several years he took his wife and daughter to Fresno. Here his wife died in 1889 after an illness of two years.

Early in the year 1906 Benjamin Dore's health began to fail, and by August it became apparent to those about him that he was not to remain long. He passed away on the morning of September 30th at his Fresno home. The funeral services were held in San Francisco by Excelsior Lodge, No. 166, F. & A. M., of which he was a charter member.

Benjamin Dore's eldest son, Harry E. Dore, was born and raised in San Francisco. He learned the printing business in his father's

office. In 1881 he was married to Anita Estelle Harrington. When Benjamin Dore left San Francisco his son went to Portland, Oregon, where he bought a printing-office. He was engaged in business there for twelve years. He then moved to Fresno, where he became associated with the **Fresno Republican**. In 1902 he left the printing business and has since been interested in paper. He is now [1908] connected with the Pacific Coast Paper Company of San Francisco. His residence is in Berkeley. His son, Walter H. Dore, graduated from the University of California in 1907. He is engaged in practical work in analytical chemistry. He lives with his father at Berkeley.

Frank E. Dore, the second son of Benjamin Dore, was born and raised in San Francisco. Like his brother, he learned the printer's trade in his father's office, and continued in that line of work. He was married in 1880 to Louise Vandor, of San Francisco. He worked in San Francisco for a number of years. He was with his brother in Portland for a time, but again returned to San Francisco, where he remained until a few years ago. As the printing business and the San Francisco climate disagreed with his health, he left them both and went to Fresno, where he has since lived. He is at present clerk of the Fresno Police Department.

Benjamin Dore's only daughter is Alice A. Dore. She was born and raised in San Francisco. She was educated in the public schools of San Francisco and graduated from the Girls' High School. She lived with her father in Fresno from 1888 until the time of his death. Since then she has lived with her brother, Harry E. Dore, in Berkeley.

Dore's journal is of more historical importance than its naiveté might at first lead one to expect. Incidents of a unique period struck the sensitive young voyager with peculiar effect, and he recorded what more experienced travelers would have left unnoted. Dore had less than a month of schooling in each year during his life on the farm in Maine, and his spelling and diction reflect in an unstudied way the true dialect of the "Down East" farmer-boys, so many of whom became leaders in the West. The orthography of the journal has accordingly been accurately preserved.

The voyage of the "Cantero" appears to be unrecorded in the annals of the California Argonauts.

Charles L. Camp.

A JOURNAL OF VOIGE TO CALIFORNIA ON BOARD THE BARK CANTERO

Nov 1 18,49,, at 11, A M I shook hands with my friends on the wharf in Bangor, and went on Board, there waited until $\frac{1}{2}$ past one P M, Do ["Ditto," i. e., the same date] wade anchor and cheered our friends that was on the wharf which was returned from them and started down the river towed down by the tow boat Taritine of Bangor to sandy point opisite of Prospect and droped anchor at twenty minutes of five several of our friends went down river with us and returned back in the boat.

Friday Nov 2 afafe wind from the north and cloudy A M the Capt, went to Buxport, to procure a chart P M returned, several of us went ashore in prospect and stoped an hour or two and then returned towards knight . . .

Sunday 4 a good breeze from the N W, and pleasant at 9 A M, pilot came on board Do wade anchor and started down the bay through the left hand Chanel at 12, made eagle Island & Isle of holt Do discharged pilot and put out to sea towards [evening] several began to be seasick out of 83, I should thinck two thirds was sick for one I was quite sick our Company was Composed of 56 pasengers 26, 82 in all

Monday 5, out of sight of land for the first time light winds from the N E, and Cloudy most all sick to day s[aw] 2 vessils and a school of black fish, Lat 42,50, North, Lon 67, 31,

Nov 6, moderate winds from the N E, and pleasant Cours S E, made but a little progress this day saw 2 vissels to day quite sea sick to day John Hunt was quite lively and cheered up the sick ones for one I began to wish I had stade at home, for I felt much wors than I expected to, friend Marston & Joel Richardson is much worse than I am but I am in hopes to be better in a day or two, in Lat 42,4, Lon, 66,7 . . .

Nove 9 . . . Mr lander remarked thad the vessil was drunk for he gave us a drinck of cider the day before I began to think it was for she danced upon the waves finely Several lost

their hats overboard which caused all hands to shout and laugh . . .

Saturday Nov 10, a strong wind from the E N E and squally the wind increased and the seas rolling mountains high all hands sick again for one I was glad to lay in my berth and I began to feel a little home sick for the wind was driving us N E, at 3 P M, furled the main sail and Close reefed the top sails at 5 Do furled the fore sail at 12 midnight more moderate set a little more sail but continues blowing hard and rainy in Lat 42,5, North Lon 62, 55, West

Sunday 11 I went on deck about 4 o'clock the storm had abated the wind about south I had a talk with S B Marston he was and had been very sick indeed much worse than myself he said if he lived until he got to California he would not be caught out again Joel Richardson was very sick he said he had never been so sick before about ten A M ashore was discovered by Mr Mayo it seemed to be an English ship it cheered us up a little to think we had a few neighbours on the big pond as some of the boys term it Lat 42, 27, Lon, 62, 18

Monday 12 the wind had changed into the north I began to feel quite encouraged I went on deck quite early and found the boys in good spirits again Some of them were quite sick yet I had not but a little strength myself and could eat but little I thought if I could go on shore a few days I should feel at home for I did not like to be cooped up in a vessel however I thought it best to look ahead for nothing venture nothing have Lat 42, 13, Lon 63, 31 . . .

Wednesday 28 Lat, 31, 47 Lon, 39, 33, we had got into the trade winds with a good breeze a pig was killed for Thanksgiving and we all had an invitation to a masquerade ball on board the bark Cantero on Thursday evening

Thursday 29 Thanksgiving day very pleasant day all hands cheerful and the day passed off in good shape for Dinner baked pig & potatoes boiled with raisins in it warm bread and butter for supper soft tack and cranberry sauce do nuts and cheese &c, in the evening old Neptune and his family came on board & was introduced to the baskegin jiant attended the ball danced &c the [n] all hands was called on to make a speech or give a toast or sing a song or tell a story which kept us up until 12 o'clock in Lat 39, 00, Lon 39, 51, . . .

Wednesday 5 Clear and pleasant wind s, e, by e, saw aplenty of flying fish Saw 1 ship to the east passed us at 10 Some times for amusements we would have Some one tried for some crime the first was S D Brastow for fighting with Philbrok he was proved clear and acquitted it made considerable sport as we had nothing to do and wanted something to take up our time we would have it caried on in very good shape we would choose a justice two lawyers sherrief, &c, Lat 12, 48, Lon 26, 9 . . .

Tuesday 11 at 10, A, M, s[aw] a school of purepuses the water semed to be covered for miles it was quite interesting to see them playing around our vessel. Mr. Crocker the mate seeing them ran over the bow and threw aharpoon into one of them and by the assistunce of several others he was taken on board the bark which caused quite an excitement for one I enjoyed it much for it was Something new to us all after he was taken on bord the mate cut his throat and the blood ran freely he was soon desected and I had apiece of his liver fried for Supper he was 8 feet long and probly weighed from 3,50 to 400, lbs. in Lat S, 00, 55. . . .

Monday,, 17,, in, Lat, 12, 46, afine day all well quite an excitement in the P M we have one man in our bark that is thought to be posessed of evil Sperits to be a wizzard and perform many wonderful tricks with cards, & c his name is John Nelson he would act very misterious at times he pretendid to loose abook and said s[ome]one had it and if it was not brought forward he would take apack of cards and find it he took the cards shoffuled them and said over some unknown words to them looked them over and discribed the man that had it, it being an old man about fifty, his name was Roundy which made the old man stare he look[ed] and behold it was in his vest pocket the said nelson charged him with steeling the book uncle Roundy declared he did not and how it came there he knew not but he fully believed thet nelson had power to put it there by some unknown hand for he fully believed him to be a perfect wizzard and have dealings with [the] devil for the book contain[ed] many caracters and misterys that has never yet bin known to man however they had him tried before Judge F Stephens at thre P M, this Judge brought in that he Should be shot by the mate of the bark at sun down which made uncle roundy look very solumn he gave in his testamony against him with sad countanace and

said if they did shoot him they would never git any farther for his Spirit would follow and be the means of distroying the bark however before the time arived he was told that they had bin making a fool of him and it was all a hoax but it was some [time] before he would believe it to end the mater he told them he under stood it all the time I pityed the old man and was sory to think they should take the silly old man for a subject to make Sport of . . .

Wednesday 26, pleasant astrong wind from the south at nine took in the studen sailes rial sail and galansailes at 2 P M, wind died away and the sailes was sot again in Lat, 27, Lon, 46, 30, the boys began to look for land as it has bin some time since we have seen it some of the boys are play [ing] cards s[ome] play checkers others mending clothes while others are reading and writing to there friends and others fixing up to go ashore some up most all knight looking for land,

thursday, 27, the first I heard was land a,ho which cheered the hearts of all hands Some ran aloft while others went on to the focastle deck with their eyes agazeing uppon the new world as it seemed at 9 we could see it quite plain the capt was quite lucky in hiting the port in the morning the wind breezed up from the land until 10 at 11 it chenged into the north east 12 saw 2 barks in sight one off our larbourd bow it went in ahead of us about one hour sail it proved to be the bark Glengoe from Bangor 46 days passage bound for california the other sail was the bark dominga from provedence R, I, 45 days passage at 3 p, m came along side and gave 3 hearty cheers for which we were happy to return she passed us and got into port about 2 miles ahead she was bound fr californea with 1,10 pasing[ers] she sailed faster than we did because she was light loaded & draws about eight and ahalf while we draw from fourteen to fifteen feet however I think we done very well considering as we had ahead wind and bad weather the first three weeks we arived in port and came to anchor about sunset as we passed the glencoe she gave us three good cheers which we were hapy to answer while passing up the bay we saw several little huts where the natives live nere the shore at the foot of the mountains the Island of st catherine was on our left hand and the mane land on our right it is very un even nothing but hills mountains and vallies covered with a short shrub we dad [had] not bin in port

above an hour be fore aboard load of yankeys came on board to see us and in an hour more another boat load came aboard it seemed very pleasant to me to see somany yankeys so far from home there is about 12 vessels in this port I am told and all yankeys but one or two and bound for californa

Friday 28 as we lay at anchor opposite the fort about one mile off we could se the stars and stripes awaving in the wind on the americans vessels, it was abutiful scene but on the other hand it is not so pleasant the fort looked old and ancient the houses are built close on shore rather an indolent class of people the goveerer came along side this morning and told our capt that we could not go ashore for six days at is was queritene at nine the capt of the Glencoe came to see us and brought us apaper of our clearance which we were hapy to read Several of the natives came along side with (with) milk mellons penaners pine apples &c, I bought a quart of milk and eat for my break fast which I relished very well at 11 my self and several others took asail around the harbour untill 1 P M, in the evening anomber of us visited three of the vessels 1 Bark ninus from boston from there to the ark abrig from Newbryport [on] which we were hapyly received and I enjoyed my self very well 2 of them left with us and went on board the Bark Dominga newbryport there we had ahappy meeting they took us down below & passed round a glass of wine and we were all as one felt perfectly at home and well acquainted the same as brothers two of them left with us and we then went on shore all though we were not alowed to we were in a house where we found several of the boys that was right on hand we sailed around until 11 in the evening for the moon shone bright and was a lovely evening

Saturday, 29, we visited several vessels our capt went ashore and saw the old Cometant that is the governer and made him a few small presents as it is quite customary here for the caps, to do in order to get apart of the quarentine before it is out he told our capt that we all mint go on shore the next day and our capt ain w[i]th four could go and get some water then in the evening 2 boat loads of us went on shore withe musick called to an inglishmans house and stoped afew moments from there we marched about 1 mile down the shore to aplace called the widows where found sever[al] boats crews dancing and runing around on the beach about thirty

of us went in and had several dances with the others crews, until 10, we were very well treated and enjoyed our selves well it was a place for refreshments and mareners home returned to our vessil at ½ past 10,

Sunday 30, very pleasant all went ashore except enough to take care of the ship Mr Marston and myself started off to gether to go back over the hills to se apart of the country but we found [it] hard climeing the mountains after along time we arived to the tope of one of the hills there we could see asmall plantation down on the side we went down and found afew benaners groing & caster oil beans & orange trees & lemonds, and from there alittle above we found asmall field of corn about right to roast and by the side of it another piece of young corn about six inches high so they can rais it the year round we concluded it was not best to go any fater as the roads was poor and the mountains back of us still higher about 11 we started for the shore as all of the principle houses were on the shore after about 3 hours travel down over rocks & gulies we came out to a house both hungry and tired we ment [went] in and got six eggs and had them boiled and afew ears of corn, roasted that we plucked back long with adipper of water and alittle salt we made out quite a dinner the man of the house appeared to do the most of the work in the house we gave them afew presents such as a hankerchief shaveing soap pocket combs &c I thought we had given them more than enough to pay for the eggs however we concluded to ask for there bill which was thirty cents We paid him and concluded we should not call on him again any how we left there and went down below afew rods and ther saw a negro fandango about twelve dressed in white with feathers in there caps & looked more like the devil than any thing elts and dancing and singing &c, they would go from one place to another and go through with all sorts of manuvering as they do not pay much regard for religeon it is areguler holly day for them, we walked along the shore and saw many things to interest us, the roads was very bad indeed no cariages attall some ride horese back but the most go on foot for it is very hilly and rocky they build their houses of stone and mud and then plastered others of small poles filled in with mud and gravel supported with apost in the cornes the roof is poles laid on and then covered with tiles burnt of clay the same as brick onely diferent shape the

common class of people have no glass in their houses a small gate for a door no floors except one room and quite often none at all some have blinds or shelters to their windows every thing grows spontaneously such as pine apples oranges lemons figs grapes peaches figs bananas water melons onions sweet potatoes rice coffee corn cucumbers potatoes &c, with but little cultivation they live very easy but a very little intelligence or enterprise about them a man that is worth four or five thousand dollars is thought to be very rich the most of the rich ones have slaves to work for them all most one half of [the] people is blacks, they sell a great deal of their stuff to the vessels that come in to get wood and water and they take the advantage of them when there is a number in port at this time there is fourteen American vessels in to get wood and water and the yankeys are on the shore (as) ranging about as thick as you please at sunset was the time appointed (time) to meet on the shore to return on board again we were on hand and for one I was both tired and hungry after supper I finished writing some letters to send home to my friends at one I was ready to retire and had a good nap until sun rise

Monday 31 apart of our crew commenced filling up our casks of water as it did not come my turn until the next day about ten or twelve of us went on shore and traveled about all day for we had been cooped up in our vessel so long we could not content our selves to stay on board we took some music with us and enjoyed our selves very well it was a pleasant day and very warm I purchased a few articles to take out to sea with me such as honey water mellons p[i]ne apples pea nuts raisens &c

Tuesday January 1 18,50 it came my turn to help fill the rest of the water casks we went to work quite early at 11 A. m, all filled, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 p. m, eight with my self hired two men to take a sailboat and carry us up to the city about 10, miles for seventy five cents apiece arrived in the city at 6, p. m we put up to a tavern called the german house we were used first rate the land lady could talk some english and kept a very good house for that place but it was not like being in our country for they live quite different we had chickens fresh beef fried eggs and the best coffee I ever drank we traveled around the city visited the barracks where there was 2 or 3, hundred soldiers in the evening they had a grand ball probably one hundred couple and the band to play for them the

soldiers were very fond of bageing if any yankeys come around they will seround him and want him to present money or cigars or what they call veno that is wine I did not understand there game at first so I gave them one domp as, they call it that is 2, ½ cents after that I would not give them any more finding out that it was there principle to bage of every one they could we walkeed from place to place until 10, we got back again and retired to rest I was waked in the knight by the singing and holering of the yankeys for there was agreat many of them in the city the nixt morning

Wednesday 2 I arose quite early and walked out in to the Square and went in to several stores and by chance I went in to astore kept by a man from the state of verginia he said he had bin in this city about 18, years I had quite a chat with him I enquired about the country &c, he told me that he did not like the country so well as the states on the account of business all though it is very healthy but I should suppose there is more business don in Bangore in one day than here in one month, he told me there was but one paper printed in the place and that very small they get apaper from rio, about once amonth his business was to by and sel he kept flower it was brought from the states I believe the price ten dollars per, bbl, &c, at eight I returned to breakfast after eating quite harty we all traveled from one end of the city to the other first we came to the square serounded with building of various kinds such as stores on one side and dwelling houses alarge church in front and the gaol on the other side to the lower end of the square was filed with market folks such as negro wimen with a tray or board about 3 feet long on there heads with nuts cakes candies &c, to sell other[s] with milk to sell perhaps ½ of them would be laying down asleep I thought that it was the last market that ever I was in (meet market) all in boats on the shore but afew rods off went up to the gaol ant [and] went all through it Saw all of the priseners one lady was put in for lif for getting afellow to murder her husband so she could mary him and the both was put in during life from there I went in to a church which [was] very splendid the vergen mary on the right and a burning lamp on the left and slendid images in front with agreat many candles to light them up the buildings are stone plastered out side & in, with consider[able] skill and inginuity forming moldings and arictectureal orders, the

streets are very narrow and not a carriage to be seen a few horse[s] to carry loads on their backs a few mechanics mostly blacks, wages very low and victuals forty cents a meal [meal] I should suppose nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the people was blacks in the city a man that is worth four or five thousand dollars is thought to be very rich at sunset we all started for our vessel again arrived at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11,

Thursday 3 at 10, we weighed anchor and started out to sea again the wind ahead and had to beat out of the harbour made but little head way the first day the Brig Glencoe New York started about two hours ahead of us the bark Glencoe Elsworth Me intended to start the same day six vessels started the day before for California we all hands bought a lot of green stowage to take with us such as millions pine apples oranges and wine, &c, of the natives that came along side with their boats the first and last breakfast I eat in port was milk which was very good

Friday the 4 cloudy in the morning wind north making about a south course a good [wind] cleared off at ten pleasant until 6, p, m, came up ashore and the wind changed in to the west rainy through the night nothing to do but eat melons and talk about the natives I commenced for the second time to wait on the table to day for we all take turns about six on side to wait on the rest once a week and it comes my turn once in six weeks . . .

Saturday 12, a very heavy wind S, W, at 7 a m wind increasing and seas making fast at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7, took in some of the sails at 8 the main weather tack gave way but no one hurt the main sail was then hauled up and $\frac{1}{2}$ 8, the main & fore top sails were close reefed and the wind still increasing at nine ran up the main spencer and took in the mizen spencer having ahead wind and beating against the wind it would make the Cantero jump and rare some times for a few hours at 4 p m the wind began to decrease a little but the waves still ran high She did not ship any seas but throw some spray and sprinkle us a little some times it made several of our company sick I was a little myself at 8 I started from the stern of the vessel [to] go to bed going from the Cabin to the main hatch I found several of the boys standing along the walk ready to put every one through that came along, as they called it I got in before I knew what they were up to I received a blow from first one & then another until I

reached the galey when I got through I had forgot that I was sea sick so I joined with them and helped put the rest through for exersize and drive away dull care at $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine we had about $\frac{2}{3}$ of the company there was somesport in [putting] those through that said they would not be put through it was the best thing we could do to drive away seasickness be cause it excited the mind at 10, iwent to bed and slept well, Lat, 40;27 . . .

Wednesday 16 the sail still in sight at 7 tacked ship and heading about west the wind about, S, E, the ship stand about South at 9 a,m, came near enough to speak her it being the Richmond of Boston it was in St Catherines when we left came out next day 1,75 pasengers 3 ladies when we came about up to him he tacked ship and came along side and spoke all well but two his cronomiter had got out of order and lost his reckening Capt Sanders gave him his reckening and he regerlated it from his they talked to gether afew moments and kep along side for some time at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 they gave us 3 hearty cheers which was soon returned for 3 times John Hunt got up in to the riging and waved his hankerchief to them which they readerly returned which was soon folowed by 3 more cheers for the ladies at 10 they began to gain on us again . . .

A FEW LINES COMPOSED & SUNG ON THE BARK CANTERO
COMPOSED BY MR CROCKER OF BUXPORT MAINE

Come all you yankeys farmers	
Come leave your plowe and hoe	
Ye tradesman and mechanacs	
And ore the ocean go	
Unto the land of Opher	Chorus, O, California
No longer now delay	the land is far away
Go seek a golden fortune	we are bound over the sea
In California	with hearts so free, to California

Come leave your northan regions
Where nought but woman smiles
Can hold you in all legience
Amongst her baren wilds
Whar from april till September
Your sun illumes the day
Whilst all is summer splendour
In California

Come leave your fish and timber
 Your snow benighted lands
 And with us cross the ocean
 To seek that golden strands
 Whar amongst her ancient mountains
 Golconda seeks it way
 From many a golden fountain
 In California

Heed not your welthy mizer
 Who lives but for himself
 Who sees us home rturning
 As gentlemen of wealth
 Who jealous of our fortunes
 And feign would have us stay
 While he would fil his coffers
 In California

This land they feign would sel us
 And houses cheaply rent
 And then they would befriend us
 If wee,d but be content
 Our papers they,d acknowledge
 And give us time to pay
 If wee,d fore swear our visions
 Of California

How kind and condecending
 Ye men of cent for cent
 How pliable and bending
 How good is your intent
 We will repay your kindsman
 When years have passed away
 If god our hands should prosper
 In California

Farewell thow loved penobscot
 Where in our youthful pride
 So often have we sported
 Upon thy noble tide
 Where first our love was kindled
 And where it shall decay
 We,ll, send the many a blessing
 From California

Farewell our wives and sweethearts
 We leave you for awhile
 A few short years to tarry
 Should fortune on us smile
 Then when our locks are silvered
 We,ll not regret the day
 We crossed the foaming billows
 For California

. . . Thursday Jan 24, moderate winds from the N. W. and pleasant 2 sail in sight at 8 A M, middle part of the day Calm and quite warm for cape horn weather at 10 A M, the capt and several others fished awhile but did not catch any thing water about 60, fathoms deep sea fowl flying around quite plenty after supper it being quite pleasant and wanting alittle exersize we enjoyed our selves very well for awhile in dancing as Dr Bill Towl is one of the Be boys and is always on hand with his fiddle we had aright, down East, good time for a while, . . .

Sunday Jan 27, astrong wind from the S, W, at 7 A M, tacked Ship bore to the N W, Do, 3 sailes still in sight one a brig kept within 5 miles for 2 days the others appears to be whalers acrusing, it is quite chilly to day but not so cold as I expected to see it at cape horn themom-iter stood at 46, it is alittle squally & ahead wind at 10 A M, a whale was discovered off our larbourd beam spouting & blowing to no small rate he appeared to be makeing for the ship came along with in 20 feet of the stern of the ship throwing him self mostly out of water he dove under the stern and came up ahead and played around for an hour which attracted the attension of all hands to see a cape horn whale, at 12, the paupuses were playing around the bow of the ship they were much smaller than those I had seen before and white stripes on them Mr Crocker tried to spear one of them but did not succede, for when he got ready for them they made themselves scurce, at 5 P M tacked ship again bearing to the south the days are about 20, hours [long] sun 16½, rises at 4, sets at ½ past 8, Lat 56,28, Long,

JAN. 27, 1849. [1850]

[Probably quoted]

Tis lone on the waters
When eve,s, mournful bell
Sends forth to the sunset
Anote of fare well

When the wing of the seabird,
Is turned to her nest
And the heart of the sailor
To all he loves best

When borne with the shadows
And winds as they sweep
There comes afond memory
Of home oer the deep

Tis lone on the waters
That hour hath a spell
To bring back sweet voices
And words of fare well

. . . Tuesday Jan 29, astrong wind from the south and rainy we are going along finely to day but it is alittle cool passed the horn about 10, this forenoon, at 7 P M,

discovered the Island of Diego a bout 20, miles to the north a small, Isa, S W, of the horn at 8 wore ship bore E, N, E, the wind blowing very hard and the bark dancing upon the waves like a bird at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 our larbourd davy was caried away that (that) our stern boat was attached to but no other damage done there was aman Just came out of the boat if he had bin five minutes later I think he would have gorn over board however it was fited up in afew moments and the boat made secure again Lat, 57,10, Long, 67,13,

Wednesday Jan 30, astrong wind from the W,S,W & squally heading about south our capt, was a little afraid to keep too near the land for fear of being blown ashore as the wind blows very hard from the W, and, S,W, which is astrong head wind at 10, A M, the albatros was flying around quite thick Some of the boys thought it would be fine sport to catch afew so they prepared some fishhooks and put on alittle meat and throw it over and they would fly around and light on the water to eat the bait not mistrusting the rogish boys 5 of them was caught in alittle while by their bill 2 of them not being hurt they let them go again the other 3 was killed and skined with the intention of stuffing there skins to cary home for a curiosity one of them masured 10, feet, $7\frac{1}{2}$, inches across the wings from one end to the other, P M, wind halled in to the North so we came on to our coarse again but at 9 chenged in to the West again which was dead a head and blowing us back again and squally all knight and the wind increasing fast which made the ship jump and roll and tumble about on the waves noways slow I could not sleep any for the knight for it was quite often I had to hold on to keep from rolling out of my birth about 12, midnight there was some smoke of matches smelt and seen between decks which caused quite an excitement to find where it came from some was looking in there chests and others in there births &c, it finely came from the cabbin by abunch of matches catching but no damage done the themomiter stood at 42, Lat 57,79, Long 66, 33

Thursday Jan 31, the wind blowing like ahericane all day from the West at 10, a,m sent down the top galent yards heading to the south and the waves the largest I have ever seen and wery squally uncle Roundy thought it was because the birds was caught the day before it was along and lonesome day and quite discuriageing for the wind was

blowing us back quite fast probably 50, miles back of the horn at 9 P.M, wore ship again bore to the N W, and abated alittle Lat 57,50, Long 65,53 . . .

Monday Feb 4, 18,50 comences with moderate winds from the N W, and pleasant at 10, A.M, discovered 3 sailes at 11, a m about calm at, 2, P.M, agood breeze from the N W course S.W, at 3 discovered asail ahead of us comeing towards us came with in 3 miles of us and tacked ship at 6 we overtook her and passed her after speaking to her it was the Goldhunter of and from Fall River 96, days out bound to California, in Longitude 72,25, Lat 58,43 at 10 p,m a gale . . .

Friday 8, a strong wind from the W S W and squally standing N W, going along finely to day aheavy sea to day, we are to day fairely around the cape 2 weeks forom the Island of staten land and all in good sperits Lat 56,15, Long 76, 38, . . .

Sunday 10, astrong wind from S W, and hazy at 2 A M, tacked [s]hip stood to the, N,N,W, at 5 P M, spoke the Bark Teal of and from St Johns, New Brunswick bound to Sanfranciscoe 44, days from St Catherines 6 days longer than we had bin out of the Same port . . .

Sunday Feb 17, afine pleasant day alight breeze from the west all most calm and warm and all hands in good sperits siting around on deck reading, not much to attract there attention getting along quietly and pleasantly some talking about what they will do in the next port while others are conversing about there friends at home agreat many remarks has been made in relation to comeing around the cape some remarked that they would stay in california along time before they would go home around the cape again but I think the most of them would if they could not get back any other way although it is not avery pleasant passage but no worse than I expected for the time passes off very fast the wrst trouble is we do not have exersize enough but by going with out my Supper once in while I get along quite comfortable Mr Springer and several others has bin quite slim with a cold but they begin to get bitter and probably will be well in afew days as we are going into warmer weather and if nothing hapens will be in fort [port] in afiw days with the antcapation of seeing something new and getting on land once

more where we can get some good water to drink and tramp about on the shore, which puts me in mind of the pleasant days that I have spent in Main and am in hopes to return again if nothing hapens, . . .

Monday feb 18, alight breeze from the South with asmoth sea and glideing along bout 4 or 5 nots an hour and can hardly perceive the motion of the vessil all hands seems busi this Morning some mending cloths others mending boots and carpenters and black smiths tinkering around and the sailors to work on the riging every one busi about something washing clothes painting boats cleaning out water castks to fill in port &c, after supper the deck was cleared of and (and) Dr, bill got out his fiddle for the first time since we came round the horn and we had afew dances for exercise, 4 P M, wind halled in to the west & N w and braced up the yards 6, about calm, made but alittle way through the knight in Lat 38,38, Lon 75,30

Tuesday February 19, alight breeze from the North and N W, and pleasant 8, A M, calm, at 10, alight breeze from the N W at, one P, M, made the Island Mocha at 4, off our starboard beam distance of 25 miles it is about 7 miles long and 4 miles wide on the coast of chilly about 12, miles from mane land about 12 hundred feet high on the East side is agood chance to anchor and get wood and water and all kinds of vegitibles in abundance, at 2 p,m a com, meeting was held on the purpours of such business as mint be brought before the meeting the reports of bills was rede by the president and some business in regard to geting fresh supplies in port at ½ past 3, meeting ajourned until Wednesday feb 20, at 2 p,m, at 5 P M, discovered maine land along the coast for(t) some ways 6, calm remained so through the knight and very pleasant, quite an excitement in the evening amongst the boys aboxing as the[y] had apeir of boxing gloves fited up for(t) them as it was something new for them and wanted alittle exersize . . .

Saturday Feb, 23, 18,50, P M fogy, with in 5 miles of valparaiso, made land at 1, in the knight and could not get in as we were becalmed, at 2 p m, droped anchor in the harbour with in one mile of the shore the Dr and consul came aboard at 2 P M found every thing in good shape, and all well, at 3, Do, a large number of us went ashore and traveled

around until sunset, we found a large No. of vessels, in port of most all nations one American steam ship and several wessels for California, one, the Bark, Daniel, Webster of and from Boston 1,50, days out, the Richmond left here yesterday, gained on us 8, days from, St Catherines, and the gold hunter of Bangor left here, 3 weeks ago several of the boys from the Daniel Webster came on board to see us and several from Maine, we had not bin here fifteen minutes bfore the natives came aboard with fruit to sell such as pears peaches and apples &c, most all kinds of fruit is ripe and very plenty the town is pleasantly situated and one of the best harbours Sunday we most all went on shore I traveled around from place to place until eleven A M, I attended the Inglish Episcopal Church which was quite interestering & at 2 P M, I attended a funeral of an american from the state of Ohio a single man lived here 12, years age about forty his name was Herman Pickard, buried in the inglish and american grave yard, in very good shape, I visited the city grave yard which was very nice at the entrance very pretty tombs and trees such as Cedar that resembles those in, main and the weeping willow and many pritty trees bushes and flowers that I never saw before that was very buteful it was situated on ahill ashort distance from the seashore and walled in, at the lower end of the grave yard I saw alarg hole dug where the[y] throw the poor people in and [do] not bury them I saw several in [it] and but alittle dirt on them hardly enough to cover them I thought it rather a hard case that people could not be decently buried in such aplace as this because they have not money enough to pay their funerals expences it looks rather to heathanish to look at such a scene

Monday 25, About half of our, co, was employed in giting water and to work on board the bark overhalling and prepareing to take afresh supply our Directors and oficers were making purchises as the news was good from California they concluded to take ten pasengers at sixty four dollars each six Cillians two French men and two Americans, laid out about twelve hundred dolars by the company for flower and such articles as we need to cary to California, flower three dollars ahundred as it comes in bags in stead of beryls water is rather scarece had to pay one dollar and fifty cents aton where it is brought to (to) the vessels in water boats, but as there was a large no, of vessels in we should have to wate

several days to get our water we took our casks and went on shore and filled them our selves which cost us seventy five cents aton which would enable us to leave much sooner several of the pasengers bought some supplies to take with them which was caried for twenty two dollars aton, frate most provisions alittle hier than in the states, all, kinds of fruit in bundance but rather high for they take the advantage of strangers,

Tuesday 26, those that worked monday went ashore, ten of us hired horses and rode horse back at nine A M, we started and rode out on the santeago road about 8 miles went into several gardens that was very nice sawa many things to entirst us in one garden I saw several kinds of trees that grow in maine the pople the birch hornbeam and blackberys but not quite ripe I plucked several that was ripe, and the grapes grow in abundance and first rate also peaches and pears and apples and agreat plenty of melons the people appeared glad to see us and used us well after visiting several places and viewing every thing new we returned to the city again if I had time I should have rod out to the city of santaago the capital of chili about ninety miles East which is said to be a beautiful city of about seventy thousand inhabatance but it is av[e]ry hilly road and (and) winds around the hills like winding stairs, P M, we rode out to the light house about two miles from the city that sits on apoint to the, N, W, of the city to light the vesels and guide them in to port or harbour, at four I returned my horse for I was tired of rideing, Price for horses one dollar aday there horses are much cheaper than in the states get apretty good horse for twenty dollars mules are very plent[y] and great for carieng burdens cary water wood and every thing on their backs they have afew cariages for carying passengers about the city from one part to an other, oxen yoked andd hall by their horns apart of the city is quite pleasant streets well paved with stone and rather narrow buildings mostly made of large brick and mud and plastered out side and in, labour is good mecanics three dollars per day lumber is high, the lower part of the town is much more pleasant than the uper part, which is very narrow and winding streets and paths, up over the hills and the young ladies standing or siting in the dors, ready to welcome you in as they are very fond of the yankyes which I think is not so becoming in them, and their maners are not so pleasing as

the Americans, the principle trade here is by the English French and Americans a great many vessels call for fresh supplies &c, the Steamer Sarah Sands arrived to day and an american Steamer left here to day for the panama and san-franciscoe the tenessee, from New York, there is two steamers runs from here to panama, and sanfranciscoe both English,

Wednesday 27 A M, I worked aboard the bark stowing and preparing to leave P M, went on shore and visited Atkins Knight at the American hospittle an old friend that I got acquainted with in Bangor had bin here three weeks and calculates to go to California as soon as he gets able, I carried him some papers and books to read as he wanted something from the states to read papers that is printed in the states sells for twenty five cents apiece, books are very high I paid one dollar for a small book to learn to read spanish price for putting a crystal in a watch one dollar, and most every thing accordingly I think it rather agood country especially, for a mechanic, or any smart business man with capital they have quite anumber of mounted policemen to guard the city and pretty good laws and very strict if aman gets in to arow he is soon put into the calabos the poleacemen carry saurds and lassoos, and if they cant catch any one they want, they will through alassoo, ovr him, and achain gang I saw to work on the streets with chains on their feet, and some on there hands every man that commits any crime he is put in to the chain gang and works on the streets, our company I think has behaved very well and done honor to themselves and thos who know them they have drove about and seved the city very well for the time that we have had for we have had to work the most of the time, and I think we are the healthiest crew I have seen since I left Bangor, all hearty and rugged I have gained nine pounds since I left Bangor seven from St Catherines my wate now is fifty four the heaviest that I ever have bin and several have gained much more than I have, it is avery healthy country here and pleasant weather, in the morning it is foggy until 9, or 10, and then it clearsoff very pleasant it does not rain any for six months to a time and then it is wet, sumer dry, sesons, winter wet seasons, they do about as much business sunday as any day dance and frolic and sunday evenings is a theatre, I calculated to attended but one of the actresses was sick and did not play so we all missed of going, but we had a very pleasant time and enjoyed

ourselves very well in the evening I bought some fruit and caried aboard such as apples pears peaches plumbs nuts, &c, and returned to the ship at nine in the evening for I made it apractace to be in at nine every knight for they are apt to get their cockets picked and per haps robed, for every body and every thing is there I had one hankerchief stolen out of my pocket and several others the same which is very common altho they are not alowd to, whilst I was in the grave yard I penciled down afew lines that I saw on the grave stones, one was as follows

TO THE MEMORY OF JAMES REEVES LATE SEAMAN ON
BOARD, H M, S, PRESIDENT DROWNED BY THE
UPSETING OF ABOAT ON THE 18 OF MAY
1841, AGE 19 YEARS

His cours is up his sailes are furled
His body lies beneath the wave
His warning short from life he hurled
The tenant of a seamans grave

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF CHARLES R PRICE WHO
DEPARTED THIS LIFE JULY 19, 1847, AGE, 23,

I shall go to him
But he will not return to me

VALPARASO, CAPT, ISAAC, THAYER, OF MARBLE HEAD DIED
JUNE 27, 1847, AGE, 50, OF, AN, ENGLISH, MARINE

With bounding heart I left my home	
Not thinking Death so near	Home sweet home
But here the tyrent laid me low	there is no place
Which caused amessmates tear	that seems like home
Now far from home my body lies	
Within this Earthly tomb	
But trust that Christ will mercy have,	
And call my sperit home	

ANOTHER

When the last trumpets awful voice
This rending earth shall shake
When opening graves shall yeald their charge
And dust to life awake
Those bodies that corrupted fell
Shall in corrupted rise
And mortals form shall spring to life
Immortal in the skies

After many toils and perils past	Whilst siting their I mused awhile
In foreign climes I have fill at last	On deaths long dreamless sleep
Reader prepare to follow me	An opening, life deceatful smil
For what I am you must shurely be	A moarner came to weep

Thursday Feby 28, 1850, this morning about ready to sail but wating to get some clothes that was sent ashore to get washed but could not find them nor find out where the fellow lived that caried them away it was one of the natives he agreed to bring them to the vessel again but did not I did not send any my self, but I suppose that there was seventy five dollars worth and hat [had] to leave them for the capt, thought it would not pay to stop for them A M, I got in to aboat with several others and visited several vessels, one French man of war one Inglish man of war, one Chilian man of war, and one (And one) Boston ship that came in the day before from California men most all sick with the scurvy, I saw one man from New, hampshire, that had bin in the gold digins I saw about three hundred worth of gold just as it was dug he told me he had got enough to pay him for going and calculates to return to the states and then thought of going back to California gain, he came on board of our vessel we gave him afew papers, &c, he has fifty dollars a month for comeing down, in the vessel, there was several Deaths of americans while we were in I did not learn of them, I saw the place where the Essex was captured by the Inglish, in the last war taken by the Feba & Cherub Captured in 18,14, by Comodore Hilyer, and the Essex Commanded by Capt Porter,, at 2, P M, all ready hoisted the boats wade anchor aand started being a good breeze from the south . . .

Thursday [March] 14, wind S E by E, Cours N W by W, and pleasant agood steden sail breeze with all sail set since we left valperazo it seems quite pleasant and all hands anxious to get to sanfranciscoe, we were employed in geting things ready f[or] the mines the forward part of the vessil represents quite a work shop some hanging grindstones others grinding axes and makeing axe handles and pick handles &c, at five would sweep and clean up the decks, and after supper is over spend an hour or two amuseing our selves to pass away the first part of the Evening Unkle Roundy with his drum and Mr Nelson with his fife would make business lively for a while after they get through Dr Bill as we call him, would bring his fiddle along and play [a] few lively tunes and have afew dances to drive away sad feelings & thoughts whilst others afts are siting down singing glees and mery songs which makes the time pass off quite peasantly which calls the mind to reflect upon past hours that I have spent with my friends at afar

distant home, whilst siting on the Cabin viewing the souther heavens there I Could see the southern Cross and the mejelon Cowd [cloud], also the diper in the nothern hemisphere every thing seems quiet and lovely, in Lat, 11,10, Lon, 94,47,

Friday 15, moderat winds from the S E by E Coars N W by W, and pleasant Lat 9,37 Lon 96,21 P M, quite an excitement trying to catch boneaters [bonitos] for the water was black with [them] as far as the eye could see it was rather hard work to spear them and they would not bite at a hook there was several struck with the spere and but two caught weighing about (8) eight to ten pounds apiece they kept along with the vessil for an hour or two the water full of them the most I ever saw . . .

Thursday 21, this day Comences with light winds from the E S E and pleasant with all sail set before the wind Cours N W by W, with light showers accationally P M, I sat upon the mane top and painted the Island of Staten land it was rather apoor place for the vessil is rocking and pitching about, but it was the best place I could find aboard, for the boys are so rokish they will Not let any one take any peace doing any thing they want to for him self if any one gets to playing cards they will hitch arope to his seat and hall it out from under him and play[ing] checkers the first you would know a club or a cloth or something or rather would hit on the board and scater the me[n] about they want to do some thing to make business lively no matere what it is if it will onely get up alaugh Mar 11, Mr Lander & Mr Alden mad a grinde stone bench and the next morning when I went on deck I herd quite a nois forward I went to see what it was there was the representation of a valperaso Jack ass, fixed up on the grind stone bench with the hen coop hung to him also abasket of onions and a keg of veno or water which caused quite an excitement and a good takeoff for the Chillians and unkele John Towle with his whip to drive him about and holering out to re[p]resent anative Comeing to market with his fowl, &—La, veno (wine) and onions (sawyo) it was quite amuseing for awhile, some likid the sport & others were alittle put out about it but no one knew who done it how ever it dose very well to help pass of the time and help drive off afellows lonesome thoughts while at sea in Lat 3,00, Lon, 104,53 . . .

Sunday Mar 24, 18,50, . . . at 1 (one) P M Mr Nye

thought he would try his Luck fishing so he went out the star-board stacle boom and prepared himself for action and watching his oportunity for the poor inocent Creatures [bonitos] to come up, it was but afew moments before several came along not thinking of any danger But Nye amed his dedly wepon at one of them mad up aterible face and spit on his hands and let go grains that was attached to along pole it hit the poor fish but trying to pull him abourd he broke the line and lost him polle and all the quarter was lowered and maned vessil hove too and went & found the pole but the graines and fish was gorn which got up quite a laugh, Lat, 00,2, North, Lon 109,29

A FEW LINES COMPOSED ON BOARD THE BARK CANTERO ON
HER WAY TO CALIFORNIA BY EVERET F CROCKER

The morning sun rose bright and clear
And merry winds did blow
And proudly we our cours did stear
On Board the Bark Cantero

With aching hearts (breasts) our homes we left
Where many a tear did flow
Of many a Joy our hearts bereft
To join the Cantero

That houre where from our infant years
To manhood we did grow
We,!!, shed the many a tear
On board the Cantero

Those fond fair ones whose image taught
Our youthful hearts to glow
By us shall never be forgot
On board the Cantro

For thee we cross the troubled seas
Where stormy winds do blow
Our hearts shall fondly turn to thee
On board the Cantero

For thee we cross earths senter line
And onward still we go
Golcondas golden strands to find
On board the Cantero

From thee our wives and children dear
That love that bids go
Shall oft awaken many a tear
On board the Cantero

But when we return from foreign climes
Our hearts shall doubly flow
To meet our friends we left behind
On board the Cantero

Then zephyr fill our spreading sailes
And free our sheets shall flow
And swift we'll, fly before the gale
On board the Cantero

Then far be very care and thought
The moments swift shall flow
To meet those friends we never forgot
On board the Cantero

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A FEW LINES WRITTEN ON A GRAVE STONE IN VALPARASO

Shipmates all my course is up
My body,s, moored at rest
My soul is where? aloft, of course,
Rejoicing with the blest
The Comodore brief warning gave
For me to anchor ship
My mooring,s hard, and fast are laid
Till signal made to trip

(The above drowned in the harbour of Valparaso
By the upsetting of aboat on board a british Man of war)

I thought of Thee, I thought of Thee
On ocean, many a weary knight
When heaved the long and sullen sea
With only waves and stars in sight
We stole along by isle of balm
We furl'd before the coming gale
We slept Amid the breathless calm
We, flew beneath the straining sailes
But thou wert lost for years to me
And day and night, I thought of thee

Monday March 25, 1850 fore part of the day calm P M,
alight breeze from the E S E and pleasant Cours W N
W, thermometer stands at 84, Lat 35,00 minutes Lon
110,35 several sick with a cold Sharon Cross, quite
slim took a lemetic and the, Dr, bled him which mad him
feel a little better, also Albert Gowen, quite sick with
acold I suppose it is caused by sleeping on deck as it is (its)

rather warm and the air smells bad between decks quite [a]
Number sleeps on deck . . .

Tuesday [April] 9, wind East and pleasant Lat 21,37
Lon 135,7 to day employed in taking a sketch of Valparaiso¹
as one or two has been trying it I thought I would try it, at
11, A M, quite an excitement on deck a whale was discovered
playing around the ship for some time the capt fired a ball
in to him, also several others fired at him he [would] dive
under the vessel several times and play about and then go
off a short distance and blow and then come back agains and
when he would rise they would fire at him at ½ past 12, he
went and left us, several was employed in making a carriage
for a big gun that our folks brought from prospect & at 4 p m,
the boys loaded it and fired it off for the first time and the
small gun was taken out and fired off and both cleaned and
painted, in the evening we spent one hour in dancing for
recreation passed off the evening quite pleasant . . .

Thursday 18, moderate wind from the S E, and pleasant,
Course, N,E, in Lat 36,48, Lon 138,14 at 2 p.m, a
meeting of to [the] co, Called for electing a new board of
directors, a vote of the, co, was taken to see if we should
have the election to day or wait until we arrive in port the
yeas & nays were taken thirty five to eighteen majority
seventeen for the election, proceeded to ballot Caleb C Wingate
John Bunker Robert B Smart chosen unanimously, John
M Lander had thirty eight votes Everett F Crocker thirty
five, at three meeting adjourned the old board of directors
resigned their office, Some little excitement got up in regard
to [t]he election they all could not agree altho it passed off
with out much trouble or opposition, though I think some is a
little disappointed, a few votes was thrown for the capt, and a few
for Samuel Lowder, ,

Saturday 20 the directors met and appointed C C Wingate
president Capt Saunders, trustee, Wm Towle, Secretary . . .

Sunday April 21, . . . yesterday at 4 p.m, Spoke the
Brig Franklin Adams of Searsport, Me bound to San Francisco,
left Valparaiso two days after us, after our capt
spoke her our boys fired a gun and gave three hearty cheers, . . .

¹—This sketch, in color, appears on the last page of the notebook.

[SAN FRANCISCO]

Monday, 29, this morning spoke the, Oregon abrig, from the, Sandwich Islands, formaly of New York bound in to the harbour, at 4, I went on deck and saw the entrance of the harbour, about 12, miles a head and the land on larboard side dis[tant] of about 5 miles it looked pleasant and the boys were anxiously looking at the promised land which we have long bin looking for at half past six, a pilot came along side and spoke us and our capt told him he would take him to pilot him in as we had got to pay half pilotage if he did not come aboard, he brought good news, and our folks were anxious to hear the report of the procedeings of California at 9, our boys loaded the cannons a[nd] fired three rounds and they picked up all the cards they could find and put in to the Cannon for wading, at 10, A M, droped anchor in the harbour of Sanfranciscoe, found a great many vissels in all kinds and of all nations, at, 12, I went ashore and saw several that I was acquainted with walked all over town found the place much larger than I expected to I went to the postoffice, but found nothing there, for me, at, 4 p m returned on board, we reckoned up our dis tance of sailing from Bangor find eighteen thousand four hundred and ninety miles I wrot to my friends at 6, I went on shore again with severa[1] others expected to return but boat did not come for us I vis[ited] some of the boys, went in several gambling shops saw agreat deal of mony also gold from the mines find lumber worth but avery little hardly pay for bringing fifty dollars per thousand brick thirty five dollars per thousand wages low, Joiners from eight to twelve dollars per day could not get from shore to the vessil short of three dollars lodging one dollar, one dollar ameal for vuictwals,, I paid fifty cents to lodge in a bunk with nothing but an(d) old matress and an old quilt, to throw over me,

April 30, came aboard this morning at 7, found Mr Brown on shore, from Bangor left March 9, arived yesterday in the steamer Gold Hunter from panamar at 4, p, m, he came aboard with us and took breakfast, brought several letters with him, for our folks closed several letters for my friends and put in to the office for the mail leaves the first of every month, our folks were looking aroud to see what it was to do, finding our building worth but a little, and vessil worth mear nothing our folks can hardly tell what to do some

wants to do one thing and some another to day is election day in the cety for city officers

Wednesday May, 1, 1850, California to day my health is rather poor, have rather abad cold and settled on my lungs stoped on board until 11, a, m went on shore, apart of our, co, went across the bay and got a beaf ox, som went on to asmall island and got some wood after cruicing a bout city for some time and seeing aspecmin fo [of] human nature, and the customs of most all nations and seeing the eliphant, as it is termed, Mr Marston and my self steped in to arefreshment shop and eat aquarter of custard pie apiece, and had to pay one dollar I did not grumble at it, although I thought it rather dear, pie, at 6 I returned on board with some old acquaintanes, from Bangor Hiram Fogg, Robert Carlisle William Libbey, Joseph Boynton, s[t]oped all knight with us took supper and breakfast with us, in the evening had afew dances on deck to pass away the time lively

Thursday 2, our folks called ameeting of the, co, and concluded to leave our barks, here and appointed Capt, Saunders agent to sell the barks and cargoe and pay him ten dollars per day, also Capt, S, should chose an assistant to help him, and have provisions and others materials sold for mony to enable us to go in to the mines, and the, co, should deso[l]ve in regard to Labour, at half past eleven, ajourned un til Friday, 3, at Seven A M, in the morning Mr Marston was quite sick he took a lemetic, at ten, he had a severe pain in his head, at noon he was a little easier, P M, the boys began to form, companies for going in to the mines fore five and six in a, co,

Friday 3, at 7, a, m, meeting of the, co, called to order the, Capt, reported that he had chosen Albert Eaten, to assist, him, price, 8, dollars per day, to day made sale, of provision to the amount of about three thousand dollars to divide to the co fifty dollars to each member, also provision to be devided among the each member, mineing uten-tials sold to the membes of the, co, at the invoice, price, pota-toes sold for, 30, cts per, pound

Saturday, May 4, 1850, San francescoe, at day light, 3, A M, afire broke out in the city and raged for several hours, sweeping about one hundred buildings, the best of them, owned by gamblers, At, 4, I went ashore and stoped until 7, at 9, a m a meeting of the co called to order, woted to desolve the

co, as far as Earnings is Conserved or babour, the tents were sold at auction, bid off by the co Sold the provision to Mr, Saywood, to day he took his brig along side and took in frate for the mines or Sacrameto, which is one hundred and fifty miles above here I had an offer to go to work on shore at my trad to comence monday next, at ten dollars per day, our boys picking up for the mines, to start the first of the week,

Sunday May 5, apart of our co went to meeting looked around to see the ruins of the fire quite a No, of buildings Comenced rebuilding yesterday and to day several to work on(e) burnt dstrict

Monday 6, I comenced work fore B F Pierce on ablock of brick stores on Montgomery St, at ten dollars per day Stopped on board the bark knights, and to[ok] our dinners on shore to, day the ship Charles Cooper from Bangor arived we beet her two days Several of them came on board to see us,

Tuesday, 7, to day business is lively around town build-ings going up rapidly and agreat many vessels comeing in to the harbour, there [are] mow from fore to five hundred ves-sels in the harbour

Wednes 8, our folks left for the Northern mines five joiners, that works in the city here Mr Lander and brother Mr Alden Marston and my self, Mr, C, Wingate Bunker, Wm, M, Towle and fisher stopes to put up the scow, &c,

Thursday 9, to work for Pierce, nothing of importance to day

Friday, 10 Saw several acquaintancees forom Bangor I find agreat many of the Main folks here many more than I expected to find

Saturday May 11, quite sick last knight with diarear, not able to work to day went on shore at ten, A, M, looked around for a lot to build ahous on, thinking it much cheaper than to pay fourteen dollars per week for board

Sunday 12, at 9, A M, went on shore tramped around town went out in to the country strawbrying found but a few returned at 12 p m, wrote two letters to send to my friends in Bangor by aman that was going home to Brunswick,

Monday, 13, Marston Aldin and mysilf hired a house to live in of Dr Jones fore eight months at twenty dollars per month and moved in

Tuesday 14, Aldin & my self finished moveing in to the

house, took alot of provisions from the bark, five with my self lives to gether Mr Lander & brother Marston Aldin and Myself, find it much cheaper than to bourd out

Wednesday, 15, went to work on a job on the burnt destrict

Thursday, 16, business quite lively to day we get along finely in our house like [it] well onely it is quite a walk from work

Friday 17 commenced work for fields on a wharf at ten dollars per day, to day Mr Wingate Bunker, & Towle, left for the mines in asailing vessil, the capt and Eaton and Fisher stoping at the bark, Aldin sick with the disintary

Saturday 18, Mr Aldin no better Wm, C, La[nder] sick, with the same, the rest of us most sick with a cold

Sunday May 19, Nothing of importance to day Stopped at home to day all day to take care of Aldin find he is no better but hope he will be in a few da[ys]

May 26, for the last week bin to work for Mr Gilbert at ten dollars per day a block of stores on long wharf at the foot of Sacramento, st, Mr Aldin, I think is a little better he sat up a part of the day, to day wee are very busi cooking and washing as we have bin very busi since we moved into this house we find our selves comfortably situated here a little out of town by our selves, we get our wood where we work as it is very high in market \$,30, dollars per cord water is a not very handy about one forth of amile off it is butiful spring water, allthough it will not last through the rainy season, business is rather lively about town,

June 2, I have bin to work for Gilbert on his building on the foot of Sacramento, st, Mr Aldin is no better, failing fast, Dr Smith attends on him, Mr, Lander, and, Marston, stoped with him for the last week Capt, Saunders received aletter from Sacremento from Wm M Towle Saying that the Cantero, folks had seperated and gon in to the mines, and C, D, Wingate was to work there for thirteen dollars per day Thomas Springer was expected to die he was very sick in the hospittle he had attempted to make way with him self once by drinking a bottle of brandy onc by drinking a bottle of pain killer once by jumping into the river I think he must have felt very bad indeed the steamer Oragon left here yesterday for Panamar, caried 2½ millions of dol-

lars quite a No, of passengers, for the states returning home some have got their pile, others have done nothing at all

June, 3., 1850, Mr, Silas. Aldan, Died in San Franciscoe with the dizentary, sick, sixteen, days, he was taken very good care of, by Mr, Lander, Mr, Marston and, myself, he had two physicians, Dr, Wilcocks and, Dr, Smith, but could do him no good, there was no help for him, he seemed to bear, with patience and expressed quite an anxiety to live and get well,

June 4, we buried him at 3., P,M, Capt, Saunders Mr, Fisher, Mr, Marston, and My self followed him to his grave he was a young man about twenty five years of age, he was a man of honor, and respected by his friends and all who knew him, I felt to mourn for his departure, as I had become very much attached to him and thought agreat deal of him, I was sory to loose one of our family after comeing so far from home, and leaveing his Mother at home, that no, doubt, [was] interested in his wellfare & prosperity in California and anxiously wating for his safe return he requested Mr, Lander to write to his mother if he did not live, also he gave some directions in regard to his things wished to have some of his best things Sent home to his mother, and seemed thankful to think he was with his friends

June, 16, Mr, Nye, one of our, Co, Came down from the mines, to return home in the steamer, Columbus, which is to leave the 18, he is out of health, and home sick says he does not like California, it is not what it has bin Cracked up to be, brings rather bad news from the rest of the Co, says several is sick, Mr Spiringer is dead, died at sacremento with the Consumption Richard P Wingate has retourned to the vessil sick, some of the co is doing well June 14, day before yesterday there was a great fire in town, distroyed five hundred buildings loss five Millions of dollars

June 16, Mr, Nye, one of our, co, Came and took tea and stoped all knight with us I wrote two letters and sent by him, to Bangor,

July 4th, 18.50,. San Franciscoe, my health is very good also the rest of our party not but alittle going on to day for selebrating the birth day of our independance several speaches was mad in the, square, at one, P,M, a liberty

pole was erected in the plaser, one hundred and twelve [feet] high, fifteen inches through at the but and five inches at the top, presented to the city of San Franciscoe, by the city of Oregon, and sent down by a steamboat

July 14, all well, this morning, Mr, Albert Eaton started for home to Bangor one of our, Co, bin stoping on board the bark Cantero cooking for the capt, at eight dollars per day and found his health was very poor, he was not able to work all the time, and concluded it woul[d] be better to go home, I sent a letter to my sister and Brother with ten dollars to my sister, that I earned the forth of July, rather than to play, . . .

August 15, Great riot at Sacremento between the squaters and sitizons, several killed and wounded the, Mayor, Sheriff and others also the leader of the squaters, Several companies were raised here in san Franciscoe and in other places, to help their sister city and put down the squaters, the com, from here was the, California,, Gards, and the inginer, Co, &c, but quite an excitement through the town, but the squater finely given up, and, the, Co,s, returned home,

Aug 23, the steamer California arived to day with her Collors flying at half mast bringing the news of the Death of President Taylor, [Aug.] 24, the city officers, met and made arrangements for, the funeral [Aug.] 29, the funeral obseques, the procession formed on broadway agreeable to the request of the committee, of arangements the cheaf marshall, then which there is no more arduous situation in a demonstration of this kind, deserves great credit for the perfection with which every arangement was conceived, and the fidelity with which they were caried out by the deputies. the Band which preceded the Masonic bodies, although small in numbers, discoursed most excellent musick, and peculiarly suited to the ocasion, The Grand Lodge, mad a respecable show, both in point of numbers, and the standing of those composing the body, but California Lodge No, one,, the pioneer, Lodge on the pacific Coast—was decidedly the most numerous of any devision in the procession, David Crocket Lodge followed, and then came the independent order of Oddfellows, who mustered in considerable No,s, but we were surprised to see so few, Sons of temperance, the California Garde did realy make a fine martial appearence.—their regeral uniform not being yet finished, they came out in their fatigue dress, ,

consisting [of] dark pants and sashes, blue woolen shirts, and a blue cloth military cap, the hears contained a coffin Covered with a black pall was drawn by four milk white horses tastefully comparisined in mourning, led by four grooms, appropriately dressed, on each side of the hears was the inscription, I have always done my duty, Next was St Francis hook and ladder, Co, No, 1, composed of some of our most respectable, welthy and influential citizens, Howard hook and ladder, Co, took the palm of all the fire department, Sansome hook and ladder Co, were out in good Numbers and afiner looking body of men Can not befound, the Mayor, and recorder came next preceding the bourd of aldermen and assistants and were followd by the city police one of the, no, bearing a large blue sattin Banner, sermounted by a guilt eagle, appropreatly shrouded, , on the Banner was the following inscription, in large gold letters, San Franciscoe police department organized Aug the 12, 18,49, the Banner was butifully executed and most tastefully hung with black Crape, the New York delegation turned out in large No,s the Celestials, or Chineas no-ed, one hundred, which made afine appearance a respectable delegation of British subjects on horse back, brought up the rear, altogether it was the largest and best organised demon stration, that has ever bin mad in California

Sep, 17, a fourth great Conflagration in San Franes a bout day light, the fire broke out on Jackson street takeing all before it, sweeping some two or three squares, mostly new and some splendid building many buildings were torn down and distroyed by the firemen in order to save the city loss of property, some three or four millions of dollars

(about the last of Sept, the news arived to san Fran of the admtnce of Cal,a, as a state which was cheering news to all, of Cal,a, and great excitement, firing guns display of colours, a great procession, &c, and son —

Cholera, made its appearance, it [in] California, about the 1, of Oct, 1850, many returned to the states on account, of it, agreat many died at San Franciscoe, Sacremento, and in the mines Mr Nelson & Mr Lemfist, died at Sacremento Members of the Bangor Tradeing and mineing Co, it caused quite an excitement and many were much, alarmed . . .

HERE I INSERT THE NAMES OF OUR COMPANY & PASENGERS

Capt	Joseph, Saunders	Bangor	Returned home, Dec./50
1 Mate	Everate F Crocker	Bucksport	
2 Mate	Benjamin Fisher	Bangor	
Crew,	Albert Eaton	Bangor	returned home, Aug./50
	Charles Carlton	Bangor	returned home, Dec./50
	Samuel Lowder	Bangor	returned home Sept./50
	James, Mcguire	Bangor	
	Edward, Mayo	Bangor	returned home, Aug./50
not a member	Theo, Thompson	Dixmont	returned home 1851

FOR DIRECTERS

president,	G W Towle	Presk, Isle,	
	Caleb C. Wingate	Sebec	
directors	John C. Norton	Corinth	returned home Dec, /50
	John Nelson	Sebec	Died, with Cholera, at sacrement, 1850
	Sylvanus B Marston	Bangor	Dead
Trasurer	John, M, Lander	Bangor	returned home 1851
Sect	Wm M Towle	Bangor	Dead
	Andrew, Mc, carslin	Bradley	
	Albion, Dole	Bangor	Died in the mines, 1851
	Alonzo Baker	Oldtown	
	Abram, Lamfist	Do - - -	Died at sacrement, with cholera, 1850
	John A Towle	Bangor	
	Peliah Colbirth	Oldtown	
	Herman S Farrington	Bangor	
	John, Towle	Bangor	
	Wm C Lander	Bangor	returned home 1851
	Thomas Springer	Oldtown	Died at Sacramento, with consumption, 18,50
	Eugene, Bradbury	Buxton	
	Ezchiel C Curier	Sebec	
	Charles D Pierce	Bangor	died May, 1851, in the mines
	Wm McLaughlan	Bangor	returned home Dec./50
	A N Gowen	Oldtown	
	Lorenzo Clark	Springfield	
	Benjamin, Dore	Bangor	
	Joel Richardson	Bangor	
	Charles D Wingate	Dover	
	Richard P Wingate	Sebec	
	Sharon Cross	Sebec	
	Geo S Stevens	Corinth	
	Henry Woodbry	Oldtown	
	Loring P Symmes	Newfield	died at sacremento, Mar, 18,51
	Betheuel P Shaw,	Bangor	Died in Cala, 18,50
	Fernando Stevens	Presk Isle	

Daniel Seward	Orono	
Calvin, Wilkins	Brownville	
John Bunker	Sebec	
Wm N Buffum	Orono	
Samuel J, M, Perkins	Bangor	
Silas Alden	Newbery Me,	Died, June 3, 18,50, in, San, Fr
Darius Nye	Milo	returned home Aug, 1850,
Robert B, Smart	Sebeck	
Alexander Bartine	Orono	
Stephen C Smith	St Albans	
Francis D Philbrook	Bangor	
Charles Staples	Milo	
Freeman Nye	Bangor	
Wm Towle	Presk Isle	
Dr, Wm, W, Esterbrook,	Oldtown	

PASSENGERS ON BOARD THE CANTERO FOR CALIFORNIA

John B Leathers	Pelmira	
Michel, Horan	Bangor	
George, Delaite	Sebec	
John Delaite	holton	
John W, Courier	Sebec	
Lawry Willet	Oldtown	
James H Emery	Orono	
Nath Farington	Orono	Returned home Mar, 18,51
Johnathan Pitcher	Bangor	
James, Murry	Frankfort	
Henry Wilder	Milo	
A K, Hartford	Prospect	
George R White	Dixmont	
Rhuben, Hilman	Dixmont	Died, in the mines, 18,51
Hiram Draper	Bangor	returned home, Sept,/50
Wm, C, Towle	Fryburg	
John, Roundy	Bangor	returned home, Dec,/50
Samuel Smith, Jr,	St, Albans	
Henry Johnson	Do --	
Wm Hall	Orono	
Theodore, Thompson, sailor,	Dixmont	
Wm H Howard	Bangor	
John Veazie	Bangor	
Charles A Cushman	Lea	
S D Brastoe	Brewer	
John H, Hunt	Bangor	
10 pasengers from valparaso	for 64 dollars	Each
1 Capt Doun of	New York	
Mr Lord of	Kenebank, Me	
2 frenchman from Chili		
one spaniard from Spain		
5 Chilians from Valparaso		

JOURNAL, FROM, CAL, TO OREGON
 SAN FRANCISCO CALIFORNIA SEP 19,TH 18,50

at 9, A M, I went on board the steam ship Sea, Gull, Master, Capt, Cressey, at 10, A M, ready to sail about one hundred and twenty on board, five Ladies, the Boat was a little unlucky in starting the officers found she did not mind her helm very well come to look found, the tiller was shipped rong when it was mid ships, the ruder was hard down ran into a schooner caried away her martingil, stoped about twinty minutes and started again all things put at rites went along finely passed through the golden gates, th[e] entrance of the Bay saw several vessils going in to the Bay met one man of war, enjoying our selves finely got about fifteen miles from the gates or entrance about half past 11, A M, saw a ship off our larbourd bow, or nearly ahead of us our pilot calcalated to keep to the right, there being a good breeze the ship was under full sail, we wer nearing fast the ship stood to the lef, our pilot saw he could not tack and pass to the left, so he ordered the wheel hard aport, and about twelve the ship came in contact with the boat, with stedensailles set we were all expecting to be cut down and sink every moment, to rise no more she struck about mid ship on the larbourd sid, stove in the top rail bull works and into the kitchen frightend the cooks most to Death, and a wonder it had not killed some of them broke the most of theire crockery, caried away the Main top gallant mast and runing riging &c, and so [on], done no damage to the hul and was able to riturn and repare the ladies ware frightened half out of there sences, and the men runing from place to place, all trying to find the safest place several jumped on Bourd the ship, her name was John Martenal, from New York, she was damaged considerable, the cut water jibboom frying jib, and jib, caried away with some riging at 2, P M, we got back to the wharf where we started from, a petission was got up on board the boat to cleer the pilot as ther was one on each I be gan to think that was slow geting along towards, Oregon, as soon as we came to the wharf preperationes were made for repareing, I went to work repareing,

Saturday, 20th, at 4 P M, ready to start again, some little fear was expressed among the pasengers of her not going

safe, the same pilot took us out, and was very attentive to his business, he missed the pilot boat and went to Humboldt with us sailed along the shore in sight of land, all the way,

[HUMBOLDT BAY]

[September] 24, arrived to Humboldt Bay it being quite foggy, Stood off until 11, A M, cleared away pleasant, and run into the bay the entrance is very narrow, and rather showl, breakers rolling up on both sides, none of the officers had never bin in before and this being the first steamer that ever entered the Bay after entering we turned to the left, Humboldt city, situated on the right, at the entrance, a small part of the Bay makeing down to the right in front of the town, we ran up six miles to the head of navigation stoped at Ureca, a small towon, it is avery pleasant pretty harbour, from $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to, two miles wide, we found two Brigs, loading with piles, for San Francescoe ten miles from Ureca, is Union town at the hed of the Bay, from Ureca to Union town the Bay expands to the wedth of eight miles, filled with islands of low land it admits nothing but boats and lighters, to run to union town, as the water is shole the capt and some of the passengers went to union town and stoped unt[il] the next evenig, after we came to anchor several with my self went on shore stoped until sunset friend Haskell and my self, took our rifles and rambled off into the woods about two miles, to see the country we found a track leadeing to the trinity mines distance about one hundred miles after tramping along through the thick woods breaks and bushes, with strect lookout for the Grizely, Bar, Kiota, and other game that show it self and viewing the large trees that and new kinds of lumber, we at last came to an opening asmall plane, where the Deer & elk come and feed, after looking around about one hour, seeing no game, we concluded to return to the boat again keeping a good look out, but we could see nothing to shoot, but a phesant, and a pigeon, however we were well paid for our tramp although we wre somewhat tired when we arived, to the Boat, the Indians were quite plenty, and go nearly necked, Several, were about on the shores seemed quite animated, and pleased, and earnestly looking at the Boat, something they had never before seen Several came on board, they received several presents and considerable, stuff to eat, bread meat &c, they were around quite thick with

thier Canoos, and some of them were quite busi carieng passengers to, and from the boat the settlers seemed very well contented, and all were in hopes to make a fortune there was about twenty houses and as many tents at Ureca, and several more to be put up wages ten and twelve, dollars per day, the soil was good timber in any quantity some of the largest trees I ever saw some ten feet, in diameter, and it is said that some are twenty and even thirty feet through.

Wednesday 25, I took a tramp up around the Bay, and along the shores, &c, at noon I returned to the Boat, I found the passengers were quite dissatisfied, with the Capt, his being away so long and detaining them so long, as they were anxious to get to Oregon, as some were on urgent business, in the evening the Capt returned telling a smooth story and so on, ,

[Thursday] 26, at 11, AM, ready to sail again pilots came on board those who came in with us, Mr Rion and some other that were passengers for that place, also a capt, of one of the vessels that lay at anchor as they were all anxious to learn the way as well as possible for it was a new place never discovered until last winter and the first vessels entered in March, , and the first buildings put up in April, that shows the enterprise of the American, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11, we weighed anchor and started when we arrived at the entrance it came up foggy, and we dropped anchor until it cleared off, she came very near running ashore,, went in less than two fathom of water which seemed to excite the feelings of many but she soon came into deep water again,, where we lay at anchor until three, P M., fog cleared off, and we started again, the pilots took a small sail boat with them, after getting fairly out they took a glass of champagne, with the Capt, jumped into the boat, gave the cheers, bid good by, and put back passed along with a fair wind.

Friday 27, fair wind and pleasant at three P M off [f] Cape Blancoe, several rocks seen off the Cape, ten miles from land, the passengers were amusing themselves playing cards and gambling which was practised, all the voyage, by several some two or three were quite sick with dysentery, one of the stewards, was quite sick, by being badly scald[ed], by the splashing of water from the pots on the stove, caused by the rocking and pitching of the boat when we first came out

Sat, 28, pleasant and fair wind, 5 P M, off Cape lookout distance 4 miles, stood off through the night,

Sundy 29, pleasant, 8, A M, in sight of the entrance of Columbia river, two ships coming out, 9, A m, pilot boat fired agun $\frac{1}{2}$ 9, pilot came on board, 11, entered the river $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12, arived at Astoria 1, p m, several, of us went on shore took diner at Mr Vandusens this is a small town,, of new buildings, Called Fort George one Com, of Artillery,, they were building Barax, &c, while promanading, the shore, I saw quite a No, of flat head Indians the first I ever saw, at 3, p m I returned to the Boat, a[t] 4 p m, ready and started for Portland, with pilot on board and all ready it was quite pleasant, sailing up the river, until dark, as it was rather dark through the knight though I stayed on deck until quite late as it was calm and still nothing to be seen or hearn from the shores, except the light of the fires and the hooting of the Indians as we were glideing along through the smothe water, at 12, midnight I retired, for a short time at day light the 30th, we stoped at St helena, about one hundred miles up the river, left a few pasengers, and frate, at, 9, A m came to the Willamette river,

[PORTLAND]

at, 11, a m, we arived at Portland, 12, miles from the Columbia river one hundred and therty miles from the Pacific, while runing up the river, we could see several high mountains, the tops well covered with snow, the first Mount Hellen, the 2,d, Mount Hood the therd Mount Jeffrson,. whin we arived at Portland the shores were covered with people several guns were fired to salute us, and one from the Bark Gold Hunter, of and from Bangor, after (after) we droped anchor, I soon step ashore, and promanadded the streets I saw several old acquaintances, three from Bangor Capt Jackson Capt, John Harlow, and Mr Kamp business was quite good, building fast, and avery pleasant place to build atown, the town was seroundid with woods of a heavy growth of what is called Oregon pine but resembles the hemlock of (of) Maine, the streets were not made and no improvements going on, by the cituzins excep individually, there was one quite prety church building several stores shop[s] dwelling houses, &c, wages from eight to ten dollars per day for Mechanics, fore and five for common labourers, bourding twelve dollars per week or one dollar a meal, six miles, above portland is Milliwakie, twelve miles to Oregon city, Milliwakie head of naviga-

tion Portland will probaly be the leading town on the river, it being the best plect for atown, and large vessels not able to run any farther We found several vessels at Portland loading with lumber for California, I stoped all knight, and the next morning Nov 1, left for Fort Vancouver on the Columbia river six miles from the mouth of the Willamette, eighteen miles by water or ten by land, four with my self, H, Field, J, Haskel, D, W, Thompson, and my self took a small boat, and started for vancouver, paid three fellows, twenty two dollars, for our passage, and we rowed apart of the way our selves,

[FORT VANCOUVER]

arived at vancouver at 2, p, m, this is aplace settled by the Hudson Bay Co, they built afort, and several large buildings to guarde them selves from the Indians, they have caried on an extensive business trade in furs with the Indians for several, years, there is quite a settlement of Indians and con-ackees and half Breeds,, this tribe of Indians is called, Chcnooks, Vancouver is pleasantly situated on A, plane about four miles long, on the bank, of the Columbia, river, about one hundred and twenty five miles, from the mouth of the river, for two miles down the river, it is quite pleasant, the land is low and full of ponds, and aplenty of game, such as ducks and brants, wild gees Swans &c, the Indians spend the most of their time shooting fowl, and bring to the Barox, to, sell, [for] which they get considerable chenge

Oct, 3, commenced work for Government, at eight dollars per day, and one and ahalf rations furnished the Brig Gen, Paterson, arived to day with eighteen Carpenter, twenty two in all with our, crew,

Oct, 4 all hand Comenced work, first put up a Shop to work in, and to sleep in the uper part all, hands slept in tents, the first week there being no quarters ready for us, Officer and soldiers all quarterd in tents until we could prepare buildings for them, the quarters were comenced, by the soldiers, of logs,

Oct, 15, the rainy season Comenced,, and rained for several, days, put up a cook house, for our crew, finding it uncomfortable cooking out in the rain. haveing no lumber to finish the building, we fixed them up temporaly so, the Officers, could live in the winter, and about the middle, Nov, they moved

in, our next work was to finish the Col,s, house in,side, it being quite a job, it being a log house,

Jan, 1, it being one half done, the Officers gave a New years Ball, next the guard house, and, Capt, Ingals house,

[At this place in his Diary, the author has introduced a vocabulary of English and Chinook which he had apparently copied from some unknown source. It is largely phonetic in character, and herein has been omitted.]

NAMES OF CARPENTERS CAME FROM CALIFORNIA TO OREGON,
TO FORT VANCOUVER, TO WORK FOR GOVERNMENT
OCT 4TH, 1850,

John Kelly	R, I,	Wm, B, Kelly	Penn
Cal, L, Tripp	R, I,	George, A, Lamb	Missouri
Thomas T, Hooper	Mass	John, O, Lufkin	Me
Rodney M, Lucas	Mass	Hiram, Field	Me,
Nathaniel T Cutler	Mass	Jacob, Haskell	Me,
John, J, Simmonds	Do,	D, W, Thompson	Me
Joshua, Pray	Do,	Benjamin, Dore	Me,
Wm, Babcock	Do,	, Dickinson	Penn,
Orlando, Everett	New, H	Wm, Garvin	Floriday
Benjamin, Waterman	Mass	Henry Spon,	N, Y
Fredreck P, Burch	Conn	Henry Sturtivant	N, H

Vancouver,, Oct 28th, 1850, finding business dull, no amusements and nothing to take up our attention,,, in order to pass the long evenings agreeably, we formed a debating Clubb Called it the Macanics Liceum, to meet and discuss some question twice a week every Tuesday and Friday evenings,, which caused some little excitement and interist, and surve to help pass away our long evenings pleasantly, Mr, John Kelly, was chosen President, Simmonds, Vice President, Lucas, Sec, for one month, finding it some little advantage, to us, we chose new set of Officers, for another month, Mr Lucas President Myself, vice President, Cutler Sec, discussions, began to grow quite interesting and many questions were discust with much anamation, and simpathitic feeling at the end of the month and other set officers chosen, Benjamin Dore President, Cal, Tripp vice president, Gorege A, Lambe, Sec, our liceum, was kept up, with good speretes, and with much interest, all, were interested and proved a benifit to us all, although in the woods, at the end of the month another set of officers chosen, Cal, Tripp, President,, T, T, Hooper vice President J W, Haskell, Sec,

Dec, 5 1850, Vancouver, Oregon, A Soldiers Ball this

evening, Clear, and cold through the day, I was employed a part of the day preparing the house for a Ball which was to be given in the evening some six or eight of our, Co, attendid,, after supper being surved with the mess one hour or two we spent in overhalling, our Clothing, and preparing, to realise what we had bin antisipateing, a good dance, in the far and lonely west,, at the hour of half past seven, some six with my silf, left, for the hall, on entering I found, some twenty five men, som soldiers, , , and some sitizens, mechanics &c, but seven, females, soldiers wives, five, but two young Ladies, there being but few of the females in the Country, for music, three of the Military Band, dancing through the evening mostly Cotillons Supper at twelve, which was served in very good shape, , roast Beef, two roast Swans, caught by the indians, cakes nuts wine &c, after supper one Lady left, at ten, two left at one, oclock one left, leaveing but three, at two another left (at) at half past two broke up, leave in but two Ladies in the hall, Misses, Melleck, stoped at three all hand returned home,

Dec, to work on officers quarters, at the Columbia Barox,, quite cool, and stormy,

Jan, more pleasant, apart of the crew comenced work on the Quartermasters house, some of the men discharged,

Feb, very pleasant month but avery little rain through the month, and very warm, apart of the crew left for the mines, on the Calamath river, quite an excitement, about the mines, a great meny going from diferent parts of the country,,

March, comences very pleasant, getting the Goverment work about done,, Mar, 5th, the Capts house nearly finished, and the Mechanics gave a Ball, in the new house, Mar, 5,

MANAGERS

Frederick P Burch, of, Conn,	J, W, Haskell, of Maine
Rodney M, Lucas, of Mass,	Benjamin Dore, Do

the Ladies were rather scarce, there being but afew famalies in the neighbourhood,, onely seven attended, however it passed off very pleasantly severale of the officers came in and danced with us Capt, Ingalls, Adj, Palmer, and others

Vancouver Mar 15,/51, finished up work for Goverment,

to day,, Comenced Oct, 2,/50,, from Oct, 2 to Mar, 15,, 155 days

whole amount,		\$,12,40,
pad for hospittle fees,		10
	leaves	<hr/> \$,1,2,30
Mar 19,/50, received		2,30
	leaves	<hr/> \$,1000
Mar 20, by order on Hudson Bay Co,		1000
		<hr/> 0000

March 17, walked to Portland, found business quite dull,, but little doing there, agreat many left for the mines, money scarce,, I stoped with friend Hall, . . 18, returned to Vancouver by water in a fery Boat,

20, settled with Quartermaster, showery to day

21, rainy to day,,

23, moved from Vancouver to Portland, , Comenced bourding with Bakers

31, Comenced bourding with, Capt, O, S, Hall at the warren house,

Apr, 2, to 5 worked for Robert hall

Apr 7 Commenced work on the Steamer Willamette, at six dollars per day and bourded worked two weeks quite eno[ugh], quit work, dissatisfied

Apr 23/51, left Portland with Friend Haskell to take a cruce, into the valley and see the Country Wednesday 23, started at 10, A, M, Crossed the river, and proceded along the river to Milwaukie, and took diner thence we proceded to Oregon City and stoped all knight found the roads rather wet, and very bad the most of the way quite showery in the ,p,m, saw but a very little good land to day, one very good farm, about 2 mites [miles] before we arived to Oregon city arived at the city at ½ past 4, p m, visited the falls, mills &c, business of the city princpally on one street, there being a high bluff of rock, in the rear of the first street, extending along the (the) city, within two or three hundred yards of the river business very dull, but little doing; stoped all knight at the Main street house, kept by Mr Mass, very good house

Thursday 24, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7, started for the planes, first two miles very rough, climeing up the mountains, but a few good clames, for several miles proced along about 25 miles to day at 10, A.M, Crossed the Mokeley river, roads rather poor, at 2 p.m, crossed the Puddin river, stoped at knight at Mr Cooleys on French prairy, a farmer from Missisouri, bin there some 5 or 6 years, I find the farmers well contented, live very easy work but a small part of the time and all getting rich,

Friday pleasant, to day, at 7, A.m, started on our journey, passed several good farms, crossed the French prairy, abutiful track of land, bin settled some 20, or 30, years by the french and half Breeds servants of the Hudson Bay Co, at 4, p.m, arived at Salem, stoped at Mr, Forces, I felt very lame and tired by not being used to traveling, saw the place where Mr. Kendall, was Hung Apr 18th, 18,51, for murder

Saturday 26, pleasant stoped at Salem until noon we took each of us a horse, and rode about the planes until noon, this is the most pleasant and delightful Country I ever saw alevel plane for 20 miles the clames all takeken, or nearly all, the people happy and contented, and very healthy, this place is intendid to be the Capital of the teritory Several stores shops, mills &c, avery entiresing town, at noon started for Portland, returned to the fery about 6, miles, could not get across the river, therefore was oblige to go back two miles to stop we stoped at Mr, Hords

Sunday 27, fine and pleasant, about 8, in the morning we started on our journey came along down a bout eight miles and Crossed the ferry at Betheneys at noon, there we took some refreshments and procedid on our cours, the roads rather bad and takeing rong directions, we did not come out [where] we expected we intendid to come out at Lafayette, but in crossing yam hill stream we took the rong trail which led over the hills and came out to the first house about two miles from Lafayette we had some little difficulty in finding the house it being quite late in the evening and we were both tired and hungry and glad to seek shelter but we soon satisfied our hungry sowles and retired to Bed, and in a few mome-ments [were] enjoying the sweet blessings of slumbers, in the morning I discoverd the mans wife was an Indian women his

name is Hubbord, lived in the Country eighteen years he had one little girl, about twelve years old a smart active little girl

Monday 28, at 7 left Mr, Hubbords for Lafayette arrived there at 8, stopped until, 10 this is [a] pleasantly situated place some five or six stores two or three taverns quite a No, of dwelling &c, from Lafayette we came to Whapatus lake this is an Indian reserve for a small tribe of Indians from there we came down and crossed the Chehalat mountains arrived on the top at sunset we had then about five miles to go all woods got through and found Mr Lewisses about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8, with but little difficulty, and stopped all night,

Monday 29, started quite early in the morning, found but little good land, coming in to day arrived at Portland at 4,p.m, the roads very bad it being the last part of the rainy season, on the whole I like the Country much better than I ever anticipated, the farmers live easy and independent the land rich, and brings forth several crops of grain with but one sowing, Cost nothing to raise pork, but very little to raise stock & horses as there is a plenty of grass the year round many of the plains are from one to thirty miles long, and from one to ten wide nothing seems more pleasant at this time of year when nature's garden (in) [is] in bloom, the grass about ankle deep and intermixed with flowers, of every color

1851, May 4, A destructive fire in San Francisco burned up the most of the city several lives lost

May 10, received a letter from Marston at San Francisco, giving me an account of the great Conflagration also advising me to return to San Francisco twenty squares & more than two hundred acres of land burned over of the most business part of the city damage twenty millions, of dollars,

LINES WRITTEN ON THE DEATH OF MR E, J, JACOBS WHO
DIED ON BOARD THE BARK BELGRADE BOUND
TO CALIFORNIA

Beneath the ocean wave he lies
Far Far from his own native shore
And from that secret depth will rise
To see this native home no more

Though far from those he loved most dear
He sickened, suffered, dropped and died
To watch his couch kind friends were near,
And every art to save him tried

And when he yielded up his breath
And sank into his peaceful sleep
They wrapped him in his Shroud of death
And gently launched him in the deep

To rest within his lonely bed
Till heaven's last trumpet shall awake
And call from earth and sea the dead
Their resurrection flight to take

But not without a hymn and prayer
They laid him in his watery grave
Those burial notes they raised with care
To him who took back what he gave

And when the opening waves received
And hid him from their gazing view
With weeping hearts and eyes they grieved
To part with one they loved so true

Let not your tears in sorrow flow
For him who thus was called away
He has but quit a world of woe,
To live in realms of endless day

The gold he sought and failed to gain
Could not have purchased certain bliss
But he will now that wealth obtain
Whose promised joys he can not miss

The time approaches and soon will come
When from all earthly troubles freed
You may rejoin him in that home
Where death can make no bosom bleed

From that deep ocean where he lies
Unconscious of his place of rest,
Recalled to life he will arise
And soar to mansions of the blessed

Let this sweet hope dry up each tear
And turn your thoughts to that bright shore
Where friends who are divided here
Will meet again to part no more

May, Saturday 24,/51 at 7, A,M, left Portland for California on board the Steamer Willamett, which runs from Portland to Astoria, a beautiful Boat, a pleasant day and a good No. of passengers, at 1/2, past 9, stopped at Fort Vancouver, took in the mail, and then proceeded on, at 12, arrived at St. Helens, for the Mail, got aground, and lay until 4, p.m, then went on down to the Clatsop, took in several Cords of wood, and then started again for Astoria, at 8, I, returned not feeling very well, thinking I would find myself in the morning at Astoria, but at 12, in the night, the Boat ran on shore, owing to a difficulty in the tiller ropes she ran on to a large log, and was not able to get off, we were then within 25, miles of Astoria, all hands turned in and let her lay until morning, ,

Sunday 25, pleasant all hands anxious to know the position of the boat found we could not get off without taking out one wheel, , so several with my self, took hold and took apart of the wheel out, and when the tide raised, backed her out,

Monday morning, went on down to Astoria Mail steamer from Panama, arrived in fifteen, minutes after the Willamette, as soon as we came to anchor, I took hold and helped put the wheel, together again at half past seven, p.m, went on board the steamer Columbia, took forward cabin passage, paid sixty dollars, for the passage to San Francisco, ,

Tuesday 27, at eight A,M, left Astoria and started out crossed the Bar, at nine after we got out found head wind, but pleasant, at ten passed the pilot boat left the pilot, and the time passed along pleasant

Wednesday 28, pleasant wind from the south and strong, several sea sick kept in sight of land all the way enjoyed our selves very well, to day

[CALIFORNIA AGAIN]

SONG OF GREETING TO CALIFORNIA

Within thy Golden gate fare land,
 A simple Child of song I stand,
 Trembling to know if I here can find,
 Bosoms as warm, as I left behind,
 I've, romed ore, the wide world, far, far, away
 And in many a clime have I wabled my lay,
 Where, ere, I have bin, or where ere, I may bee,
 Sweet land of my birth I've, a welcome for thee,

Welcome, for thee,

Hark! tis an echo! welcome to thee,
 List o my soule! tis a welcome for thee,

Golden star of our flag, the brightest the best,
 May thy light never fade land of the west,
 May thy hills and thy valleys thire treasure unfold,
 And thy Streams never seas to flow rivers of gold,
 I've, onely my song and my love to bestow,
 but deep from a warm beating heart, will they flow,
 I ask but a smile and glad will I bee,
 If my harp and my song are but welcome to thee,

Welcome to thee,

Hark! tis an echo! Welcome to thee,
 List o my soule! tis a wellcome to thee

Thursday 29, pleasant and a fare wind all well to day, nothing of importance occoured, to day at ten P,M, arived in San Franciscoe fired several guns when we arived Boatman soon on board to take passangers ashore but none to go this evening

Friday 30, pleasant, went on shore quite early, the town had undergone so much of a chenge I hardly knew it found the town mostly built up again business lively and agreat many mechanics here, hearing of the fire they flocked in from all quarters, found Friend Marston in Happy Valley, went in with him to ranch with several others of my acquaintances

June 4, Schooner Mathew Vassar arived from Oregon, loaded with potatoes butter, Egges, cider &c, which I owned ashare, in, expecting it would sell well, but found the Market, full and does not sell very well,

June 10th,/51 quite an excitement in town aman caught stealing asafe with money on long wharf, caught tried by the people condemd, & hand [hanged] by the cistzens at 2 Oclock

in the morning and hung until six in the morning, the city seems to be filled up with rascals & rogues stealing robing &c,

July 11, quite an excitement to day the noted raskal and notoreous James Stuart hung to day at half past two, P,M, by the vigilance Committee, also several other victims taken be [by] Comittee, several sidny convicts sent home &c,

July 14,/51, left San Franciscoe at $\frac{1}{2}$ past one on the sloop Chelsy Smith, for Nap City Called at Benetia at 5 oclock, passed Vallejo, at 6, anchored at, the mouth of Napa Creek, stoped all knight,

15, Becket C, Burck Curtis and my self took a boat and rowed up the Creek to Napa, arived at one P M, Comenced bourding at the American house, kept by Chapman,

16, Comenced work for Becket, on Brick Machines, at eight dollars per day Napa City is pleasantly situated at the head of naveagation on Napa Creek in Napa Valley & County of Napa about two hundred inhabitance Mostly Americans, quite a No, of spanish Ranches in the valley, and abutiful agri-cultureal Country, alarge No of Indians in this valley, Called the digers, most of them live on spanish Ranches,

Aug 10, attendid a methodist Camp meeting about ten miles up the valley a large No of people assembled, and quite a large No of Ladies,

Aug 29, rode in the stage to Sonoma about 12 miles from Napa, this place is pleasantly situated in sonoma valley, this place was built before the Mexican war by the spanish the building are dobies covered with tiles, saw Gen Velajos Residence, &c, &c about 90, of the Oregon Rifle rigement uncle sams soldiers were stationed at sonoma saw quite a no that I was acquainted with, stoped all knight at the stage tavern kept by an Irishman

Aug 30, returnd to Napa, fnished Becket's Brick Machines and built him a house

Sept 13 fnished work and returnd to (to) San Franciscoe by the way of Vallajo, and Benetia, rode in the stage to Benetia stoped at wallajo, the Capital of California situated about six miles from Benetia, some state buildings aregoing up business quite lively, business at Benetia quite good saw several acquaintances. took tea with Burck with

Burch and Lucas, at eight in the evening the steamer senator arrived from Sacramento at Benetia I stepped a(nd) board and come down to sand Franciscocoe, arrived at half past ten, P,M, there was about five hundred on the Boat, as there is a large travel to sacramento took up my residence in happy valley again ranch out, with five other Main Boys, Marston two Faringtones Doe and Thompson, and my self

A TRIPP TO THE MINES

San Franciscocoe, Oct, 7, 1851,

Oct 7, Tuesday, at, 4, p,m, took the steamer New World,, for Sacramento in Co, with ,S,B, Marston, at, 7, arrived at Benetia stoped about fifteen minets, and then procedid on our journey, it was a butiful moon light knight, and we had apleasent tripp to Sacrement arrived at 2. Oclock, went on shore, and stoped at the Bellaunion,

Wednesday 8, we arose quite early this mornig and took awalk through the town, saw Several acquaintances, &c, this place is situated on the Sacramento river, about one hundred and fifty miles from San Franciscocoe it is rather apleasant town and the country very level about, nothing of interest ocured, worthy of note, Stoped all knight at the United States Hotel

Thursday 9, at, 7,, a,m, took the Stage for Jackson, distance Sixty miles passed Suters Fort about three miles from town, passed through Several mineing destricts, dry town Sutters rancherea, and arrived at Jackson at 5, p,m, fare in the stage ten dollars, Stoped at the western Exchenge, , this is avery good mineing destrict, agreat many miners impoyed in throwing up dirt to wash when it raines as there is no water at presant,, there is quite a no, of stores in this town also several eating and drinking shops, the buildings mostly covered with cloth, , which does very well in this country, the weather is very warm, the knights are very pleasant, and no dew, many people lay on the ground with perfect Safety,

Friday Oct, 10th, 1851 this morning arose quite early after getting some breakfast, we took a promanade to the new discovered mines, about one mile distant, found quite a no, of men to work on the hill sinking holes, but one had found the Ore,, at, 2, p m, we started for Mecalumne hill at 4, cross

the mecalumne river, at 5, arived at the town, stoped at M, Bealses,. this is quite atown several thousand people in and about this town some very good buildings put up mostly for gambling and drinking this evening a man was shot and instantly killed, by a woman, both natives of Calafornia, I saw him in a few moments after he died

Saturday 11, this morning we started off to find Friend Carvil, after traveling about three miles down over the steep hills and pecepices, we arived to the place called sandy bar, on the Mecalumne river from he[re] we proceded up the rivier about one mile came to Spanish bar there we found Carvil & Jordan hulling dirt and washing, in a long tom the dirt pays four to five cts per pan the Ore fine and butiful they were in a Co, of five, and hire six men to help, them, at four dollars per day, they make from 10,\$, to one ounce, per day, we stoped until after dinner then walked to rich Gulch about four or five miles, and returned at knight and stope until next morning, saw nothing to induce me to stop in the mines at presant,

Sunday Oct, 12,/51, this morning went to mecalumne hill again, arived at 12,, this seems to be a holly day with the people auctions gambling drinking, sporting &c, and the miners senter, in from all around at one oclock Constable donho took a man for quarelling. he would not go qute as fast as he wanted him to so knocked him down and shot him, it created quite an excite ment among the miners, arope was prepared to heng the murderer, but the mob was prevailed on to have him tried bifore a jure of twelve miners, they gave him a fare trial, at a late hour the Jurie, retred, could not gree, and did not bring in a verdict, as the man was not dead he lived until the next knight.

Monday 13, this morning, we took the stage for Stockton, left at 7, Oclock first ten miles very rough and hily, and very dusty the last part of the road quit good the country level and pleasant, with the exceptions of dust arived at Stockton at five oclock, fare twelve dollars, stoped about fifteen minuts, took a passage on the steamer Sophie, for San Franciscoe, arived the 14 at 7 A,M,

Nov 7th, 1851, Comemenced raining to day and rained quite hard through the day & knight

Nov, 2, Nelson & Alfred Evans, arrived in the panamar to day,

Sunday Dec, 21, began to rain to day and continues for eight or ten days the most of the time, raises the water in the mines some what, to encourage the miners water enough to last but a few day business in town rather dull but little doing on account of the rainy season to work my self, for Mr John Merrill putting an addition to a cottage house making alterations building greenhouses &c

Jan 19th, 1852, begins with pleasant weather and business more lively still to work for Mr Merrill,

HOME

When in Some distant land we roam
And left to sweet repose alone,
What is it fills the wandering mind,
With glowind thoughts so pure and kind
Tis home, sweet, home,

Twas there our youthful days were spent,
Twas there a mothers aid was lent;
Therse knowledge we began to learn,
And when away our thoughts will turn,
To home, Sweet, home,

Twas there our childhood sports we had,
Ther a mothers love on us was shed.
There true light we first began to see;
Then what spot on earth most dear can be,
Than home, sweet home,

THE VOYAGE OF PEDRO DE UNAMUNO TO CALIFORNIA IN 1587

INTRODUCTION

Miguel Lopez de Legazpi arrived in the Philippines in April 1565, and on June 1 despatched his largest ship to New Spain under the command of Salcedo. On board, besides the chief pilot Esteban Rodriguez and another, Rodrigo de Espinosa, was Father Andres Urdaneta, who had accompanied the expedition at the express request of the king.

Urdaneta had ideas about the proper route to the Philippines, which he had expressed in a Memorial of 1560, and it seems he also had ideas about the proper return route, which he carried out on this voyage. The log book, or rather a copy of it, is still extant, and in a general way the route followed was northeast till the northwest winds were encountered near the California coast, and then southeast, parallel to the coast, to Acapulco. The ship reached latitude 41° , where the pilots variously estimated the distance from the coast to be either 118 or 222 leagues. On September 18, they sighted land in $33\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ —an island, apparently, on the starboard side—but soon lost sight of it on account of the mist, and did not sight land again till in about 27° . For a long time afterward, this was the route for the return voyage, although vessels very rarely sighted land before reaching the Island of Cedros, or Cerros, as it is sometimes called, in about 28° . Unmistakable signs of land were usually found two or three hundred miles off the coast, and vessels then turned southeast.

The Philippines were dependent on Mexico for soldiers and munitions of war, and to fill this need ships at once began to go out to the Islands and return. So great was the abundance and relative cheapness of Chinese silk and porcelain, in the Islands, that a trade in these articles arose with New Spain, and by 1585 had already reached large proportions. On March 30, 1585, the Santa Ana sailed from Acapulco with 72 passengers, besides soldiers, and with 417,658 pesos registered, and perhaps a half million more unregistered, all for porcelain and silk, according to the viceroy, Villamanrique, in his letter of May 10 to the king.

On July 24, 1584, Francisco Gali, or Galli as he is sometimes and probably correctly called in letters of the period, sailed from Macao, and arrived at Acapulco on December 17. He had left the Islands at the end of July, 1583, and sailed to Macao, where he wintered and took out a new register from Roman, the king's factor in Manila, who had gone to Macao to embargo Gali's ship by order of the governor of the Islands. It seems that Gali had, or was supposed to have had, some intention of proceeding to Peru, from Macao. He had one Alonso Gomez with him as pilot, and a few Portuguese passengers and some prisoners.

By the second despatch ship, which left Vera Cruz about February 1, the archbishop Pedro Moya de Contreras, who was also the viceroy, sent a letter dated January 22, 1585, in which he writes of the arrival at Acapulco, in December, of Gali's ship, the *San Juan*, and of the *San Martin*, which had left Manila on July 14, 1584, and proposes a voyage of reconnaissance of the northwest American coast. He was worried because the *Santa Maria de Jesus*, which had left Manila with the *San Martin*, had not arrived, and thought it would be a good idea to get knowledge of the possible ports on the coast in which a vessel coming from Manila could take refuge in case of need; and he also thought that in colonizing New Mexico, which according to Antonio de Espejo was near the coast, a port on the coast would be useful. He states that some say that the coast runs to join the mainland of China, while others say that it ends at the Strait of Anian, which disembogues near Ireland. He adds that he has ordered two frigates built, in which to make this reconnaissance, that he has a good pilot and cosmographer available to command them, and that with a few soldiers and supplies for six or eight months the cost would not exceed eight or ten thousand pesos.

It seems that his plan at this time was to send two small vessels on this voyage up the coast, but a few days after the date of the letter, Gali went up to Mexico from Acapulco, and the archbishop consulted with him about the matter. In a second letter to the king, under date of May 8, 1585, the archbishop says that he is sending a brief account by Alonso Gomez, who was Gali's pilot and who had been in China. I suspect this account by Gomez is the one which Linschoten published, in 1596, of Gali's voyage of 1584. Gali convinced the archbishop that the best way was to reconnoiter down the coast on a

return voyage from the Islands, and incidentally to take a look at the Lequios Islands and others near by, and Japan.

Gali was therefore furnished with the San Juan, Gomez as pilot, and ten thousand pesos, as well as a set of instructions which I have not been able to find. From later correspondence of De Vera, governor of the Islands, and of Villamanrique, the archbishop's successor as viceroy, it is evident that when he arrived at the Islands he was to fit out the San Juan for the return voyage, or in case she was unfit on account of her age, he was to buy and fit out another vessel with the money furnished to him. He was ordered not to go to Macao under any circumstances, but to return directly, look for the Islands of Lequios, Armenio, Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata, and after getting to as high a latitude as possible, seek the coast and run south along it, making a thorough reconnaissance.

As the Santa Maria de Jesus had finally reached Acapulco, on February 29, with only a foremast left and only nine or ten sailors, the captain, pilot and sixty-five sailors and passengers having died on the voyage, the San Juan was soon made ready, and she sailed with the San Martin on March 25.

The governor of the Islands, Santiago de Vera, writing the viceroy, on June 20, 1585, advises of the receipt of the instructions and states that he will comply, although the San Juan is old and not in good condition. He adds that he will see what the carpenters can do, and will in any case look for another vessel. From this it is probable that the San Juan had arrived, although possibly it had not, as the letter might have arrived on the other ship, the San Martin.

In a letter of June 26, 1587, the governor writes to the viceroy that he had written to him that Gali had died and Pedro de Unamuno had taken command in accordance with the viceroy's instructions; but I have not been able to find the letter to which he refers. Unamuno, with two ships, left Manila sometime early in the summer of 1586, and in spite of his very positive instructions did go to Macao, where the ships were seized by the commandant. It appears that some of those on board gave information that they had come contrary to their instructions; but it is also likely that the Portuguese officials had some other motive.

In spite of the fact that Portugal was now subject to Philip II and that the officials at Macao had sworn fealty to him

several years before, there was much rivalry and much bad feeling between the Portuguese and Spaniards in the far east, which extended even to the religious orders. The Portuguese claimed that Unamuno had with him an Englishman and a Frenchman, great mariners, and was likely to turn corsair; but most likely the question of trade was somehow at the bottom of the trouble.

One Geronimo Pereyra appeared as the new commandant while the suit was going on, took it away from the oydor, who he said was prejudiced, and appointed new judges. They quickly absolved Unamuno, who claimed that he had been driven in to Macao by bad weather and lack of supplies. When it was found that the vessels would be ready to sail on May 10, Pereyra sent a letter to that effect to the governor at Manila, who promptly replied by sending one Juan de Argumedo with orders to Pereyra to turn the vessels over to him. Pereyra had to comply, and forthwith, according to him, Argumedo went to one of the other islands near Macao and took on a cargo of goods for account of the governor and the audiencia, as was shown by the papers which he sent.

Left without a ship, Unamuno was forced to buy a small one, very likely with money provided by a merchant or possibly by Fray Martin Ignacio de Loyola, who was anxious to get away from anything Portuguese. With the father and two Portuguese Franciscans as passengers, Gomez as pilot, and a few sailors and Luzon Indians, Unamuno sailed from Macao on July 12, 1587, and after a voyage of about the usual length of time reached Acapulco on November 22.

On arrival, he reported to the viceroy and sent an account of the voyage written jointly by himself and Gomez, the pilot, and another account—the one translated in this number—written by himself. Father Martin, two days after arrival, addressed to the viceroy a letter of great interest although it does not touch on the events of the voyage. He absolves Unamuno from all blame in going to Macao, accepting evidently his story of bad weather, and calls for punishment of those who had taken his vessels away from him and hindered for a year the voyage of discovery.

Father Martin was a Franciscan and a nephew of the great Ignacio de Loyola, the founder of the Company of Jesuits, and had previously made a voyage around the world, going out

by way of Mexico and the Philippine route and returning by the Cape of Good Hope. In this letter he tells us that at the command of the king he went to China as commissary, with some companions, by way of Portugal,—that is, by way of Cape of Good Hope. He says that his sufferings at the hands of his Portuguese brethren could not be believed unless one considers them merited by the greatness of his sins. He adds that he came back in a bark so small that it seemed foolhardy, but he never took his life into consideration in His Majesty's service. Father Martin brought along a young Japanese whom he was taking to present to the king, as he had a story to tell; but he had only sixty pesos for expenses and for buying European clothes.

On December 10, 1587, the viceroy, Villamanrique, wrote to the king about the arrival of Unamuno, and forwarded with the letter the joint account of Unamuno and the pilot, Father Martin's letter, one from Geronimo Pereyra dated at Macao July 10, 1587, the narrative of the voyage written by Unamuno himself and a copy of a letter from Doctor Santiago de Vera, the governor of the Islands, which must have been written in May or June, 1586. The list of documents was dated January 20, 1587, and the correspondence must have left about February 1 on the second despatch ship. The duplicates went by the flota in July.

I have not found either the joint account of the captain and pilot or the copy of the De Vera letter.

I have so far found no later reference to Unamuno, nor in fact any later reference to his voyage. The instructions issued to Vizcaino do not mention the voyage, nor do any of the accounts of Vizcaino's voyage which I have read, nor is it referred to in any of the subsequent reports on California which were drawn up from 1620 to 1700. The Port of San Lucas does not appear on Vizcaino's maps nor on any others that I have seen. Velasco, even in 1594 when he writes about sending out Rodriguez Cermeño on another voyage, does not refer to any previous voyage.

There are two copies of Unamuno's narrative in the archives in Seville (both made in 1587), one in 58-3-10 and the other in 2-5-2/15. The letter of Pereyra is in 1-1-3/25 and the letter of Father Martin and Villamanrique's letter of December 10, 1587, are in 58-3-10. Unamuno's narrative was copied by Muñoz

and can be found in vol. 38 of the collection of his transcripts in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. Richman in his "California under Spain and Mexico" refers briefly to this voyage and prints a short extract from that part in which Unamuno relates his experiences on land in California; but generally speaking, the voyage is not referred to by California historians. Richman suggests that the whole narrative is sufficiently interesting to warrant a complete translation, and this has now been done by Miss Irene A. Wright, an accomplished Spanish scholar and research worker in the archives in Seville and the author of a history of Cuba written from original sources.

H. R. Wagner.

TRANSLATION

Narrative¹ of the voyage and navigation which Captain Pedro de Unamuno² made from Macarera Island, which is a league south of the city of Macan,³ in the frigate called Nuestra Señora de Buena Esperanza, the principal events of the voyage being as follows:

First, I cleared from the said Macarera Island on Sunday, July 12, [1587] at about midday, and sailed twelve leagues east-southeast, finding myself at about eleven o'clock at night far forward of the island of Leme, which is the furthestmost of the Macan group, in full $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

From this island of Leme we stood away for the Babuyanes, steering east quarter southeast, and after we had sailed 96 leagues on said course, on Thursday, 16th of the said month of July, at about midday, we sighted these Babuyanes Islands, and took the sun. They are in scant $20\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. We came in sight of these islands, sailing on this course, because the compass needle was almost a quarter to northeast. We corrected it according to its variation.

From these Babuyanes Islands we stood away for an island, shown on some charts, called Ricadeoro, which is 450 leagues from the Babuyanes on an east-northeast and west-southwest course, in latitude 29° to full 31° , and, steering for said island, with varying weather, I sailed twelve days on various courses, and on the 28th of the said month of July we came in sight of

¹—A. de I., 1-1-3/25, R. 32. Authenticated copy. 9 pliegos.

²—In the MS sometimes spelled Unamunu.

³—An old name for Macao.

two small islands. These were each about three leagues in circumference, separated from each other by about a league and a half. They lie north-southeast, quarter northeast to southwest, in latitude $25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. We took the sun this day. We circumnavigated said islands, examining them, and saw no harbor nor trees nor signs of water; rather, from what we could see of them, we judged them to be of no value for any purpose, so we named them *Sin Provecho* [Islands].

From these islands we stood away this same night for Ricadono Island which in the preceding paragraph has been stated to be 330 leagues from these islands on an east-west quarter northeast-southwest course, its southern part being in 29° and its northern in scant $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, according to its position shown on some charts. We found ourselves to be in this latitude on Wednesday, August 19. Being in said latitude, we sought said island from east to west and on every other feasible course. We did everything possible [to find it] and could not, from which it may be concluded that it does not exist.

From this latitude of 31° we stood away on an east-northeast course for another island, shown on some charts, called *Rica de Plata*, distant 60 leagues from the one called *Ricadono* and its latitude, sailing east-northeast, according to its position (and location) on the charts. According to its position shown on said charts, it is in latitude 33° to 34° from its southern to its northern part, in which latitude we found ourselves on Saturday, August 22. We searched from east to west, making every possible effort, and could not find this island. Doubtless it does not exist, but somebody on hearsay ordered it drawn on his chart.

Sunday, August 23, at nightfall, we stood away for the island called *Armenio*, which, according to its location shown on some charts, is twenty leagues from the above-mentioned island called *Rica de Plata*, on a northeast-southwest course, in latitude 34° and $35\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$. We found ourselves in this latitude on Wednesday, 26th of the said month of August and earnestly endeavored with all possible diligence to sight this island. We could not find it, and we believe that it does not exist.

From the latitude of the above-mentioned *Armenio* Island, according to those who say it exists, that is, from $35\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$, we stood away east quarter northeast to east-northeast for the land of New Spain, to make land in as high a latitude as might be

possible and the weather might permit, in order from our land-fall to make as extensive an exploration as possible. Keeping on said course, on Monday, the last of August, in latitude $37\frac{1}{5}^{\circ}$ we took the sun, and found ourselves to be in said latitude. When we had sailed 140 leagues on said course, our mainmast broke in two, and the foremast and bowsprit. After we had repaired the said masts as best we could, in order to be able to navigate, we continued on our way on the said course, and, so sailing, went up into latitude 39° . On Thursday, September 3, we encountered an east-northeast wind such that we could not go further north, because the weather would not permit and because the masts had given out, because the vessel was small, and because those aboard had little protection, not having come as well prepared as was advisable to resist the cold and the wet. Wherefore we dropped down to latitude $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, where we were on Wednesday, 30th of the said month of September. From this latitude, which we took this day, we endeavored to get further north. Because the weather was not propitious, it was hard work to make more than said latitude.

Sailing on, on various courses because the weather was contrary, we managed with difficulty to make latitude full $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, where we were on Saturday, October 17 of said year; and this day we saw land. Because it was not clear, inasmuch as the land was covered with a thick mist, we were not certain that it was land which had appeared. This night, during the first watch, sailing east to northeast with a south-southwest wind, we came upon two very small islands next the mainland, about half a league to sea. We came so close upon them—within an arquebus-shot—that had we not been keeping a good watch, we would have been lost this night, so thick was the darkness. We stood out to sea until the morning watch.

Sunday, 18th of said month, at the morning watch, we put in toward land and with daylight we discerned a high land to the south, with some three pines on the highest part, which serve as a landmark. At the north [of this land] we saw the smoke of many fires at the foot of the said hill, in some pine woods near the sea. At the north a point of land extended, about northwest-southeast, and within this point there was a great bay toward the east, which seemed to have harbors in it. We consulted those aboard, especially Padre (Fray) Martin Ignacio de Loyola, envoy to China, and found that all were of the opinion that we should put into the said bay and see what

was there, since it was for this purpose that we came. We therefore stood in for the said bay, and having reached it, we saw on the east a long sandy beach, middling wide, for which we steered, and there anchored the said frigate in 27 fathoms, bottom of fine mixed sand.⁴ Around, and quite near to the said frigate, there is much tall thick grass, which grows out of more than fifteen fathoms. [These plants] are thick and have great leaves and stems, and are the same which sailors say they have seen a hundred leagues to sea, floating like great rafts. It is this grass, above described, which grows along all this coast to beyond Cedros Island, which is in latitude full $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. It does not grow in rivers, as some have declared, but along the coast, as abovesaid. In this port there is a limitless quantity of fish of different kinds, trees suitable for masts, water and firewood and abundant shellfish. A ship in need could supply itself here with all this.

As we have said above, we anchored in this port on the 18th of the said month of October, on Saint Luke's Day, and because it was Saint Luke's Day, we named this port San Lucas. While we were anchored in it, as above said, on the said day, between 11 and 12 o'clock noon, lying about two arquebus-shots off the beach, we took the sun, and found that the said port is in full $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. While we were so anchored, after a little while, we saw two Indians on shore, on a slope on the skirt of a hill, whence they looked us over at their pleasure.

In view of the appearance of these Indians, a council was held of the people who were aboard said vessel, and, all being assembled, it was considered what should be done, and whether some soldiers should land and explore the neighborhood of said harbor. All were agreed that the captain with twelve soldiers and some Indians, armed with swords and targets, should land and look the ground over and make a reconnaissance of the vicinity of the said port. I landed with twelve soldiers, with their mail and arquebuses, Padre (Fray) Martin Ignacio de Loyola carrying a cross in his hands, preceding with some Luzon Indians, with their swords and targets. I left orders aboardship as to what was to be done. We had elected alcaldes and councilmen, that there might be some one to take possession of that port and whatever else might be discovered upon landing, as stated.

⁴—"Mesclada con Baza," the Spanish text adds. "Baza" might be archaic for "basa" or "baja," although even so the meaning is obscure.

When we had landed in the said harbor, in the manner described, consultation was held as to what direction we should follow,—whether we should go toward the place where the Indians had been seen shortly before, or toward the pine woods where some fires had been seen that morning,—for there were many trails leading in different directions. We decided to go toward the slope where the two Indians had been seen, because the trail that way seemed to be the most trodden; and so we set out thither. Having arrived at the top of the hill, toward the east-northeast we saw a good-sized river coming down a plain, and many beaten ways in every direction. We found no sign of the Indians we had previously seen on the said slope. Seeing the diversity of the trails, leading in every direction, we decided to follow one of the said ways which led southeast toward a high hill whence we would be able to see what lay about us. With the said Padre (Fray) Martin, his cross in hand, leading, we set out thither. Two of our Indians went ahead, as scouts. When we had marched a quarter of a league the Indians discovered people, and reported that they had seen five persons. Having so reported, they went after them and followed them. At the same time we hastened our pace in order to speak with them, and meanwhile decided to send Diego Vazquez Mexia, sergeant, and another soldier with the two Indians to detain said persons with pleasant words and show of peace and goodwill, if they could overtake them. This sergeant went ahead with the said scouts after the said five persons, to see if he could overtake them, and although he did everything possible, they could not be overtaken, for they were high up on the hill, and were naked and fleet. They could not be overtaken, for although the rest of the party advanced at a good gait, they had time to get into a pine wood, by way of another high hill. On a steep slope along the way to the said hill, we found two bundles like wicker baskets wrapped up in two deerskins, and in them [the bundles] we found nothing but the two deerskins and (other) little pelts, like rabbit skins, cut and fashioned like a chain of skins, and a few flowers like wild marjoram, which they must use to eat or drink, for we found no (other) grain. According to the report of the Indian scouts, among the five persons whom they had seen there were two women, for they carried two children on their backs. Of the two deerskins we took one, leaving in its place with their other bundle two handkerchiefs. Our men were not allowed to take anything of theirs. This done, we went up on top of the

said hill and halted and looked about, to see what could be seen.

Having halted on top of this hill, and viewing what lay around about it, we saw near it another higher hill, about three arquebus-shots away. I ordered Joanes de Arrajeta and Cristobal Ynfanzon to go with two Indians, with their swords and targets, and climb that hill, which was on the right hand, and from there look about to see if there were any settlements or other signs of inhabitants, and to see if there were any minerals in the said hill. They went and looked as far as their eyes could see, in every direction, and made excavations in the said hill, to see if there was mineral. Having so done, as said, they came down to where the rest of the party were and reported that they had been able to discern no settlement or people or smoke, nor had they been able to find any mineral in the hill, but that there were many trails, and among them one that led up-river toward the east, which seemed to them to be the most trodden.

This done, as related in the preceding paragraph, and the party having rested, we went down the said hill toward the river, and came down to its bank and tried the water of the said river, and found it to be very good, for it came down in the said river between sandy banks. From there we went up a slope toward the north, where the said river formed a great lake. It seemed that there was a bar and a harbor there, so near was the sea. When we arrived there we saw that it was the dammed-up water of the said river, its outlet to the sea blocked by a great quantity of sand. Nevertheless, there must be some outlet to the sea, under the sand, for if there were not, the river water would shortly cut away the sand. From there we returned toward the frigate, for it was already late. Having arrived near the said frigate, on a little hill and about the hill we found a great quantity of very large pearl-oyster shells and other shells of many shellfish.

Arrived at this hill, we found it as above described, and there, because it seemed a suitable place to take possession of said port and land in His Majesty's name, inasmuch as, quietly and pacifically, I and the rest of the party had landed and traversed the said land about the port, as territory belonging to his domain and crown, I took said possession in the name of the king, Philip, our master, in the presence of Diego Vazquez Mexia (one of the *alcaldes* elected for the purpose) in his

capacity of Justicia;⁵ and, authorized by this act of possession, in due legal form I ran up a cross, in sign of the Christian faith and of the possession of said port and land taken in His Majesty's name. Having cut branches from the trees which grew thereabouts and gone through the other customary ceremonies, we went on board said frigate.

Having come aboard and having had supper, we considered what by God's grace we should do next day, whether we should go inland for some distance to see if we could find any settlements of people, or minerals, or any signs of same, since there were so many trails leading in different directions; and, being so assembled, and having discussed what it would be most advantageous to do, the said Padre (Fray) Martin Ignacio de Loyola being present, and the other religious all agreeing, it was unanimously resolved that whereas we had all set out to make the exploration as thorough as might be and weather might permit, and whereas this day, Sunday, October 18, (being) Saint Luke's Day, we had discovered said port and gone ashore and taken possession of the land in His Majesty's name, and whereas there were so many and such well beaten trails leading in different directions; therefore it was advisable for the captain, with twelve soldiers and a religious and some Indians with their swords and targets, to go inland, at dawn, for four or five leagues, following the best trodden trail, which was the one which led up the river, eastward; and, further, that it was advisable to ascertain what the land promised, in order to be able to report fully to His Majesty and to His Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain, in his stead, by whom in His Majesty's name we were sent upon this undertaking. The opinion of all having been consulted, it was forthwith ordered to make all necessary preparations to set out accordingly at any time after midnight.

Monday, 19th of the said month, at about ten⁶ o'clock in the morning, I set out on this exploration with Padre (Fray) Francisco de Noguera and the twelve soldiers and eight Luzon Indians with their swords and targets. I landed at the said hour, having left orders aboard the frigate as to what was to be done that day. We marched toward the river. The order of march having been arranged there, and Indians posted ahead

⁵—The *alcaldes*, usually two, of a municipality, were "la justicia."

⁶—The Spanish text reads: "a oras de las diez Antes del dia." It seems likely from the context that "diez" (ten) should read "dos" (two).

as scouts, we followed the trail which the day before had seemed to us to be the most beaten. It led eastward. Advancing as noiselessly as possible, when day dawned we had journeyed two leagues without having seen or heard anything of a settlement or smoke or any person. We then drew up on a slope toward the side of a hill under some oak and cork⁷ trees and others which were on a knoll there, and, lying here as in ambush we watched all that valley, as far as we could see, until an hour after sunrise, and we could not discern any settlement or any people, but we did see two smokes up-river in some thick groves of oak and cork and willows and other high trees, of a good thickness, resembling ash⁸ trees. We marched thither as secretly as might be, the two Indians in advance as scouts, and when we arrived where the said smoke was, we found that it was caused by the burning of two great oaks. They were about an arquebus-shot apart and they seemed to have been afire about a month.

From here we set out, up-river, toward the east, following the best beaten trail, and up-stream we found many human footprints, the whole sandy edge of said river being full of footprints of persons large, medium and small, passing both up-river and down. This river-bed is of coarse sand, below which the water flows, and almost everywhere one can cross dryshod, because, as I say, the water flows below, except in places where it comes up like springs and forms pools of retained water. The water runs under the sand the whole length of this river. From one end to the other it is very shady, with the shade of willows and good-sized osiers, and other tall trees which resemble ash;⁸ and there are many fragrant herbs, like camomile and pennyroyal and thyme. Advancing, sometimes along the river's bed and sometimes outside it, having marched about two leagues without seeing a settlement or people, excepting the said tracks, up-river and northeast of the river trail, we came upon an old Indian camp. Here there were seventeen dugouts, large and small, like Biscay charcoal pits, that is, a big hole in the ground, of good circumference, roofed with branches of trees—very well covered. Judging

⁷—The text reads: "enzinos y Alcornoques." Unamuno was not familiar with California trees, and so applied to them the names of trees which grow in Spain, with which he was familiar. By "enzinos" he probably meant white oaks, and by "alcornoques," live oaks. The cork tree is a species of oak and bears some resemblance to the live oak.

⁸—The text reads: "fresnos."

by the size of the excavations, each could hold more than a dozen persons. They seemed to have been made about a month and a half before. In this camp nothing was found except some wands which seemed to be of elder, out of which they fashion their javelins, with oak points hardened by fire. A little apart from the river, in the other direction, among some trees, was found a hut built of stakes and all covered with earth, with only one small porthole. It was big enough for about two persons, and inside there were dried grass and leaves. We supposed that this was for their chief. From this camp we marched up-river half a league, always following the said tracks, and beside the river, toward the southeast, in the shade of some willows, we halted, and the men ate and rested, and we remained here until about three in the afternoon, because of the great heat.

After the party had eaten and rested, it was resolved to continue up-river about a league toward a great gap which showed to the east, in order to see if we could discover any settlement in that opening. We decided that after marching the league which it appeared to be to the foot of a high hill, which was at that distance, we should turn back toward the frigate, and spend the night in some convenient place, in order to return to the frigate in the morning. So we marched toward the gap, above described, and shortly arrived at the foot of the high hill. Arrived there, from among some cork trees we looked over the country as far as we could see, and could not find or discover anything more than that the way led on, eastward, for we could clearly see the trail going on, along the skirts of some hills which joined some high hills (which were) to be seen to the east, with many other trails. Finding that from the foot of the hill we could not discover or see anything, I ordered three soldiers and three Indians with their swords and targets to climb to the top of that hill, from there to look in every direction, to see if they could see any settlement or people or fires, and to ascertain whether there were minerals. They went, and after a short time came down to where they had left us, and reported that they had not been able to discover any settlement or smoke or people, nor did the hill have minerals in it, apparently; but they could see that the river continued eastward among hills, and that the said trail and many others led eastward over the slopes of some hills. Inasmuch as we could discover no settlement or people,

and the men were somewhat tired, and we had not supplies for more than that night, realizing that it would not be wise to advance further without supplies, with so few men, into unknown territory, and that it would be best to return toward the ship, and seeing that this was the opinion of all, and was the most advisable course, we marched toward the frigate; and having marched about two leagues, an hour before nightfall we camped under some three great oak trees, which were beside the river at a distance from the trail. We rested there that night, with sentries posted in good order.

The next day, Tuesday, 20th of the said month of October, in broad daylight, we set out down-river. We did not set out with the dawn lest by chance the Indians might have seen us, and, spying at night, have laid some ambuscade. Having marched down-stream about a league and a half, we came upon a camp, on both sides of the river, where there were more than thirty dugouts like those found the day before; and in this camp we found nothing but some little cord bags, made like nets, in which were some pieces of rope made out of the bark of trees (very well made), and some old baskets in which they carry their luggage, and a trough made out of a tree trunk, in which, we infer, they ground roots or tree bark for some drink or dish of theirs, because, except for a little seed like wild marjoram, such as we found the first day, we did not find a sign of any (other) grain. We also found some wands like those [found] in the other camp, the day before. Whereupon, having searched all around this camp over an area a couple of arquebus-shots in radius, and found no signs other than those described, we continued on our way, sometimes down the river's bed and sometimes outside it. After we had marched about two leagues, and crossed to the west side of the river, we halted to rest the men, at about half a league's distance from the frigate, at about ten o'clock in the forenoon. After half an hour, we began to march toward the said ship, and, after so marching about a quarter of a league, we halted to rest on a hill, (for we were) near the said ship. When the men had rested, we began to march to within sight of the ship, for it was near; and marching so, in good order, the men in the vanguard being now in sight of the ship, and all the party being in sight one of the other, as we came down the hill toward the beach where we found the ship's boat and Joanes de Urañu, before the vanguard had halted, looking back to

our rearguard we saw two Indians come running down a pine-clad hill toward the other part of the hill where our men were coming up to within sight of the ship. Seeing the Indians come down, we turned to support the rearguard, but before we could come up to their relief some of them were wounded. Arriving where they [the Indians] were, we fired on them with our arquebuses, and made them withdraw to the height of the hill. At this moment, Joan de Arenguren and Joan de Mendoza came up, wounded with many arrow- and javelin-wounds, and immediately after them came Cristobal Ynfanzon, wounded with many arrow-wounds. Had they not been supported in time, they would have been killed. Because he had taken off the coat of mail which he carried, Felipe de Contreras, who was also in the rearguard, was wounded with a javelin which went entirely through his breast, so that he could not retreat, and from this wound and others which he received, being disarmed, he died immediately, according to the report made by the others of his company. Along with him, they killed one of our Indians with a javelin-thrust, which he failed to ward off with his target. Order was issued to look to the wounded, and for the rest to close ranks, for many Indians were again coming down the hill. Seeing their number to be great, and that they continued to come down, we endeavoured to withdraw to the beach in order, since it was the best point from which to defend ourselves and withstand them. The people who had been aboardship, and had landed to our support, and those who were on land, joined forces in good order, and we had encounters and skirmishes with the Indians, in which some of them were killed and many others were wounded. They wounded only one of our men, and seeing this they withdrew and separated into three bands. We withdrew to our post, where it was decided that if the enemy returned it would be well to be provided with a raft, in order that we might all embark together, for the ship's boat was small and could take us aboard only in many trips, so that if we should find ourselves hard-pushed, we would not be able to retire. The raft was made and shortly brought to land, where the ship's boat was. During this time the enemy attacked us on three fronts, but withdrew with loss, without wounding any of our men. At about five in the afternoon, the enemy retired toward the hill where they had wounded our men, and set out sentries. Seeing that it was now late, and that the enemy had retired, we embarked on the raft and in the ship's boat.

Monday, 19th of the said month of October—Fray Martin Ignacio de Loyola and Fray Rufino, Alonso Gomez, pilot, Demetrio Candia, Miguel Sanchez and other persons, who had remained aboardship, [had] landed this day (while I and the other soldiers were inland) and they reported what had happened to them in the said harbor with respect to the said Indians. After we had left that morning, on the reconnaissance above described, they had landed also, both to see if toward the southwest of the port there was any settlement or people (for the night before we had seen there a great fire which lasted almost all night) and also to get wood and water. While Father (Fray) Martin, Alonso Gomez, Joanes de Urañcu and other persons, went in the direction where the said fire was seen, to learn what it was, Geronimo de Vallejeda, the barber, remained at the river with some Indians⁹ who had gone ashore to wash and fetch water and firewood. From the pine-clad hill twenty-three Indians had descended, and three of them advanced half-way down the hill, to see what our men were doing. Two came down to the river and began to talk with the said Vallejeda, who carried only his sword. After they had exchanged some words among themselves up and down the hill, [and] when he saw that the matter had come to a bad pass, with fair words he merely endeavoured to get away from them, with a gesture he made with his sword, when they had taken from him some things he had with him, (the said) Vallejeda himself giving these to them, to quiet them. At this time the other Indians came down the hill and from the Indians who were washing took some clothes and the vessels they had brought for the water they were to take aboard. They then returned up the hill, and, having put this plunder in safe-keeping, they came back to watch what our men did. At this juncture, Padre (Fray) Martin and the rest, who had gone to see what there was on the other hand, toward the southwest, came up, and when the Indians saw more people arrive, they decided that the said Vallejeda had deceived them, in that by signs he had given them to understand that there were no more people than he and the Indians and those who were filling water. They wanted to carry him off with them, but could not, because they threw themselves into the water and they fired on them from aboardship with their arquebuses, until the said Fray Martin and the rest came up to where Vallejeda and the Indians were.

⁹—That is, Luzon Indians.

When they reached the place where the Indians were, on the flank of a hill, the latter began forthwith to raise a great outcry, making many gestures and jumping from one place to another, as though they wished to attack. Our men remained at their post, without creating any disturbance. Because the Indians had previously made signs of peace, they sent the said Valleda and another of our Indians, with some biscuit and some cloth and other things which they had among them. Three Indians came half-way down the side of the slope toward them, and desired to carry them up the hill to where the others were. When our men saw that they desired to carry them up to the top of the hill, they showed themselves disinclined, and there they ate the biscuit, or part of it, and returned to their companions to report to them what had occurred, although the rest were watching. Shortly afterwards the Indians all separated into three divisions and attacked our men, making many signs that they desired to kill them. They fired many arrows without doing our men damage. Padre (Fray) Martin would not permit an arquebus to be fired until it appeared that they were arrogant, and then they fired on them with the arquebuses and wounded some and compelled them to withdraw to the top of the hill. It was now time to withdraw to their respective quarters. The Indians went to their camp and our men to the ship. To the southwest, where our men had been,¹⁰ they found a camp like those already described, and around it, and further distant from the camp, they found many shells of pearl-oysters, —big shells in large quantities; from which it is inferred that there is much good pearl-fishing here, and that these Indians come down to the coast to fish for pearls, and the trails from the east are probably those by which they come and go to and from the interior. The coastal land is good land for wheat and maize—better than we found inland.

Having come aboardship, as related in the paragraph preceding this last, after the men had had supper, council was held to consider what it would be well to do next day, whether we should land to [encounter] the enemy, or continue on our voyage. It was resolved that it was advisable to continue on our voyage, coasting the land, and not to go ashore to the enemy; for the powder had burned the day previous, while we were refining it; our men were badly wounded, and medicines with which to treat them were scanty; and the unwounded men

¹⁰—That is, Fray Martin and his party.

were few to resist the enemy without powder or munitions; and, further, that in that port we had done what was to be done and along the coast could find other (and more) harbors; wherefore it was better to go to report to His Excellency¹¹ on what had occurred. Therefore it was resolved to clear on Wednesday, October 21, before daybreak; as we did.

Clearing Wednesday, October 21, with contrary winds, we coasted until Friday, 23rd of said month, in the afternoon, when a west-northwest wind blew up with such thick weather that for five days we could not see the land, although we were always within two leagues of it and even less. For this reason we could not see whether there was any harbor on that coast, both because of the thick weather and also because [the ship's boat]¹² was small to venture in it to explore for ports.

Wednesday, 28th of the said month of October, while we were coasting two leagues from land, in latitude 30°, we took a sounding to get samples of the bottom, since we could not see land because of the thick weather and the darkness caused by the fog. We found ten fathoms and the lead showed (that it was) rock reefs for more than half a league, over which distance we kept sounding; we found it all the same depth and the same bottom. As soon as we left this vicinity, we came into white water, much disturbed, which seemed like river water. We took soundings and found almost the same depth. Here we tried to see if there was some harbor, although this day and night and part of the following Thursday we could not see the land, or, therefore, the aspect of it. Because we could not land with the ship's boat, because it was small and the sea running somewhat heavy; and, further, because the weather did not clear up, but seemed, rather, to get thicker, it was resolved to come to the port of Acapulco as quickly as possible, and so to report to Your Excellency on what had occurred; a further argument being the fact that the wounded men were badly off because of lack of medicines. Further, from Cedros Island to the port of Acapulco, [this coast] was all explored a long time ago.

We did not go to the Lequios Islands, nor to Japan, nor to Pescadores, because these lands have been explored; because the ship was small and carried no artillery; the men aboard

¹¹—That is, the viceroy.

¹²—The statement as here rendered is obviously the intention of the writer, although an omission or error occurs in the manuscript.

the frigate were few in number; and the people of Japan numerous and bellicose, possessing ships and artillery with which to attack and to defend themselves.

From the Babuyanes Islands, which are in latitude scant $20\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, to the port of San Lucas, which we had discovered, in full $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, we sailed 1890 leagues, on various courses, according as the weather permitted, although on a straight course it would be about 1550 leagues. In this latitude and on this course, it is good sailing, healthier and quicker than in lower latitudes. From the said port of San Lucas to Cape San Lucas, which is in scant 23° , it is 290 leagues, sailing south-southeast about half the way, and southeast quarter south the other half. From this Cape San Lucas to the port of Acapulco it is about 260 leagues, sailing half-way east-southeast and the rest of the way southeast quarter east.

At the mouth of the port of Vanderas Valley, near Cape Corrientes, which is in latitude full 21° , we met a launch out of the said port, on November 12, which, on order from the audiencia of Guadalajara, was patrolling that coast to warn the ships from China that the English corsair¹³ was on that coast, to advise of the damage he had done, and that he was then in the port of Mazatlan, careening. The instructions were to sail, with the said warning for the said China ships, as high as latitude 25° , which is two degrees further north than Cape San Lucas. This is a good point at which to receive the warning in time to avoid the enemy by standing out to sea. In His Majesty's name, in the best legal form possible, I notified the captain of the said launch to proceed, with all diligence, to carry the said warning, since the matter was of such importance to His Majesty's service, bidding him sail by night with the land breeze, and to lie off-shore during the day, since from land he could keep watch for the China ships, and, further, even if the enemy's launch came reconnoitering along the coast, it would not find him in the daytime, for in the daytime, with the northeast winds and the contrary currents, navigation is impossible; wherefore in the manner described he would get along better, and would not be found by the enemy, if, as said, the enemy's launch came out to spy along that coast. We gave him supplies of biscuit, rice and other supplies which we carried for our voyage, which left him

¹³—This was Cavendish, who, in the middle of November, captured the Philippine galleon *Santa Ana* off Cape San Lucas.

stocked for more than a month and a half, without taking into consideration the maize and other provisions which he carried for his supply. We entered the port of Acapulco on November 22, Sunday, whence we wrote to Your Excellency and reported at length on the events and hardships of our voyage.

PEDRO DE UNAMUNO.

Corrected according to the original.

Antonio de Castro (rubric).

DOCUMENTARY

The Mexican War dates virtually, though not actually, from the 3d of March, 1845, when by a joint resolution passed by both branches of Congress, Texas was annexed to the American Union. This resolution was signed by President Tyler on the last day of his administration.

This formal action of Congress was strongly protested by the Mexican minister Almonte, who immediately demanded his passports and left the country. The government of the United States sincerely anxious to preserve peace, or at least, to soothe the irritated Mexicans, sought to keep the discussion in the cabinet rather than transfer it to the battle-field. To this end the United States consul Black, who still remained in the Mexican capital, was instructed to visit the minister of foreign affairs and ascertain from the Mexican government whether it would receive an envoy from the United States, invested with full power to adjust all the questions in dispute between the two governments. The invitation was received with apparent good will, and in October, 1845, the Mexican government agreed to receive an envoy, commissioned with full powers to settle the dispute in a peaceful, reasonable and honorable manner. When this intelligence was received at Washington, Mr. John Slidell was dispatched as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary on his supposed but doubtful mission of peace.

Upon his arrival in Vera Cruz in November, 1845, Slidell found the aspect of affairs entirely changed. The Mexican government of Herrera was tottering, and General Paredes was about to begin another of the long series of revolutions that have ever torn Mexico. However sincere may have been the intentions of Herrera, he was then practically powerless, and the Mexicans as usual were evasive. To avoid the sanguinary features of a revolution, President Herrera resigned in December, 1845. Paredes, his successor, from the beginning was violently antagonistic and breathed the deadliest animosity to the United States. Minister Slidell was refused a conference, and finding his mission to be unsuccessful and wholly futile, returned to the United States, and on May 13, 1846, President Polk made a formal declaration of war against Mexico.

The subject of California was not forgotten, and the affairs

of that territory were closely watched. Early in his administration, President Polk had appointed as Secretary of the Navy, George Bancroft, accomplished scholar, statesman and historian. Mr. Bancroft immediately dispatched most important instructions to Commodore John D. Sloat, commander of the United States Naval forces in the Pacific. Some of these letters, rigidly confidential, are herein presented, and in the future will be followed by others. That they have been printed elsewhere is very well known, but this would seem to be the first time that they have appeared systematically within one publication. The far-seeing mind of George Bancroft long before the declaration of war, had determined that in that event, California should be occupied, and as a result of the war should remain as a permanent possession of the United States. This eminent statesman and great friend of California passed hence in 1891, but for forty-five years he was permitted to see the full realization of his plans, and to witness the extraordinary expansion of the territory of California with which he was briefly but most eminently associated.

Robert E. Cowan



[Original from Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

Confidential —

U. S. Navy Department
Washington, May 5, 1845.

Sir,

Referring you to my letter of the 21st March, a duplicate of which you will receive by this conveyance, I desire now to reiterate to you the importance of keeping a vigilant eye to the protection of the persons and property of American citizens within the limits of your command. Although there is no apprehension of immediate hostilities between the United States and other countries, it will be prudent for you to be on your guard. Should you visit any of the Mexican ports, I request that you will inform yourself accurately and thoroughly of the state of feeling among the people as well as of the local authorities towards the United States. You will make your communications to the Department as full and as free as you can, embracing all the information you can collect, touching the political relations of other countries and the commercial interests

of our own; and will take advantage of every opportunity that may offer to transmit your despatches.

The schooner On-ka-hy-e has taken the place of the brig Oregon, and her commander, Lieut. Sinclair, is directed to remain at Chagres one week for the return mail and for passengers from the Pacific.

The store ship Erie will sail shortly from New York, with supplies for your squadron, and her commander will be instructed to proceed to such place as you may designate. Upon the arrival of the Erie, which you will retain on the station, you will send the Relief to the United States.

It is contemplated by the Department to order one or more vessels to the Pacific, to reinforce the squadron under your command.

Very respectfully

Your obed. Servt.

GEORGE BANCROFT.

Commodore John D. Sloat
Commg. U. S. naval forces
in the Pacific

[Endorsement on back:]

Confidential

From the Secy of the Navy 5th May 1845.

Recd at Callao by the Shark, 20th July 1845, via Panama.

Received a copy of the within

R. F. Stockton [Autographic signature.]

Bay of Monterey)
27th July 1846)

[Original from Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]
(Secret and Confidential)

U. S. Navy Department
Washington, June 24, 1845.

Sir,

Your attention is still particularly directed to the present aspect of the relations between this country and Mexico. It is the earnest desire of the President to pursue the policy of peace, and he is anxious that you and every part of your squadron should be assiduously careful to avoid any act, which could be construed as an act of aggression.

Should Mexico, however, be resolutely bent on hostilities, you will be mindful to protect the persons and interests of citizens of the United States near your station; and should you ascertain beyond a doubt, that the Mexican Government has declared war against us, you will at once employ the force under your command to the best advantage. The Mexican ports on the Pacific are said to be open and defenceless. If you ascertain with certainty, that Mexico has declared war against the United States, you will at once possess yourself of the port of San Francisco, and blockade or occupy such other ports as your force may permit.

Yet even if you should find yourself called upon, by the certainty of an express declaration of war against the United States, to occupy San Francisco and other Mexican ports, you will be careful to preserve, if possible, the most friendly relations with the inhabitants; and, where you can do so, you will encourage them to adopt a course of neutrality.

Should you fall in with the squadron under Commodore Parker, you will signify to him the wish of the Department, that if the state of his vessels will admit of it, he should remain off the coast of Mexico, until our relations with that Power are more definitively adjusted; and you will take directions from him as your senior officer, communicating to him these instructions.

The great distance of your squadron, and the difficulty of communicating with you, are the causes for issuing this order. The President hopes, most earnestly, that the peace of the two countries may not be disturbed. The object of these instructions is to possess you of the views of the Government, in the event

of a declaration of war on the part of Mexico against the United States; an event which you are enjoined to do everything, consistent with the national honor, on your part to avoid.

Should Commodore Parker prefer to return to the United States, he has permission from the Department to do so. In that event, you will command the united squadron.

Very respectfully

Your obed. Servt.

GEORGE BANCROFT

Commodore John D. Sloat
Commg. U. S. naval forces
in the Pacific }

[Endorsement on back:]

Secret and Confidential

From the Secy. of the Navy 24th June 1845.

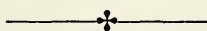
Rcd at Honulu 2d Octr. 45 by Lt. Watson,

Received a copy of the within

R. F. Stockton [Autographic signature.]

Bay of Monterey)

27th July 1846)



[Original from Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Note in pencil:]

Recd by the Cyane

at Mazatlan—21 Jany 1846

U. S. Navy Department

Washington, August 5, 1845.

Sir,

The U. S. ship Cyane is ordered to proceed to the Pacific, under the command of Captain Wm. Mervine, with directions to report to Commodore Parker, or in his absence to you, for duty. If Commodore Parker decides to return to the United States, leaving you in command, you will remain on the coast of Mexico while our relations with that country are unsettled; and will conciliate the people by all proper means. In the event of war, you will obey the instructions recently addressed to you

via Panama. If peace continues, you will still retain your squadron as much as possible off the coast of Mexico; and when peace seems certain, you will send a part of your squadron (say, the sloop of war *Warren* and the schooner *Shark*, or such other vessels as you may prefer) on an exploring party, to show the flag of the United States in the Columbia. Some of the officers should seize the occasion to visit the valley of the Wallamet. After this has been done, a party may proceed by land to Puget's Sound, or some safe harbor that you may designate, in the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and the vessels detached for the exploring party may meet them there. They will then proceed to survey the harbors on the south extremity of Quadra and Vancouver's island, and gain such information as will fully explain their capacity and value. The exploring party will carefully preserve, and forward to the Department, journals of their observations; and the more full and instructive they render them, the more will they be acceptable. In particular, officers should be instructed to notice the settlements and establishments, forts and trading houses under British auspices; their positions, strength, and number; especially, whether there are any on the South of Vancouver's island. After completing their surveys and observations, the party may, if circumstances permit, (and in this a wise discretion must guide) sail through the Straits of Juan de Fuca, round Quadra and Vancouver's island; and after touching at Nootka Sound, and such other harbors as you may indicate, rejoin the squadron.

The object of this order is to perfect the knowledge of the country of Oregon; and to cheer our citizens in that region by the presence of the American flag; and, if peace continues, you will consider this the most important duty assigned to your squadron. To this end, you may select and attach for the time being to the exploring party, such Professors and other officers as you may think proper.

You will communicate to your officers the express order, not to be concerned in any duel during the continuance of the cruise. You will take care that the laws of the United States for the government of the Navy, and general orders in pursuance of them, are strictly and sincerely respected and obeyed.

When you send your Exploring party upon its duty, you will in your instructions to them warn them of the dangers that attend the entrance to the Columbia river, that they may

be on their guard against the swell of the ocean and the bar at the mouth of the harbor, and may run no risk with a vessel of the United States.

Very respectfully

Your Obed. Servt.

GEORGE BANCROFT

The Department hopes that you have not detached the Warren. Your force should not be weakened, while hostilities are threatened by Mexico.

Commodore John D. Sloat
Commg. U. S. Squadron
in the Pacific

[Endorsement on back:]

From the Secretary of the Navy, 5th August 1845.
Recd at Mazatlan 21st Jany. 1846. by the Cyane,
Capt Mervin.

Received a copy of the within

R. F. Stockton [Autographic signature.]

Bay of Monterey)
July 27th 1846)



[From Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

Copy.

Recd by Lieut Gillis
16th March 1846 by the
Warren. [Note in pencil.]

U. S. Navy Department
Washington Oct 17, 1845

Commodore.

This communication will be delivered to you by Commodore Stockton who takes the "Congress" to the Pacific to reinforce your squadron.

In the judgment of this Department it is expedient that as soon as practicable after the receipt of it, you should transfer

your broad pennant to the "Congress." Commodore Stockton you will then transfer to the command of the "Savannah" subject to your orders. You may retain Commander Du Pont in duties appropriate to his rank on board the "Congress" or you may confer the command of the "Congress" under you on Captain Mervine and transfer Commander Du Pont to the Cyane.

In the event of actual hostilities between the Mexican Government and our own, you will so dispose of your whole force as to carry out most effectually the objects specified in the instructions forwarded to you from the Department in view of such a contingency. Should peace continue, you will still retain your squadron as much as possible off the coast of Mexico and Oregon.

You will communicate frequently with our Consul at Monterey and will ascertain as exactly as you can, the nature of the designs of the English and French in that region, the temper of the inhabitants, their disposition towards the United States and their relations towards the central governments of Mexico. You will do every thing that is proper to conciliate towards our country the most friendly regard of the people of California.

The length of time requisite to transmit to you dispatches from this Department renders it necessary that you should judge for yourself on the best information that you can obtain whether it will be safe to detach an exploring party from your squadron.

Should hostilities be not likely to occur, you will detach a part of your squadron to display the flag of the United States in the Columbia. To that end you may select a sloop and a smaller vessel if convenient, and attach to them for the time being such professors and other officers as will give the best results to the enterprise. You will, in your instructions to them, warn them of the dangers that attend the entrance to the Columbia river that they may be on their guard against the swell of the ocean and the bar at the mouth of the harbor, and may run no risk with a vessel of the United States. When the ships are within the Columbia river, some of the officers should seize the occasion to visit the valley of the Wallamet. They should make particular enquiries as to the disposition of the people who reside in those regions, the relative strength of

those friendly to the United States and of those friendly to Britain; the extent, character, and tendency of emigration from the United States or from other quarters, and generally they should collect such information as will acquaint the Department fully with the condition and prospects of that territory. After this has been done, a party may proceed by land to Puget's Sound or some safe harbor you may designate in the Straits of Juan De Fuca and the vessels detached for the exploring party may meet them there.

They will then proceed to examine cursorily the harbors on the South extremity of Quadra and Vancouver's Island and gain such information as will explain their capacity and value. The party will carefully preserve and forward to the Department, journals of their observations; and the more full and instructive they render them, the more will they be acceptable. Officers should be instructed to notice the settlements and establishments, forts and trading houses under British auspices;—their position, strength and number; especially whether there are any on the South of Vancouver's Island. Inquiries should be made as to the soil, climate and natural products of the Island. After completing their observations, the party may, if circumstances permit (and in this, a wise discretion must guide) sail through the Straits of Juan de Fuca round Quadra and Vancouver's Island, and, after touching at Nootka Sound and such other harbors as you may indicate rejoin the squadron.

The object of this order is to perfect the knowledge of the country of Oregon and to cheer our citizens in that region by the presence of the American flag; and, if peace continues, you will consider this the most important duty assigned to your squadron. If, contrary to present expectation, a state of war should exist, you will endeavor to persuade the crews of the "Savannah," the "Warren" and the "Levant" to prolong the terms of their enlistment in order that they may remain in co-operation with the rest of your force. But if affairs remain in their present attitude, you may direct Commodore Stockton to take charge of those three vessels and to bring them to the United States in season for the discharge of their crews within the period of their enlistment. Como Stockton on taking the command of the returning squadron, may hoist his broad pennant. You may direct him on the return, if he can do so without material delay to touch on his way at places on the Mexican

Coast, where there may be opportunity of gathering useful information or conciliating kindly dispositions.

This letter embodies all contained in the instructions of August 5th respecting an exploring party, which you are considered as having the means of carrying into effect. In so far as those instructions prescribe minute surveys of harbors, they are referred to your own judgment which must be governed by the scientific means at your disposal, and which as the Department apprehends are inadequate.

The Department designs that the period of your command should extend at least over a term of three years. In case your health fails, but not otherwise, you may yourself take command of the returning squadron, in which event you will deliver your instructions to Como Stockton, who will relieve you in the command of the squadron on the Pacific Station and hoist his broad pennant on board the "Congress."

You will communicate to your officers the express order not to be concerned in any duel during the continuance of the cruise. You will take care that the laws of the United States for the government of the Navy and general orders in pursuance of them are strictly and sincerely respected and obeyed.

Very respectfully

GEORGE BANCROFT.

Como John D. Sloat
Comg U. S. Squadron
Pacific

[Endorsement on back:]

Copy.

From the Secretary of the Navy, 17th October 1845.
Recd at Mazatlan 16th March 1846, brought by
Leut Gillis, via Panama from there in the Warren.

Received a copy of the within

R. F. Stockton [Autographic signature.]

Bay of Monterey)
27th July 1846)

[Original from Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Note in another handwriting:]

The few copies of the Union are for
circulation in Oregon—

Secret.

Navy Department

December 5th. 1845

Recd by Lieut Gillis

16th March 1846 by the

Warren. [Note in another handwriting.]

Commodore.

The U. S. Frigate Congress, intended to reinforce the Squadron under your command, sailed from Norfolk on the 30th of October last, bearing instructions to you of which a copy is annexed. The Congress will visit the Sandwich Islands, and proceed thence to Monterey where you will doubtless find her in due season

Our relations with Mexico are becoming more friendly, and there appears less danger of war. You will keep all your ships in the vicinity of Oregon and Calafornia. You will watch the movements of the British there, and keep the Department as well informed of them as possible. You will place yourself in early communication with our consul at Monterey, that he may know where you are to be found; and you will not fail to carry into effect your former instructions to show the flag of the United States in the Columbia and in the Straits of Fuca.

I send herewith five hundred copies of the President's Message, which you will immediately despatch one of the vessels of your Squadron to distribute among our citizens in the valley of the Wallamet. If you have any rifles or other small arms on board your ships which can be spared for the purpose, you may permit them to be exchanged with the people of that region for wheat, flour or other stores, taking all possible care that they fall into the hands of no one who is unfriendly to the United States. These orders you will keep secret.

By the 1st of April you may expect further despatches by way of Chagres and Panama.

Very respectfully

Como. John D. Sloat

GEORGE BANCROFT

Commg U. S. Squadron

Pacific

[Endorsement on back:]

Secret.

From the Secretary of the Navy, 5th Decr 1845.
Rcd at Mazatlan 16 March 1846, by Lieut Gillis.

Received a copy of the within

R. F. Stockton [Autographic signature.]

Bay of Monterey)
27th July 1846)



[Original from Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

Navy Department
March 7th 1846

Commodore,

Passed Midshipman Beale will report to you, bearing this letter and other despatches, for duty on board the "Congress" to which ship he was originally attached.

Anticipating the safe arrival of its communications by the route through Mexico, the Department will not at present despatch a vessel to "Chagres", and it will not be necessary, therefore, that you should have any portion of your Squadron at 'Panama' with the expectation of receiving letters via "Chagres" from the United States, till you hear further from the Department

Respectfully

&c &c &c

Commer. J. D. Sloat
Commdg Pacific Squadron
&c &c

GEORGE BANCROFT

[Endorsement on back:]

Navy Department

Relative to Passd Mids Beals reporting with dispatches.
March 7th 1846

Recd. per congress at Monterey
July 15th 1846

REVIEWS OF RECENT CALIFORNIA BOOKS

Art of the Old World in New Spain and the Mission Days of Alta California. By Mary Gordon Holway, B.L. San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1922. Illustrated. 172 pp. 8°.

One closes Mrs. Holway's book with a strong desire to make anew the pilgrimage of our old missions, to examine again with quickened interest whatever relics of their early art remain, to trace to the museums the pictures there preserved which were once the property of the churches and to study them with this book in hand for guidance; and one looks forward to a day when, peaceful relations once more established between ourselves and Mexico, we can continue our travels to the vastly richer collections of our southern neighbor. Still carrying this book, one would, if possible, go east to Philadelphia where are eighty canvases by the greatest Mexican artists of colonial days, and on, across the ocean, to Paris, to Vienna, to Berlin and to Spain. Thus far, we learn from Mrs. Holway, must our travels take us in studying the art of New Spain; thus far have been scattered some of the best and most interesting products of early Mexican art.

"Art of the Old World in New Spain and the Mission Days of Alta California" was a labor of love during the last years of Mrs. Holway's life. On a speaking likeness of her placed in each volume is this pathetic inscription: "This volume on which the eyes of Mrs. Holway never rested was the last link that held her to earth. As the final loose leaves of proof fell from her fingers her spirit passed." She dedicates the book "To the Sons and Daughters of California," offering it "with the sincere wish that the perusal of its pages may bring new light on one phase of development in the formative period of our state's history and an appreciation of the background contributed by both New Spain and her Mother Country across the seas."

In her preface Mrs. Holway pleads for the recognition of the artist in the building of a great city, as "one of the vital constructive forces, ministering to an inherent human need, the love of beauty in a visible form."

Mr. Bernard Maybeck says in an appreciative Foreword it

is his belief that this book will stimulate its readers to rescue from auction rooms and junk shops the old Mission and Spanish Californian treasures which often find their way there and which he hopes will ultimately be turned over to our museums, "and thus make even more clear the picture so charmingly presented here of this obscure link in our history."

Although the book treats of the various forms of art introduced by the conquerors into New Spain and by the padres into Alta California, painting is given the most prominent part. About half the book is devoted to the art of early Mexico; the native primitive art found by Cortes, the art of the old world which was brought to the new, and the later development of native art through European models and teachers. All this is important in relation to our own state, as it was through Mexico that objects of art and instruction flowed to the Mission establishments of Alta California.

In a few pages Mrs. Holway sketches the artistic development of the Aztecs before the conquest. Their paintings, mostly on dressed skins, were crude, but of great historic value which was not appreciated by the Spaniards until, with mistaken and cruel religious zeal, they had burned vast numbers. On these skins were depicted the life and activities of the Aztecs and the mysteries of their religion.

The sculpture of the Aztecs was far in advance of their painting and strongly suggestive of Egypt. They also made admirable little terra cotta figures. They were so skillful in gold and silver work and some of their pieces were so exquisitely wrought as to astonish the goldsmiths of Spain. But the art in which they excelled and which was peculiar to them was the marvellous feather mosaic work, so finely executed that the Spaniards often mistook it for painting. The natives valued these mosaics beyond their finest work in gold.

Finding in the natives so much artistic talent which he thought would respond to instruction in Christian art when their native religion had been overthrown, Cortes urged Charles V to send "missionaries who could build and decorate in a fine manner churches and chapels." The monarch responded by sending among others Pedro de Gante (said to be his cousin) and two other Franciscan monks who, in 1523, established the first school in America. Here were taught painting, sculpture, fine embroidery and music as well as Latin and theology. Deco-

ration of the churches by intricate carving, inlay, cunning work in gold and silver and wrought iron was soon carried to the highest point.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the painters of Mexico had advanced from being mere copyists to producers of creative work. Mrs. Holway gives a long list of artists who produced work of genius and some of whose paintings when unsigned it was difficult to distinguish from paintings by such masters as Titian, Murillo, Velasquez and Guido Reni which were sent over by the monarchs of old Spain. Except portraits of the Viceroy, all the subjects were ecclesiastic. Especial attention is called to two paintings peculiar to Mexico: the Winged Madonna (the theme of which is taken from the Apocalypse) and Our Lady of Guadalupe for which a supernatural origin is claimed.

The story of the Missions of Alta California has been related to us from many angles, religious and secular. It has remained for Mrs. Holway to treat them from a new point of view: the artistic. She says that, not only does California owe a debt to them historically for the first reliable information regarding the early inhabitants which came through descriptions of neophyte life; but the first art impulse on the coast was given by the Missions which furnished subjects for illustration in books of discovery and travel long before the landscape of the coast was thought of as an artistic theme. In the second volume of Vancouver's "Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean" there are two finely engraved plates, "The Mission of San Carlos Near Monterrey" and "The Presidio of Monterrey." These pictures were made from sketches "taken on the spot by F. Sykes," artist of the expedition. They were published in London in 1798 and are the first production of pictorial art in California of which there is any record. In diminished size these very interesting plates are reproduced in Mrs. Holway's book. A painting of San Gabriel Mission by a Mexican artist thirty years later is credited with being the first canvas.

The padres of the conqueror's time in Mexico had a great advantage over those of the north. They found a civilization of high order in which it only needed the importation of painters and architects of ability to produce artistic results. Although it was not until two and a half centuries later that

the padres arrived in California they found natives little advanced beyond their prehistoric ancestors and discouragingly lacking in artistic tendencies. Basket weaving seems to be the only art in which the Indians of this coast were proficient. Their baskets were primarily for the practical uses of domestic life, but some of them were graceful in form and pleasingly decorated with feathers and bits of shell. The Indians did some carving in wood, but the designs were rude and clumsy.

The instruction at first given by the padres was in useful arts, but in the various crafts artistic productions were sometimes the outcome. The Indians learned to make paving and roof tiles, and produced later the fountains of Santa Barbara, San Fernando and San Juan Capistrano and the decorative pottery vases for the Mission gardens. They were taught the craft of the blacksmith, and ornamental hinges and nailheads were the result. They learned to carve stone with the skill that produced the carved cornices and arches of San Juan Capistrano. Decorative brass and leather work followed the homelier uses of those materials.

With training, the neophytes learned to decorate the chapels and churches. From the introduction of Indian symbols in some of the designs it is evident that they were encouraged to develop originality. As time passed native work under the tutelage of the padres was followed in many of the missions by the work of itinerant foreign artists who painted on canvas applied to walls and ceilings. Unsympathetic "restorations" which included coats of whitewash have obliterated much of the work of this description. At San Miguel and at Santa Inez are all that remain untouched by the despoiler.

The generosity of churches and colleges of Old and New Spain and gifts of private individuals brought to the missions of California treasures of great value. Lapérouse wrote of the great number of fine paintings which he saw at Carmel Mission in 1786. Galvez wrote to Father Palou of packing with his own hands sacred ornaments, vestments and silver vessels to accompany Father Serra on his expedition, but Mrs. Holway says that there was a vast contrast between the gorgeous settings of the early ecclesiastical structures in Mexico and the meager product of the California padre with his untrained savage assistants. Yet all possessed paintings of more or less value, statuary, rich vestments and gold and silver altar equip-

ment. In the looting which followed secularization many of these things disappeared, but some were obtained and cherished by the old Spanish families and in the end priests of the parish churches, which succeeded some of the missions, were able to collect from various sources many of the precious objects and these churches are now treasure houses of the past. The museums of Los Angeles, of Golden Gate Park in San Francisco and of the Mission Inn at Riverside possess a share of these treasures as well as heirlooms from some of the old Spanish families. From a historical point of view these are priceless.

The largest collection of paintings once the property of the missions is at San Gabriel. Three of the canvases are attributed to Murillo and one to Correggio. There are many fine paintings at the church of Our Lady of the Angels in Los Angeles, at Santa Barbara, at San Juan Bautista and at Santa Clara. At the rectory of Santa Cruz, among inferior pictures, is a magnificent Ascension, brought from Mexico, the brilliant coloring showing Titian influence. Mrs. Holway states that it was doubtless one of Mexico's masterpieces of the period. At San Luis Obispo and at Santa Inez are interesting canvases of the Mexican school. In short, there is scarcely a mission, not an utter ruin, which does not possess paintings worthy of study from an historical, when not from an artistic, standpoint. Scattered through the missions are many carved crucifixes and saints, some possessing considerable artistic value. Wood was the medium used, it being cheaper than stone or marble and more easily worked.

The last chapter of this book is of especial interest, being devoted to the portraits of Father Serra. Mrs. Holway discusses with copious references and three illustrations "the false and the true."

Only the barest skeleton has been given of the contents of this valuable work, only a hint of what can be found between its covers. The pages are few—less than two hundred—but they teem with information. Mrs. Holway has imparted to her writing her own enthusiasm in her subject and it cannot fail to be passed on to her readers.

Helen Throop Purdy.

The Story of Inyo. W. A. Chalfant. [Chicago], the author, 1922. xviii, 358 pp.

This volume is a valuable contribution to the history of Trans-Alpine California, that hinterland of which far too little is known. The author, son of a pioneer Inyo newspaper-man and himself editor and publisher of a paper in that region, has through long residence in the district become well fitted to perform the task of gathering and compiling the data required for such a work. Although much of the material had been previously published in the files of the local papers with which the author has been connected, it is here for the first time placed within reach of the general reader.

The author has drawn not only upon pioneer reminiscences and newspaper files but he has also made use of the public archives and other library collections outside of the limits of the district. One of the libraries of much value in this work was that of Henry G. Hanks, formerly State Mineralogist, who collected an extensive library regarding the Owen River Valley while engaged in mining activities in that region. Unfortunately this library was lost in the San Francisco fire of 1906.

The book is divided into thirty-two chapters. The first four chapters deal with geology and Indian lore; the next three with explorations, including the story of the Death Valley party of 1849; then, after a chapter on the coming of the stockmen, eight chapters are devoted to the record of Indian troubles. Pioneer settlements are considered in the sixteenth chapter, while the nineteenth takes up the formation of the county in 1866. The last thirteen chapters give the story since 1870. Notwithstanding the author's statement that the purpose of the book is to stress the history of that period before 1870, it is the opinion of the reviewer that these later chapters are among the most valuable in the book since they trace the story of the real economic and social development of the region. Among the subjects here considered are the story of the mines which in reality led to the rapid development of the district, the discovery and development of the borax deposits of Death Valley, the efforts to obtain satisfactory means of transportation, as well as an account of the Owens River project whereby the city of Los Angeles obtains its valuable water supply.

The book would be more helpful to the student of history if it were equipped with an index and if by means of notes it

gave citations of the sources used. The absence of a bibliography is in part made up by the full list of authorities to whom acknowledgment is made in the preface. A sketch map showing the relative situation of pioneer settlements does not do so with the accuracy and completeness some may desire. In spite of these criticisms the reviewer has read the book with great interest and considers it an important contribution to the local history of the state of California.

Owen C. Coy.



EMPEROR NORTON

(Joshua A. Norton, 1815-1880)

From the collection of C. B. Turrill

California Historical Society Quarterly

THE GOLD RUSH

Extracts from the Diary of C. S. Lyman
1848-1849

INTRODUCTION

Chester Smith Lyman was born in Manchester, Connecticut, January 13, 1814. He was the third child and only son of Chester and Mary (Smith) Lyman. After graduation from Yale College (1837) he taught for two years at Ellington, Connecticut. In 1842 he finished his course in the Yale Divinity School and was called to the pastorate of the First (Congregational) Church of New Britain, Connecticut, where he was ordained February 15, 1843. Owing to ill health he resigned this position in April, 1845, and in October of the same year he sailed for the Sandwich Islands. The Journal covers the period from his departure in 1845 to his return to New Haven in 1850.

The period from October 1, 1845, to June 3, 1847, is occupied by the narrator's visit to various of the Sandwich Islands. On July 3, 1847, he landed at San Francisco. From this time until the period of the extracts presented below, he was engaged in surveying private ranches and various town lands in California—of the latter, those in Monterey and in San José (the Pueblo of the Journal) being the most important. After the two visits to the gold fields here recorded, he worked again at surveying until the date of his departure for the East, March 1, 1850. He reached New Haven on April 13. On June 20 he married Delia Wood, the "D W W" of the Journal.

In July, 1859, Mr. Lyman was appointed Professor of Industrial Mechanics and Physics in the Yale Scientific School. In 1871 the title of his chair was changed to Astronomy and Physics; in 1884, to Astronomy. In October of 1886 he retired from teaching. He died at New Haven, January 29, 1890.

The significant parts of the Journal, which make a narrative of some 90,000 words, will be published in a volume by the Yale University Press in the autumn of the present year, under the same editorship as this sequence of extracts.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

JOURNAL

Sat. [May] 27 [1848]. There is a great gold fever raging. Mr Jones & Dr Corey [Benjamin Cory] have returned from the gold region & are preparing to go there to dig. Nearly all the Americans & many of the Californians are preparing to go. Mr Foster my Chain-man goes & I am left without hands & my business is at a standstill. Half San Francisco has already gone.

Mon. [May] 29. Large companies starting for the Gold mines. Got a draft on the Town Treasurer for \$37—the balance due me for the survey. Take also 4 Town Lots N^{os} 1, 4, 5, 8 in Block 3 range 2 South. Cost \$53.00 [(Sold next year for \$1200. in gold coin)]

Tues. [May] 30th. Concluded to start next week with Capt Hanks, Willis & Foster for the gold region taking an ox team.

My business here has come to a dead halt & no hands can be had at all.

Wed. [May] 31st Making preparations, buying sugar &c &c &c.

Fri. June 2^d Rode to Sta Clara to see Mr Forbes, respecting Mr Howards Ranch. He wants a survey of it immediately, but I can get no hands on acc't of the Gold fever, which increases daily. Wag-gons & pack animals are constantly passing thitherward.

Sat. 3^d June. Turning wooden bowls & making other preparations.

Sun. [June] 4th Two Sermons. Mr Anthony AM. Mr Hickok PM. Eve. a Temp[erance] Meeting. The Town so depopulated by the Gold fever not many present except people from Sta Cruz on their way up. Mr Hickok & Mr Dunlevy [James G. T. Dunleavy] spoke, nothing great. Mr H[ickock] mouthed & murdered the Queens English horribly, the other was a decent speaker, but people could not help thinking all the while how shockingly he beat his wife a short time since, a thing which he is in the habit of doing. Meeting too long, left at 10¾, 15 signed the pledge.

Mon. [June] 5th. Preparing to get off tomorrow, in doubt whether to go by the straits where we may have to wait 2 or 3 weeks, or by the San Joaquin where we will have to ferry the river at flood on bullrushes, & cross interminable & bottomless mudholes (almost!)

Tues. 6 June. Started at 8 from Pueblo, reached Mission of San José at 12, having passed Higuera's ranch at 11, where one waggon of another company was upset in crossing a gulch. The Mission

premises are very extensive but much in ruins. The orchards & vineyards are extensive & good, pears particularly, fine water. At 2½ stopped in the hills & lunched, passed through hills by a gentle ascent to a stream passing thro' Siunoll's [Suñol] ranch & encamped near the stream. Traveled today about 20 miles, road mostly good. Killed a bullock, supper coffee & roast beef, spread tent & slept well, rose at 4½, started at 6. Passed through a beautiful & fertile plain claimed by Dolores Pacheco many miles in extent & well wooded, 8 or 9 miles on our way stopped under a tree some time for the team to come up, passed [Robert] Livermore a mile further on. Leaving this place we crossed another plain 5 miles or so in width, but barren & dry, then entering the hills wound through a crooked ravine for several miles till we came to a small spring of water just beyond where the hills begin to slope towards the San Joaquin. Passing the hight just before reaching this place we had a fine view of the Plain of the San Joaquin.

Our encampment a wretched one, but little water & bad, no wood & no shelter, & grass not abundant, but we could do no better without traveling several miles on.

Thurs 8th June. Started at 5½. Two or 3 miles on entered the plain of the San Joaquin. Passing up stream several miles over an almost barren & heated plain we came to the Tulares now overflowed with water, skirted these some miles, stopped to bathe, halted to dine & rest at a slough or deep channel setting out from the river. Drove on at 3 PM a few miles, spent some time in passing a slough & encamped ¾ of a mile beyond & about 1 from the river, found the plain so overflowed as to prevent reaching the river to day. Weather very hot & mosquitoes innumerable. Slept but little, in fact very little sleep in all the camp. Rose at 4.

Fri. [June] 9. Spent the day in trying to find a better place to cross the river than the usual one. Mr. Wilks & Mr. York crossed on a raft of Bulrushes, found no good passage, Tulae [tule] swamps beyond. Encamped at the same place.

Sat. [June] 10th. Rose at 4½, prepared to decamp, doubled & trebled the teams, passed 2 or 3 sloughs, water 4 ft deep, several teams mired down, after much trouble reached the river at night having spent the day in making 1½ miles, bridged one of the sloughs with brush, 6 waggon & cart.

Encamped at river, beautiful place, cool, few mosquitoes. This is called the Piscadero [Pescadero] crossing place, the usual crossing place in dry weather.

Sun. [June] 11th. Fine day, river rising, felt it necessary to

cross as soon as possible, prepared a boat by covering a waggon body with raw hides, fitted it with mast & sail & nearly all the waggons & baggage were over before night, only our party left. Don José Noriega from the Pueblo arrived & stopped with us.

Mon. [June] 12. Rose early. Boating over the rest of the baggage & crossing the horses & cattle, which were towed two at a time by the boat. A ships yawl was also used by us a short time, it having been brought down the river by a company of rough fellows who were taking on a drove of 50 horses. On the other side of the river every thing had to be carried several hundred yards up a slough to a hillock or knoll where we are encamped [at] an old Indian rancheria.

Tues. June 13th. All the animals & luggage having been passed over the river & landed on the knoll last eve, we rose early, & prepared to go on. After passing several bad places of mud & water we came to a deep slough $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from our last camp which occupied us till the middle of the PM to pass, the waggons having to be unloaded, & the vehicles taken across in the leather boat, which was brought in on wheels. Traveling on upon dry land 7 or 8 miles we encamped at the head of a slough setting back from the river & passed a comfortable night. The land we passed through was destitute of wood, some of it a good soil, but much sand and apparently unproductive. Here oaks commence. This place is called the French Camp from the circumstance that some Frenchmen had their camp or attempted a settlement here some time ago.

Wed. [June] 14. Started about 6, & traveled over the plain in a N. E. direction about 10 miles to the Calavaras river a stream of clear cool water a few yards in breadth & flowing into the San Joaquin. Dr. [James C.] Isbells Ranch is on this river & his two houses a little distance above the crossing. After dining & resting here awhile we drove on 10 or 11 miles further to the Mokelemy or Mokelemy [Mokelumne] which we reached long before night. The river is about 150 ft wide & deep, it is fordable I believe at low water but the stream is now up though but little out of its banks. It has a bottom $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile or so in width which in some places was under water, the stream has been this season 6 or 8 feet higher than at present. On the flat near the stream & surrounded by water & mud are two log houses occupied by a Mr Piles [Thomas Pyle] whose wife, a strapping dirty looking creature informed us about the passage & at the same time brushed off the mosquitoes which were very numerous. At the rivers bank they swarm in myriads & are almost insupportable.

We selected our camping place on the upland $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the R[iver] to avoid the mosquitoes as much as possible. The land over which we passed today is of ordinary quality & much of it very poor. We passed thro considerable oak timber with which also this stream as also the Calavaras are lined. We rose early & prepared to cross the R[iver]. The raw hide boat cover which we had brought from the San Joaquin was again fitted to a waggon body, & by the aid of a line stretched across the stream, the ferrying was all accomplished & the waggons reloaded by 12 oclock. An oak canoe was also of some assistance. The day has been very hot & the mosquitoes at the R[iver] very annoying. After dining on the farther bank we started on & traveled over a thinly wooded prairie with poor soil about 8^m to the dry creek, which afforded a beautiful camp ground under large oaks with fine water in the bed of the stream & plenty of grass & oats. The stream is not a flowing one at this season. Oats we have only seen in small spots occasionally over the plain of the San Joaquin & the grass is generally very coarse. Pitts, Murphy & others came up with us while we were crossing the Bohelemy. Murphy & co with Annador [José María Amador] & company with some others encamped with us at the Dry Creek. The afternoon was very hot partly probably from extensive fires which are running over the plain occasioned most likely by the carelessness of parties who have proceeded [preceded] us.

Frid. June 16th. Rose at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ had breakfast at 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ & started at 4 on our way our course northerly. From Dry creek the plain is almost entirely destitute of wood & the grass has just been entirely burnt off leaving a black dreary surface.

After riding nearly 20 miles we came to the River Cosumnes, a fine mountain stream a few yards in width, & a foot or two in depth. Half a mile before reaching it we entered fine groves of oaks. We halted on the river under some oaks about 9 & waited for the waggon which came up about 11 $\frac{1}{2}$. Here we took dinner & rested till 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM.

At 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ started on, following the stream to the mill about a mile from our halting place. Mill small, one run of stone, fall of the river small, much water, on the West side a beautiful fertile plain spreads out furnishing the most eligible farm I have yet seen. This plain must be $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile wide & several in length.

Here the eye ranges over a tract of country more strongly resembling old Conn. than any other I have seen, low rolling hills, well wooded, & fertile vallies extend as far as the eye can reach, & in the back ground 60 or 80 miles to the East rise the snowy mountains covered with their white mantle.

Leaving the stream to the right we rode on 4 miles beyond the Mill & encamped by some standing water with oaks near by.

Sat. [June] 17. Drove on about 11 miles & halted by some water in a valley till the teams came up at 11. Capt H[anks] & myself meanwhile rode on to reconnoiter, & after returning & dining &c, we started again & went to the lower Diggings at the Mormon Camp about 4 miles distant. Weather excessively hot. Had the misfortune to lose the Ther[mometer] at the Diggings. The Island on which is the Mor[mon] Camp crowded. Get \$16 to 25 a day, people washing all along the river, ferry 1 mile up. Saw many acquaintances. Returned in the PM. Teams came on $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile & encamped by the main road from Sutters up the river at about a mile or more distant from it.

Night very hot slept ill. Rose at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ for 2 mornings past, & get ready to move at 4. Moved up towards the upper digging about 10 miles & stopped under some shades till near night & then went on a few miles further on & encamped. Day very hot.

Mon. [June] 19th. Rose early. Started on. Cattle much heated. Capt H[anks] & I rode on to explore, reached Sutters saw-mill, had camp past the turning off place to go to the digging below the mill which we had decided on trying, returned, & late PM came on with the team as far as the river, turning off about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles below the mill & winding to the left down the stream. Too late to cross over. Encamped on the sand.

Tues. [June] 20th. AM Capt H[anks] & I crossed & went prospecting two miles down the river, decided on a place & went back, passed the waggons & baggage & PM moved down a mile below the ferry.

Wed. [June] 21st. Finished making a machine for washing & commenced operations. Little gold yielded.

Thurs. [June] 22. Dug & washed several hours, poor yield, only a few dollars worth of gold. Started off Prospecting. Capt H[anks] found a better place a few rods above, at a rocky point projecting into the river. Moved the machine thither. Washed out 16 or 20 dollars worth in about an hour.

Frid. [June] 23^d. Rose early. Worked the machine 5 hours AM & 4 PM obtaining about 11 oz. of gold or 32 dollars apiece for the company of 5 individuals.

Sat. 24th June. Washed out 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz in about 11 hours, making \$40 apiece reckoning \$16 to the oz.

Sun. [June] 25. Fine day—& day of rest. Sat in shade, did some reading & writing.

Sat July 1st 1848. Have kept our machine going at the same place working about 9 hours a day—i. e. from 5 to 11 AM & from 4 to 7 PM, blowing out the black sand during the noon intermission. The days works were as follows

Mon	all	day	20	oz	14	dol
Tues	"	"	14	"	2	"
Wed	AM		6	"	2	"
Wed	noon to					
	Thurs	noon	10	"	4	"
	Fri	noon	11	"	1	"
	Sat	noon	25	"	8	"

[At this period in California the ounce was regarded as a monetary unit, to which the dollar was subsidiary.]

The last was obtained from near the same place as that of Mon, only nearer the river, the water having fallen 1 or 2 feet during the week. Our aggregate gains up to this time (8 days) are about \$1800 or \$360 apiece. The weather the last 2 or 3 days has been warmer & the water of the river grows warm as the snows become more melted.

Sun 2^d July. Mr D[ouglass] & myself went to Jones Camp 1½ miles above to engage in religious exercises. Most of the party belonging to his camp were absent & it was concluded to appoint a religious meeting there for the next Sabbath.

On returning to our camp about noon I found Mr Wilks Bro-in-Law Francisco had returned from above where he had been doing extremely well, & that Mr Wilks & Capt Hanks had resolved to leave our diggings & go there immediately. Of course I must go or be left in the lurch, so I concluded to go.

Mon. [July] 3^d. Up early, decamped at 8 AM. Crossed the river by the assistance of a scow, or small boat, & proceeded 3 miles on the road up very steep & sandy hills, it being the same road by which we had come down. Mr. D[ouglass] went to the store at the Mill & bought each of us a shovel for \$10. apiece. There are three teams in company, Wilks', Capt Hanks' & Mr York's.

Tues. July 4th. Started early on our way. Weather very hot, 2 miles on entered the road from Sutters to the Mill, passed down it towards Sutters a mile or two & took the trail for Webbers Camp on a creeke that runs into the Am[erican] Fork from the S. E. Reached the creek & crossed about 10 AM. The stream is only a small rivulet. Webber had just moved his camp 8 miles up the stream to the place whither we were bound. The diggings in this vicinity seem to be pretty much worn out, & the people were moving away. Noon at

the creek. Started about 2 PM, ascended a very steep sandy hill which occupied 2 hours & proceeded to within a mile or two of the diggings, but night having come on we turned down the main road to Sutters 2 miles to find water & grass for an encampment. Reports of the diggings discouraging, have been extremely good but are now failing, & people are crowding in by hundreds.

Wed. July 5. Spent the forenoon in hunting for Wilks oxen, which had strayed off, found by indians to whom W[ilks] paid \$30 in gold. PM rode in to the diggings 5 miles, poor encouragement. The company in doubt whether to go on or go back. Decide to go on. Weather hot, traveled today 13 miles.

Thurs. July 6. Spent several hours in hunting the cattle again, got off at 11 AM & reached the valley at noon. Selected a camp. Tried several places for gold found some but not enough to pay for digging. Found gold in gulches on the hills where we last encamped.

Frid [July] 7. Divided the provisions. Mr D[ouglass] & I joined Mr B[ascom] Cases Camp, & spent part of the day in prospecting, not much success, the principle Gulches in this region have been dug out, from one about \$30,000 were taken in 10 or 12 days—17,000 of it in 2 days. Other gulches turned out very well. The Gold here is found most abundantly in the side ravines or gulches, the excavations are generally from 1 to 3 feet deep & about the same width following the bottom of the gulch & the gold is found chiefly in the crevices of the slate rock which lies just under the surface of the ground, the lamina or strata standing nearly perpendicularly. Mr. D[ouglass] & Mr Case started out prospecting.

About noon Gov Mason arrived with his party consisting of Capt Folsom, Lieut Sherman, Mr Borde the Purser of the *Warren* & Mr Suerkrop, Danish Consul at the S. I. Spent an hour or two with them at Webbers Camp. They returned towards night down the Creek. The Gov is collecting specimens & preparing a representation for Washington in order to get a branch Mint established at San Francisco.

Sat [July] 8. Dr Corey & Mr Beebe & myself went prospecting to a Ravine 4 miles North, where an Irishman named [Michael] Murray obtained about \$3000 in 3 or 4 days, passing two ravines & two high ridges from which the snowy mts were visible we reached the valley & found the crowd had proceeded [preceded] us, the ravine was full of diggers, & the finding of gold had become quite uncertain. We tried several places, but did not get much, John Murphy trading with the Indians was taking in gold very fast selling glass beads for their weight in gold, Serapas at \$60 &c &c. Returning examined a

ravine & picked about \$2 of gold from the rocks in a short time, reach Camp sun 2 hours high.

Mon [July] 10th. Mr Case returned about noon, reported good diggings about 4 miles to the north on dry creek. Mr Douglass had remained there. We immediately packed up & moved our camp thither picking our route over the high hills & encamping in dry creek before sunset, near a gulch which had been opened two days before & from which many thousand dollars had been taken. Weather moderate & pleasant.

Tues 11th July. Commenced digging in the gulch. Mr. Douglass & I taking a spot about a rod in length & digging towards each other. In the course of the day we picked out about 7 oz each, besides collecting dirt to wash. The gulch full of people.

Wed [July] 12th. A.M. Finished our place in the gulch & commenced packing dirt to our camp to wash, our camp being half a mile off in another ravine leading to the Am[erican] river.

Pack saddle broke and the PM was spent in repairing it, it being a borrowed one.

Thurs July 13th. AM Finished the pack saddle & washed considerable dirt. The mending of the saddle cost about \$100—ie, I should probably have collected that amount of gold while mending it.

Friday [July] 14th. Mr D[ouglass] & myself washing the dirt collected, which yields about 2 or 3 dollars of gold to the shovel full.

Sat. [July] 15th. Mr Douglass went over to a gulch running into dry creek & obtained a pound of gold, nearly in the course of the day. I dug in the AM near camp & in the PM in the gulch with Mr Douglass, obtained but little, precarious business. Mr. Douglass & myself have obtained since Tues morning 60 oz of gold, which with 3½ which Mr D[ouglass] collected on Monday gives us in all for the weeks work 63½ oz or \$1016. or \$508 dollars apiece.

Mon. 17th July. It being reported that rich diggings had been discovered about 20 miles up the river Mr D[ouglass] & myself packed up provisions for a week & started about noon to ascertain the truth of the matter, somewhat suspecting at the same time that it might prove a wild goose chase, yet glad to avail ourselves of the opportunity to examine the country farther mountainward. Proceeding to Webbers camp 4 miles distant we took to Mormon trail leading to the Salt lake & proceeded as far as the Mormon Camp 10 or 12 miles up the Creek. We found a few Mormons remaining at the Camp but could obtain no information from them respecting the new diggings. We encamped a little below their camp.

Tues July 18. Soon after starting fell in with Mr Reed with a party of 7 others (Conner, 3 Pyle's &c) on the same errand as ourselves, concluded to proceed together. Struck in from the Mormon trail a couple of miles or more northerly & took an indian trail leading up the dividing ridge between the River & Webbers creek. Following this 5 or 6 miles we met several people coming back, after searching for the diggings in vain. Mr D[ouglass] & myself resolved to turn back, the rest kept on. We had returned but a mile or so when we met Dan Murphy & others who were on the same pursuit & had what appeared to be more reliable information. So we turned back resolved to go 'far enough to satisfy ourselves. Rejoining Reeds party we went on 5 or 6 miles & again entered on the Mormon trail, proceeding 6 or 8 miles on this we encamped by a clear cold mountain rivulet in a ravine on the right having traveled about 20 miles up from the Mormon Camp.

Wed July 19th. Slept soundly, again started on continually rising. Traveled till noon bearing towards the S.E. Satisfied that gold was not to be found in this region & that it would be extremely difficult to penetrate to the main River on account of the tremendous ravines or Canyons which intersect the mountains, we halted on the top of a hill, with the snowy mountains in full view not more than 8 or 10 miles distant, the whiteness of the snowy mantle causing them to appear much nearer, the atmosphere was cool & refreshing at noonday & the weather beautiful. The mountain scenery around was grand, & we felt pretty well paid for our journey, tho' no gold had been found. After leaving the Mormon Camp, Quartz almost entirely ceased & the geology of the country changed, from the Slate rock of the upper gold diggings we passed over varieties of gneiss & the last part of our ride the principle rock was Granite. All the way we passed thro' most beautiful forests of fine Fir, Redwood, Cedar & Oak. The pines, firs, & redwood were many of them of extraordinary size & height, being often 50 or 80 feet to the branches & from 150 to 200 or more feet high. many of them being from 6 to 8 or 9 feet in diameter. We now resolved to return to our last nights camp, about 12 miles, which we did, reaching it a little before night.

Thurs. July 20. Started early, it was resolved that half our party should penetrate to the river on foot & explore for gold, while the rest proceeded along the ridge with the horses. Following the road 3 or 4 miles the foot party turned off & the rest of us kept on about 4 miles & halted for the foot men to come up, at the same time 3 of our party descending to the River to intercept them, about 5 PM the foot party made their appearance thoroughly tired having found tremendous Can-

yons but no gold. The stream was a considerable one & must be a main branch of the river. We found a good camping place a short distance from where we halted.

Frid July 21. Satisfied that further search for the reported diggings was useless we resolved to proceed directly back to camp. Mr Reeds party departing before us & Mr D[ouglass] & myself taking the trail leading down the dividing ridge towards Webbers Creek leaving the Mormon trail on our left. A few miles on we turned in towards the river to explore, passing some deep & difficult ravines till meeting a fire sweeping thro' the forest we turned back into the trail to avoid it & proceeding directly back to Camp, reaching it about sunset having stopped to take tea a mile back at Mr Nelighs Camp. Mr Belden spent the night with us, & left in the morning for the Pueblo. We found that many who had left on the same search as ourselves had returned equally unsuccessful. We had had the pleasure of the trip but were minus the amount of gold we might have dug had we remained behind, many of our friends having made from 300 to 1000 dollars during our absence.

Sat [July] 22^d. Went to work in the creek or ravine in which we are encamped, not successful, both of us obtaining but about 3 oz.

Mon [July] 24. Water at our camping place having got very bad we moved to a fine spring 3 miles from the diggings down Dry Creek where we have good pasturage for cattle & horses, a fine shade all day & a good place for washing with a machine. Dug but little gold.

Tues. 25 July. Dug in the Gulch or Ravine in which Mr Neligh & Dr Corey are encamped. Moderate success.

Wed. [July] 26. Dug in the same place. Mr D[ouglass] being unwell remained in camp.

We have obtained the last 3 days nearly 6 ounces or but 1^{oz} a day apiece. The poorest work we have done.

Thurs [July] 27. Mr D[ouglass] & myself digging dirt from the next ravine west to cart & wash with a machine at our camp having made an arrangement with Mr Case for that purpose.

Frid [July] 28. Digging in same place. Mr Case has drawn to camp 5 small loads of earth. Not much gold to be picked out, or visible in digging.

Sat [July] 29th. Washed out the earth brought down the last two days it yielded 17^{oz} or 8½^{oz} for Mr Case & the same for Mr D[ouglass] & myself. Mr Case's boy staid to keep camp yesterday & day before. This gives each of us \$23 per day for the last 3 days.

Sun 30th July. Spent the day in Camp. Mr Matthews & son & Rev Mr Anthony came & spent the Sabbath with us, had religious exercises, agreeable & profitable.

Mon & Tues [July 31st and Aug 1st]. Digging earth to cart from the same ravine we worked in last week, 3 loads each day.

Wed & Thurs [Aug 2^d and 3^d]. Digging in lower part of the old ravine in which we did our best weeks work a fortnight ago (nearly opposite the last), picked out several large pieces, 3 or 4 oz in all, & carted 4 loads of earth.

Frid & Sat. [Aug 4th and 5th]. Washing out the 11 loads of earth (1 was obtained on Frid.) & obtained 46^{oz} and $\frac{2}{3}$ ^d, giving for my share (one fourth) 11^{oz} 11^{dols} or \$187. for the weeks work—to \$31 per day.

Mon [Aug] 7th. Digging in same place as last week, 3 loads of earth, picked 1^{oz} or 1 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Tues [Aug.] 8th. Horses not to be found this morning, instead of going to our digging place, washed yesterdays earth, finished at noon, result 12^{oz} 5^{dol} in all, my portion 3^{oz} 1^{dol}=\$50.

Sat. [Aug.] 12th. Mr D[ouglass] myself & Bascom Case washing the dirt with the machine. Mr Case carting 2 loads. Did not finish the washing. The earth we have washed the last 2 weeks yields about 4^{oz} the load, which are small.

Mr Douglass went to the Mill 10 miles off for groceries. Prices here are high, at present as follows

Sugar \$1.00, Rice .33, Coffee 1.00, Manteca [Lard] 1.00, Figs & Raisins 1.00, Shoes \$10. to 16., Flour 25. to 35, Beans 15 to 25, Mollasses \$3. to 6. gal, Shovels 10.00, Butter 1.50 lb, Spades \$10.00, Crowbars 10. to 40, Saleratus 1.50, Thin Cot. Pants 10.00, Milk pans 5. to 10.00, Wooden bowls 5. to 10.00, Picks 10. to 30.00, Beef fresh 12 to (25) 50^{cts}, \$8 to 12 per qr, Carting from fort \$10 per cw., Shirts 10.00 25.00 each, Dried pears 25. to 75., Potatoes per lb. 1.00.

Almost every other camp is a store, goods are abundant, but business dull, everybody cannot get rich trading.

Made 7^{oz} & 11^{dols} this week=\$20 per day. Earth not so good as expected.

Mon Aug 14, 1848. Washed out a load or two of earth left last week. Yielded but poorly. Mr Douglass digging, ditto myself PM.

Tues. [Aug.] 15. Digging at same place. Carted 2 Loads.

Wed. [Aug.] 16th. Digging in same place. Carted one load. Cattle lost found early.

Thurs [Aug.] 17th. Washed out our earth. Small yield.

Frid 18th Aug. Digging in same ravine a few rods below, hope for better success, 3 loads.

Sat [Aug.] 19. Washed out. Earth was not so good as the former. With the interruptions & poor diggings this week have made but 4^{oz} 5 ^{dols}=\$11½ per day.

Mr Case has concluded to leave for home next week. Think some what of going with him. The profits of digging are but moderate comparatively. Many people are sick of fevers & fever & ague. The weather is hot at midday, grass for horses scarce. My horse I now have safe, tho' others are losing them every day. On these & other accounts, especially as I am now in good health, & furthermore may get business below in the way of surveying I think it about as well to go home to the Pueblo with Mr Case.

Since I came to the mines 2 months ago I have collected about 86^{oz} of gold or not far from \$1380, at \$16 the oz. This is better than I could have done surveying. My health has been uniformly good, improving, if anything. Appetite good, eat heartily sleep soundly. Live chiefly on a farinaceous diet, flour in griddle cakes, short cakes, & atolae [atole] or thick gruel, rice boiled, together with dried pears stewed, jerked beef now & then & occasionally fresh beef varied with stews of hares & quails, both the latter excellent eating. Besides these wild game in these mountains is very scarce. A few stray deer are seen occasionally but I have heard of none being shot.

Our camp for the last 3 weeks has been a very quiet & pleasant one, with a good spring of water. The great objection to it is the distance to the diggings=3 or 4 miles.

Mon [Aug.] 21. Mr. Case concludes to remain till Thurs so as to have the company of Anthony & Cospar. Mr D[ouglass] & myself tried digging in the Log Cabin ravine a little below our former Camp where within the last week or two a great amount of gold has been taken from the southern bank of the stream, a flat being there formed between the foot of the hill & the bed of the stream from 10 to 20 yards in width. This has already been dug back nearly half way to the hill & continues rich. Mr Cospar gets from 2 to 10 ounces per day, others as much or more. One man averaged over \$100 for 8 days. I dug near Cospar & obtained about 3½ oz. Mr D[ouglass] being unwell did not work much.

Tues [Aug.] 22. Dug in same place & obtained about the same as yesterday. The am[ount] for the two days for Mr D[ouglass] & myself is 7^{oz} 4½^{dols} or 3^{oz} 10¼^d for each of us.

Wed. [Aug. 23^d]. Spent the day in camp preparing to depart this P.M. Mr D[ouglass] moves his camp to the place where we have dug the last two days. He sends down by me to San Francisco nearly \$1400 of Gold. The amt of all the gold I have dug the last two months or since I arrived in the mines is not far from \$1440 at \$16 the ounce, which with \$160 in gold collected for Mr Neligh for surveying Com Stockton's Ranch makes \$1600 which I take down with me, or just 100 ounces, or 8½ pounds Troy.

Our cattle having gone astray we did not get off as early as we intended. We started an hour before sunset & reached the diggings at Webbers Creek about 5 miles distant soon after eight. Here we encamped for the night, with no grass for our animals.

Several camps are still here & among them Mr York's with a large assortment of goods. Webber has moved his camp to the new diggings further south.

Thurs. 24 Aug. Rose at 3½ & started on with out breakfast. Morning very cold. Chilly with two overcoats on. Sleep interrupted last night by a horse treading around my bed, the former being tied to the tongue of the waggon & the latter being spread on the ground beside it.

Reached a watering place five miles out at which we encamped 2 nights on our way up about 6½ AM. Here too took breakfast, & then drove to the forks of the road 8 Miles further where we stopped an hour & a half or till a quarter before one to rest & feed our animals, & take dinner. Here was the first good grazing we had found. Our route thus far has been about W S W.

Started at a quarter before one & drove on 12 or 13 miles, to a place where we halted for the night, there being grass but no water, we reached this place at dusk. Our supper we took about 3 miles back at a fine rill of water.

Frid Aug 25. Rose at 3¾ & started on, the morning being beautiful & not so chilly as we had been accustomed to in the Mts. At about 9 AM reached Daily's [William Daly] on the Cosumnes, where we halted for breakfast & rest, having driven about 12 miles, which would make the distance by our estimate, from Webbers Diggings to Dailys About 38 miles.

At Daily's we were joined by Messrs Anthony & Cospar who had gone by way of Sutters Mill.

At 11 AM started on. Messrs A[nthony] & C[ospar] & the Portuguese Sailor on horse back. Mr Case & his son in the waggon, 3 miles down the river we stopped to bathe. We are now out of the hills & the country presents the appearance of a rolling prairie, or plain

rising into gentle declivities. A strong breeze has been blowing from the N which makes the weather cool & I have worn a thick coat most of the P.M.

The road all the distance thus far is good & well traveled.

Near Daily's met Mr Montgomery returning from an exploration of the various new diggings. He had been as far as the Stanislaus & reports gold in greater or less abundance on that & all the intermediate streams from 30 to 50 miles in from their mouths or midway in the Mts as on the Am[erican] Fork. But as yet the gold tho beautiful does not seem to be so abundant as at the dry digging. It is more water worn & consequently smoother & more rounded. He showed some specimens which he had obtained himself & his companion dug 6^{oz} in 2 or 3 hours. This was in a ravine 4 or 5 miles from the river Stanislaus. There are not many digging yet besides Indians.

Reached Dry Creek 16 miles from Daily's at about sunset, encamped for the night.

Sat [Aug.] 26. Cattle missing. Sun an hour high before we started. 8 or 9 miles on reached the Mukelemnnes [Mokelumne] which is now fordable. Several companies are encamped here temporarily, among them Mr Neligh & Dr Cory. Dr C[ory] is sick of fever, but getting better. Remained here till after Dinner which we took at Mr Hopper's table. 8 miles further on we reached the Calavaras, which is now dry except standing pools, crossed below Dr Isbels. Stopped awhile to bait our horses.

Reached French Camp 11 miles on at the head of a Slough setting up from the river at 9 PM & encamped for the night, 2 or 3 other parties encamped here on their way to the Stanislaus.

Sun [Aug.] 27th. No grass for animals. Mr. Anthony unwell, & considering all things we found it necessary to move on, so as not to remain in the pestilential vicinity of the San Joaquin longer than we might be obliged to do.

Ten miles bro't us to the River & in an hour we were over, a boat being ready for the use of travelers. After a little refreshment on the bank of the R[iver] we drove on 7 miles to a slough where we encamped. The River we found low but not fordable. This crossing was very different from what we had experienced 2 months & a half ago when we went up. There is now no water in the sloughs. Saw the grave of Mr [William] Whiteman who was drowned in one of the sloughs 2 months ago.

The Wests were camped at the same place with us. Mosquitoes very numerous, no sleep. Took my bed & carried it some distance from the timber into the plain, but all of no use. Could not get a

wink of sleep. Stood it till 1 AM then got up & went to cooking. Ate breakfast at 3½. Started out at 5. 10 miles bro't us to the base of the hills. 8 more to a large rock near the "Divide" under the shadow of which we slept some 3 hours to make up for last night. Stopped 2 miles before reaching Livermores to bait, & get dinner, passed Livermores at dusk & reached a fine grassy camping place at 10 PM, having travelled about 35 miles—viz 10 to the hills, 12 thro hills, 5 over plain to dining place & 8 to camp.

Tues. 28 Aug. Started at 5 went on 3 miles & breakfasted. 8 more brought us to the Mission of San Jose where we filled ourselves with some most delicious pears, no melons were ripe, we got some green corn 3 miles on & took along to roast.

Left the Mission at 12½. Stopped at the Sta Clara bridge to roast our corn & take a lunch, & Mr Anthony & the sailor took the road to San Francisco & Mr Cospar & myself that to the Pueblo which we reached at dusk.

Wed. Oct 4th. Packing & getting ready to be off.

We take with us 10 cwt of Flour, 200 cwt onions, & an invoice of Goods amounting to \$2147.50 at Pueblo prices.

Thurs. Oct. 5. Dug some onions before breakfast to take with us to eat. Started about 11 AM. Passed the Mission at dark & encamped a mile or two beyond among the hills. Slept under the waggon.

Frid. [Oct.] 6. Started at 8, a little way on the waggon got stuck in crossing a gulch & hindered till 10. Went on about 4 miles & stopped to dine. Cattle very slow. Started at 3½ went 3 miles & camped, this being the best grass with water this side of the San Joaquin.

Sat. [Oct.] 7th. Rose before the sun, night cold, frost. Some tea left in the kettle was frozen solid. Started at 8½ AM reached Livermores 8^m at 11½. Got some grapes, 2 clusters for a Real [12½ cents]. Stopped to water & dine at the Sausal 1½ miles beyond.

Started at 3½ & reached the watering place in the hills at 8 PM 10 miles, no grass, water as plenty as last June, no dew.

Sun. [Oct. 8th]. Started at 7, cool & pleasant. Reached watering place at slough 15 miles at 2 PM. Thousands of antelopes, elks, & horses on the plain. Encamped at slough 5 miles further on & two from Pescadero [Pescadero] crossing of the San Joaquin. Not troubled with mosquitos.

Mon. [Oct.] 9th. Crossed the river & encamped a mile & a half beyond this being the last water for 15 miles.

A company of men having started a ferry at the crossing, have now two common boats, designing to put on a flat bottomed ferry boat as soon as practicable. Fare \$1. for man, \$8. for waggon & load.

Tues. [Oct.] 10th. Took a direct course across the plain for the Stanislaus 15 miles or more, sandy & hard wheeling. Cattle heated, stopped several hours on plain to rest, reached the river at 8 PM. Grass plenty.

Wed. [Oct.] 11th. Passed up the river over a sandy bad road 9 or 10 miles to the ford which we reached sun 2 hours high, could not ford with the waggon without wetting goods, carried things over by hand & up the steep bank, camped on the other side, good grass, some horses of our company lost.

Thurs. 12th Oct. Started at 7. Road mainly up the river for several miles then diverging to the right, it became hilly & bad. A few miles further on came to an ox waggon belonging to Savage & Co. which had remained 4 days in the same place the oxen having been lost. Not coming up with our traveling companions, we encamped here for the night there being now of our company with the waggon only Wilkes & a Californian with myself.

Friday 13th Oct. Started in good season, still the rock is sandstone, had bad hills to ascend, traveled slowly, stopped in the eve where there was some grass but not water.

Sat. [Oct.] 14. Went on 4 or 5 miles & breakfasted at a spring where there was considerable grass, I went 5 miles to explore & returned, remained till PM & then went on to a plain where we found considerable grass & good water. This is a romantic & secluded place 2 miles or so in width & nearly surrounded by walls of trap or basalt presenting the appearance of a huge volcanic crater, which the ignorant seem to regard it. The road enters it as well as makes its exit thro' a deep notch, in the bottom of which the rock appears to be a sort of slate. Several miles before entering this place the rock is slate, similar to that at the Dry Diggings on the Am[erican] fork, dipping nearly perpendicularly & trending N W or N N W.

Sun [Oct.] 15. Our travelling companions, some Italians with a country cart, being essential in assisting us up some difficult hills we were obliged to go on a few miles to day, extremely against my inclination, we went on 4 or 5 miles, passed the first camps & a mile further on crossed over a high ridge of basalt, just beyond which we encamped, no grass but plenty of water.

Mon [Oct.] 16. Rose early, had several difficult miles to ascend.

Four or 5 miles on reached an Indian Rancheria, where Dan Murphy has a camp selling goods for Webber. Early in the forenoon we broke the tongue of our waggon in crossing a ravine & spent 3 hours in repairing damages. Waited at the Rancheria an hour. Sold 71 lbs of flour for \$1.50 a pound, some sugar at \$3.00 & Tea at \$4.00, also some flour & sugar to the Indians. 2 miles on had a bad hill to ascend at which the Cattle "balked" obliging us to push up most of our load on my mule. Reached Gulnacs camp at dusk.

The day cloudy & threatening rain. Spread my blanket on the ground & turned in. About midnight awoke & found it raining but only slightly, hoping it would stop hauled my blanket over my head & went to sleep, at 4 woke again, raining quite fast, rose, put up my bed & went into Gulnacs tent. It rained but little & only a few sprinklings after daylight.

Tues. [Oct.] 17. Day cloudy & damp, put up tent, many people buying goods flour onions etc. Did not sell very much however. Many camps in this valley, little gold dug at present. Most people trading, market overstocked.

Wed 18. Oct. Sold most of our flour at \$14 per 25 lbs, onions & dry goods almost no sale.

Thurs & Frid. [Oct. 19th & 20th.] Very little trade, people leaving, diggings poor, few getting more than 1 or 2 oz per day.

Examined the rich ravine where a piece said to weigh 15 or 20 lbs of pure gold was taken out. The rock on which the gold lies appears to be a species of gneiss, very hard & resembling basalt. The strata running about N N W & dipping 75° or 80° easterly. In passing down the creek to the lower camps 5 or 6 miles various successive strata of slates present themselves with about the same direction & inclination. The gold is found here as elsewhere only in the drift or diluvium. In this region most of the gold is taken from dry ravines setting into the main creek which runs into the river Tuallomy [Tuolumne], in south westerly direction. 5 to 6 miles below where the deposit has been found very rich the gold occurs in the main stream resting on the same kind of rock mentioned above. Quartz is abundant in the region, & I noticed some dykes or beds of it several yards in thickness, between beds or strata of the slatey rocks.

Sat 21st Oct. Lost my mem. book with Mr Ricord's note of \$350. on the path to the lower camps.

Sun. 22^d Oct 1848. Staid in camp, reading. Much noise & drinking in neighboring camps. A great deal of gambling done here. Gold sells for \$5 to \$8. per ounce.

Wed. [Oct.] 25. Made sale of the remains of our invoice at cost to Mr Den, this being the best disposal we could make of it. Our expedition has not been as profitable as we had hoped. We have cleared however about \$400 apiece. While we have done this others have done 10 or 20 times as much, especially those who sell grog, which I would not be engaged in for all the gold of the Plaero. One man tells me that since he opened his grog shop 7 days ago he had made \$7000 or over \$1000 a day. Last Sunday he took in \$2000 half of it in cash, the first day he cleared more than the whole cost of his stock. A dram cost on an average \$2. or more.

As a specimen of the prices at the Plaero I mention the following, which have been the prices at this place within the month past

Flour per lb \$.50 to 4.00, Sugar per lb 1.00 to 4.00, Tobacco 2.00 to 4.00, Tea per oz 1.00, Coffee 1.00 to 3.00, Bullocks \$50. to 100., Salt per lb 3.00, Onions per 100 lbs 64., Butcher Knives 3.00 to 8.00, Shoes 16.00, Candles tallow .50 sperm 1.00, Dried pears per lb 2.00

From the Indians all sorts of prices are taken & much deception is practiced. [James D.] Savage used an ounce weight which counterpoised 11 silver dollars. A common practice is to use a two oz weight for an oz &c. Gold sells for 6 to 8 dollars an oz in cash. It has been down to 3 & 4 among the gamblers, which have been very numerous here. For the last two days several hundred people have left this valley, & it now looks quite desolate.

Thurs [Oct.] 26. Started at 9 AM for home, with 4 sailors in company who had just arrived & being sadly disappointed in their expectations had applied to us for passage down. We traveled from 20 to 30 miles a day & reached the Pueblo Wednesday Nov 1st the distance being not far from 135 or 140 miles.

One eve in approaching the Stanislaus Wilks went on ahead to find the road leading to our intended camping place, after finding it & before reaching the waggon his horse gave out & he was obliged to take up his lodgings under an oak without coat or blanket. Meanwhile we reached the place of encampment with the waggon. Wilks came up in the morning & informed us that 3 bears had followed on our track the night before, & had been very near where he was lying. We at the waggon did not get ready to turn in till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12.

We saw many poor horses on the road which having been worn out with hardships were turned adrift to die of starvation. One poor creature on the wide plain out of pure charity we undertook to lead to water 4 or 5 miles distant. He was made fast to the waggon to lead behind, but on arriving at the watering place in the eve the horse was missing, & was found a few rods back near the water to which we had

been bringing him to drink choked to death, having been dragged by the neck nearly a mile behind the waggon.

The Stanislaus where we crossed it, several miles above the usual crossing, was fordable the water not being over 18 inches deep.

The San Joaquin was also fordable at the Piscadero [Pescadero] crossing being much lower than where we went up, the water about half filling the body of the waggon. My trunk & other articles I took over in one of the boats.

Not having reserved a sufficient supply of provisions for our large family we were obliged to buy flour & beef at the San Joaquin. The ferrymen keep flour for sale at \$20 per cwt.

The weather was beautiful all the way down, nights cool, days comfortable & pleasant. The plain of the San Joaquin was covered with wild geese, many Ducks, Cranes also made their appearance. Likewise many wild horses & antelopes.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the season we met great numbers of people on their way to the Plaero. At a small pool of water just at the entrance into the hills we found a modest appearing lad of Dutch origin, a recently discharged volunteer. He was alone, his saddle & blankets lying on the ground & his horse, which appeared to be in the last stage of starvation, grazing the almost barren ground near by. The poor fellow said he had nothing to eat had been separated from his companions two days & with the rest of his company had subsisted for the last 10 days on horse flesh, still he was bent on reaching the Mines.

The evening before reaching home I got sadly poisoned with the yedera [yedra] or Ivy in searching for wood after dark for a campfire.

Wed Nov 1st 1848. Reached the Pueblo at noon washed & shaved & changed. Had not shaved since I left, four weeks.

Thurs. [Nov.] 2^d. Scores of volunteers from the South have passed through the town today on their way to the Plaero. They go prepared to spend the winter.

Frid. [Nov.] 3^d. Settled accounts with Mr Wilks & found I had cleared on the recent trip to the Gold Region \$450.00.

Tues. [Apr.] 3^d [1849]. Saw Col Mason from Mont[ere]y on his way to San F[rancisco]. 2^d steamer at M[onterey] on Sat. & reached San F. yesterday Morn. News to Feb 1st Nothing of much importance but the gold excitement.

Thurs. [Apr.] 5th. This morn Prof Forrest Shepard of New Haven arrived from San Fran[cis]co having come out in the steamer

Oregon. Rec'd also letters Sister Mary & Cousin Martha & Mr Pratt of Meriden. Great excitement at home about the gold. Everybody coming.

Frid. [Apr.] 6. Busy every leisure moment preparing letters for home. Sent some specimens of Gold 15 dwts to Father, 4 specimens to E Strong & 24 dwts to Cabinet of Yale, $6\frac{1}{2}$ dwts to D W W [Delia Williams Wood]. Sent them all to Rev E. Strong Care of Rev Mr Hallock at the Tract house N. Y. to be taken by Capt Thomas. Mr. Douglass started this PM for San F. taking the letters.

Wed 15th Aug. 10 AM landed at San Fran^{co}. Streets full. Great change in the last 6 weeks.

Thurs. [Oct.] 10th [11th]. Rained nearly all day, the first this season. Great damage to goods in the streets, probably over 100,000 dols worth destroyed. Capt Simon had 36,000 dols worth partly under water in Sacramento Street. Little steamer *Mint* made her first trip up the River, the first boat from this place thro' to Sacramento.

Steamer *Cal^a* arrived brot no U S Mail, a private mail bro't 2000 letters. Recd one from DWW [Delia W. Wood], others from other friends by private hands. 430 passengers. Messrs Pratt & Paddock among them.

People extra busy in raising up buildings, substituting wood roofs for cloth &c &c, a new impulse to building given by the Rain. City growing astonishingly.

Wed. 31st Oct. *Unicorn* Steamer in but no mail. Great indignation in town. PM 5 ock. Steamer *Panama* in, brot the mails down to Sept 16. Great rejoicing.

Frid [Nov.] 2^d, & Sat 3^d. Cloudy, some rain thro' the day & much at night with high wind causing several vessels in port to drag anchor, & doing some damage. Steamer *Senator* dragged several miles. Streets very muddy. Many exposed goods damaged.

Frid 7th Dec. Finished survey. Eve. walked to Sⁿ José. Dr Lee called on me, had lost all he had in getting to the Mines & spent the 100 dols I let him have, & now comes to me as he says as his last resort to keep from starvation.

[Dec.] 8th Sat. Paid Dr Lees passage up & his board for several days to come, & spent most of the day in trying to start a school for him, can find scholars enough, but no room. Must take him as chain-man.

Sat [Dec.] 11th. Steamer *Mint* came up, bringing scores of Legislators, office seekers etc.

[Dec.] 22^d Mon. Started at 4 AM in stage for Alviso. Thick fog. Team tired. Driver half blind, lost road, went round & round on the plain, an hour getting a mile. Overtook the Baggage waggon which also had lost its way in the fog. Took the Baggage waggon the rest of the way, team good, reached Alviso about 7½. Waited on board the Steamer *Sacramento* 1½ h^s for the other stages. Steamer started about 9, left the creek at 11, reached Sⁿ F. 4 PM, thick fog on the Bay till 1 PM. Water smooth & pleasant passage.

Great fire in Sⁿ F this morning. Parker house & 20 or thirty other buildings burnt. Loss estimated 1,000,000. Mr Phelps office in danger. Everything moved on board ship *Huntress*. My 4 trunks among the rest. Slept on board the *Huntress*, Capt Goodwin. Mrs G[oodwin] with him.

Jan 12 [1850]. Have been in San Francisco the last fortnight & over, arranging my business preparatory to leaving for home. It is very slow doing business here, have now nearly made my arrangements, & concluded them as successfully as I had anticipated. Made a map of Sacramento & did some other work enough to pay expenses. Hope to leave by Feb 15 or Mar 1st.

Vessels arrive every day. In one day 12 came in. The city grows as rapidly as ever. Money however is very scarce.

Streets shockingly muddy some of them almost impassable.

SOME FACTS CONCERNING LELAND STANFORD AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES IN PLACER COUNTY

An article in *Stanford Illustrated Review*, for June, 1923, and a half-tone therein from my Placer county collections, of the first Stanford house at Michigan Bluff, Placer county, in the early '50s, have brought requests for unpublished data from these collections.¹ Replies to solicitations for these notes for publication in the *Quarterly* and elsewhere have heretofore been made to the effect that the data was unsuitable for these purposes.

A number of errors in the article in the Stanford periodical are so palpable they are not here corrected. Dr. David Starr Jordan's narrative poem relating to Stanford, "On the North Fork," quoted therein, must be discarded as historically inaccurate. Utterances of its toll-gate keeper that Stanford drove a grocer's cart are as erroneous as some of the poem's geography. To poetic license must be attributed Stanford's driving that grocer's cart from Clipper Gap. This railroad station was not in existence until a number of years later, when the great quadrumvirate—Crocker, Huntington, Hopkins and Stanford—established it on the line of the Central Pacific.

Stanford told incidents of his early Placer life in an address from the rear of his private railroad car at Auburn in 1890.²

The year of arrival of Stanford at Michigan Bluff—at first called Michigan City—is unknown to the writer. General merchandising was his business here. In this he was in some way associated with a Captain "Nick" Smith. He was also justice of the peace, which office he resigned in 1855,³ when he left Placer county. As justice, he took acknowledgments to a number of papers now on file in the Placer records. Only a few years ago, his justice's docket was in existence.

Avoid the impression that Stanford was an uncouth miner. Instead of driving a grocer's cart, more probably he was directing his eight-horse and ten-horse teams coming into Michigan Bluff, via the North Fork or Murderers' Bar roads, or his outgoing long mule trains to Last Chance and points on the Middle Fork of the American.

Michigan Bluff is located upon what is locally called "the divide"—in the '50s called the Yankee Jim's and now the Forest Hill

¹ Mainly MS. interviews—after the Lyman C. Draper method—with about 60 Placer pioneers, or their children, on unprinted facts concerning one of the most important California gold areas; and newspaper files of Placer county.

² *Placer Republican*, October 15, 1890.

³ *Placer Herald*, June 9, 1855, says: "L. Stanford, Esq., of Michigan Bluff, has resigned the office of Justice of the Peace. The Board of Supervisors have appointed James T. Higbee to fill the vacancy."

"divide." This is the mining country between the North and Middle Forks of the American river, just east of and adjoining the Auburn district.

Mention of Auburn calls to mind another connection of Placer people with "the Railroad." Judge Samuel W. Holladay, later of San Francisco, was in 1849 alcalde of Auburn. His son, E. Burke Holladay, married a niece of Collis P. Huntington, one of Stanford's associates. Judge E. B. Crocker, of Sacramento, brother of Charles Crocker, of "the Railroad," was a law partner of C. W. Langdon, with a branch office at Auburn in 1855. But I must not permit myself space to name the large number of Placer pioneer celebrities living in the county outside "the divide," but confine myself to the latter section.

Another camp on "the divide" was Yankee Jim's, named for a notorious character, who possibly came to the Sacramento valley before the gold discovery, although this has not been noted by any California historian. In his "California Pilgrim," published at Sacramento in 1853, under the patronage of D. O. Mills and others, the Reverend J. A. Benton describes Yankee Jim's as a rather wild early camp.

Near Yankee Jim's was Todd's Valley, founded by Dr. F. Walton Todd, a cousin of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln. Mrs. F. Walton Todd was one of the Kentucky Bullitts, in honor of a member of which family, Bullitt county, Kentucky, is named. Another near-by town in the group was Forest Hill, and across Shirt Tail canyon was Iowa Hill.

In the early mining life on "the divide," Stanford came into contact and friendship with many men and families who became noted in California.

At Michigan Bluff, "Ned" Tyler was express agent, and was killed there in a hydraulic mine. He was an uncle of Judge F. W. Henshaw, of the supreme court of California, and Tyler Henshaw of Oakland, children of "Ned" Tyler's only sister. Charles T. Blake, of Michigan Bluff, was an honor man at Yale. He married Miss Harriet Waters Stiles, of Oakland, whose father, Anson J. Stiles, gave Stiles hall to the University of California.

Charles A. Tuttle, a graduate of Hobart College, conducted a miners' store at Bird's valley, adjoining Michigan Bluff. He became one of California's ablest lawyers. He was in the '50s in the California state senate, and later was code commissioner and state supreme court reporter. From the College of California, forerunner of the University of California, he received the degree of A. M. for his distinguished services to that institution.

Jim Beckwourth was at El Dorado canyon, adjoining Michigan Bluff, in 1850. His story was in part taken down that year by Philip

Stoner, and was finished later by Bonner. However, Beckwourth had left El Dorado canyon before Stanford's advent. The same early departure may be noted of J. D. Hoppe, publisher of the *Californian*. He led a party from Sutter's Fort as early as 1848 to the American river, a short way down the precipitous mountain from Michigan Bluff.

Among the men of Yankee Jim's who became prominent in after life was James Herrick, who went east and became president of a railroad running into Chicago. Dr. P. B. Fagen removed to Santa Cruz, where he became a banker. A. P. K. Safford, a Placer assemblyman, later became territorial governor of Arizona. Robert O. Cravens, as state librarian, did much to build up the department of Americana at the California state library. Samuel Todd, at one time merchant at Yankee Jim's, became proprietor of the Cosmopolitan, a famous San Francisco pioneer hotel. R. E. Hyde, another merchant, became a leading banker of the southern San Joaquin, at Visalia. Dr. Bristow, a talented and hospitable Virginian of Yankee Jim's, I think fell in the Confederate States army.

James E. Hale, of Yankee Jim's and Auburn, was lawyer, judge, legislator, state supreme court reporter and president of the Sacramento, Placer and Nevada Railroad Company. This was one of the first California railroads of the Folsom group.

Curtis J. Hillyer, attorney of Yankee Jim's and Iowa Hill, became the famous Bonanza lawyer, and was afterward socially prominent in Washington, D. C. He was a Yale graduate at a time when everyone did not have a college degree. His brother, E. W. Hillyer, became a lieutenant-colonel of California civil war troops and an eminent Nevada federal judge. They were cousins of H. H. Bancroft, the historian.

C. C. Dudley, of Iowa Hill, a Placer assemblyman, was later a member of the territorial legislature of Idaho, which state he helped to organize. Brilliant Charles Westmoreland, a Georgian, of Iowa Hill, was an able editor of the Marysville *Appeal* and a Placer senator of the '50s. While carrying the California electoral vote to Washington he died at Panama. William M. Crutcher, an amiable Kentuckian, became noted for his intrepidity as an officer in his relations with Rattlesnake Dick and Tom Bell, two of California's most notorious and picturesque highwaymen, and in the '70s was a member of the California legislature. General R. L. Williams, another Kentuckian of the Iowa Hill vicinity, was a Placer assemblyman in the '50s, and an officer under Walker in Nicaragua. The parents of George Ladd lived at Iowa Hill, where they were locally prominent. The son became president of the Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Company with interior lines in California, Arizona and Nevada. His widow, Mrs.

Elizabeth Paterson Mitchell, founded the George Ladd Prix de Paris, at the University of California, for the study of music in Paris by students of superior merit.

At Forest Hill was William H. Hardy, leading merchant, who went to Arizona in 1865, and founded Hardysville in that state, six miles north of Fort Mojave. He was a member of the territorial legislature of Arizona. Dr. H. J. Crumpton, Forest Hill mining man, a genial Alabaman, went to Lake county, and was in the California legislature. He lost most of his fortune in the fall of the Confederacy. His brother, Washington B. Crumpton, who resided at Forest Hill for some time, returned to Alabama, where he has been known as a beloved leader of the Baptist denomination. Philip Deidesheimer was educated at Heidelberg. After \$300,000 had been taken from the Deidesheimer claim at Forest Hill, he went to Washoe. There, his invention for timbering mines made the Comstock possible.

Isaac L. Requa, who lived for a number of years at Stony Bar on the Middle Fork of the American river, just underneath Forest Hill, afterward was social and financial magnate of Oakland. A daughter married General Oscar F. Long, of the United States army. A son is Mark L. Requa, the mining engineer, who was general director of the oil division of the fuel administration and assistant to Herbert C. Hoover during the world war.

Old Comstock, from whom the Comstock lode took its name, mined at Canada hill, on the upper part of "the divide."

C. T. H. Palmer, who was early on "the divide," was subsequently an Auburn and Folsom banker and Berkeley resident. He married a daughter of the distinguished pioneer engineer, Sherman Day, and granddaughter of Jeremiah Day, president of Yale.

No mention has been made of the "floating" population on "the divide." This included John W. Mackay, who mined on the Middle Fork of the American river underneath Michigan Bluff, and James W. Marshall, "the discoverer."

Nor have I named those who came to "the divide" and became celebrated after Stanford left in 1855. Among these was Jo Hamilton, of Forest Hill, who took up an Auburn residence. He became attorney-general of California and was one of the most remarkable orators of the frontier Methodist type, during the pioneer period. Mrs. Hamilton, who was a blood relation of her husband, was a niece of John Blair, the Tennessee statesman and member of Congress of the early Republic. She was a cousin of Captain Francis Simpson Blair, C. S. A., attorney-general of Virginia.

The foregoing list is a decidedly remarkable showing of men in a

few years for a few small contiguous mining camps. With the exception of Beckwourth, Washington B. Crumpton, Bristow and Hamilton, and possibly Hoppe, Marshall and Mackay—Stanford knowing Hamilton, Marshall and Mackay in later years—all of these and other splendid men of "the divide," were friends of Leland Stanford when he lived in Placer in the '50s, and later when he lived in Sacramento and San Francisco.

Perhaps in some respects the leading citizen of "the divide" was Colonel William McClure, of "Welcome Cottage," on Devil's canyon, one mile from Yankee Jim's. This home was the show place of "the divide," a handsome place for its time. A part of the abandoned house is still standing in the mountains, surrounded by an orchard of ten acres. These trees, which were ordered in 1852 from a New Jersey nurseryman, were planted in 1853 and were the first shipment of eastern fruit trees to California. Colonel McClure had been a member of the constitutional convention of Illinois of 1847, and was for two decades a ditch owner and leader in politics and the public life of "the divide." Governor J. B. Weller, while a guest of Colonel McClure, opened his state campaign for governor at Yankee Jim's in 1857.

Colonel McClure was a traveling companion to California with General Jacob Fry, an Illinois colonel of the Black Hawk war, a major-general of Illinois militia, canal commissioner of Chicago in its incipient days and holder of other offices in Illinois. Fry was one of Placer county's two first state senators. He returned to the east, had a regiment out in the civil war and distinguished himself at Shiloh. He was the father of General James B. Fry, U. S. A., provost marshal-general of the army of the United States at the end of the civil war. Colonel J. D. Fry, San Francisco banker, was a nephew of General Jacob Fry; and the latter's grandniece, Mrs. W. C. Ralston, still living at Georgetown, California, was the wife of W. C. Ralston, president of the Bank of California and builder of the Palace hotel. General Jacob Fry spent much of his time on "the divide," but had his legal residence at Frytown, near the present Ophir, in another part of Placer county. There Colonel J. D. Fry had a miners' store. William Sharon, afterward San Francisco banker and United States Senator from Nevada, had some kind of an interest in this station in the very early '50s.

Colonel William McClure's name is now represented by his grandson, Major L. A. McClure, U. S. A.

I have been very fortunate in obtaining, after many pleas to her to furnish data, a letter for my collections from Colonel McClure's daughter, Miss Margaret M. McClure, an old friend of my mother and

a friend of mine since boyhood. Because I as a child knew most of the old Sacramentans and Placerites, this letter is very charming reading to me. It should be preserved in permanent printed form.

Miss Margaret M. McClure was a reigning belle of California in the late '50s and early '60s. She came with her mother in 1857 via Panama from a Philadelphia seminary to "Welcome Cottage" on "the divide." Notwithstanding her "eighty-five brief winters," "Maggie" McClure—for none of the old Californians call her anything but "Miss Maggie" or "Maggie" McClure—is as vivacious and delightful as she was in California's pioneer epoch. Today, she is a member of the household at Reno of former Governor Emmet D. Boyle, of Nevada, who married her niece.

Following is "Maggie" McClure's letter, which rescues incidents of Governor Stanford's early California life:

Reno, Nevada, April 30, 1923.

Dear Boutwell Dunlap:

I have tried to think up the dates of Mrs. Stanford's visits to "the divide." My eighty-five brief winters have dimmed my eyes, numbed my fingers and almost "shut down" my memory.

As I recall it, Mrs. Stanford came to Forest Hill to visit Mrs. Webster in the spring of 1858, and was at "Welcome Cottage" several times during the visit. We all went up to Michigan Bluff for the ride and to see the Stanford house there. Mrs. Stanford enjoyed the beautiful ride and was in love with "the divide." She visited us all again in the summer of '59, was also there during the Governor's campaign, and once after the Railroad was built.

Mr. Webster, Charles Blake and Ned Tyler were Yale classmates and came to California together. Blake and Tyler located at Michigan Bluff, where Tyler was Wells, Fargo agent. Webster was also Wells, Fargo agent at Forest Hill. Mr. Webster came with his bride, a charming and accomplished lady, from Fall River, Massachusetts. While he was fitting up a home, he left her in Sacramento. She boarded at the same house at which Mrs. Stanford was boarding. They were always friends. Mrs. Webster and I were close friends until her death. Her only son, living in New York, corresponds with me occasionally. Ned Tyler and Charles Blake entertained Mrs. Stanford when we were at Michigan Bluff.

I was Governor and Mrs. Stanford's guest, when he was inaugurated at Sacramento as Governor of California, and later went with them to San Francisco. I am the only one left of the happy circle at the inauguration.

The heavy rains of 1861 overflowed the levees of both the Sacramento and American rivers, and the newly-elected governor and party had to go to the capitol, then on Seventh and I streets, in little row-boats. On starting from the house the water was up to the steps and rising rapidly. On returning the Governor and party had to climb up a ladder to the second story to enter the house. They found the piano floating in the reception room, and had to fasten it to the banisters of the stairway to keep it from banging against the walls and furniture.

Food was sent to the Governor's home from San Francisco by steamboat every day. After taking from the hampers food for the family for the day, the remainder was sent to the pavilion, where the refugees from the country around Sacramento and also the people from the one-story buildings in the city were taken. The kind-hearted Mrs. Stanford never failed to take just enough food for her family and send all the rest to the flood sufferers.

One night a flotilla of small boats came to the house and gave a lovely song serenade—a bright moonlight night—good voices and sweet songs. Governor and Mrs. Stanford stood on the upper porch, enjoyed the beautiful sight and almost felt they were in Venice. The Governor made a cheerful speech. Hurrahs and songs were heard for some time as they rowed away—one of the delightful memories of the unfortunate time. The host gave his house-party many boat-rides through the city—and they made short calls from the boats on inmates of the upper stories, exchanging accidents and events.

As soon as a suitable place could be found, the legislature was adjourned to San Francisco. Mrs. Stanford continued to send food to the flood victims at the pavilion in Sacramento. Mr. Phillip Stanford turned his home over for the Governor's mansion, and many people enjoyed the Stanford's hospitality. Many friendships were formed that lasted to ends of lives. After the flood was over, the Governor returned to Sacramento. Mrs. Stanford did many kindnesses to those unfortunate in the flood.

After the Central Pacific Railroad was a world success, the lovely home in San Francisco was built. The beloved son, however, was born in Sacramento. Such delight was expressed by all their friends that a son at last was born to them.

Mrs. Stanford was a remarkable woman and a devoted, faithful wife. She was a very ambitious woman—her husband not so ambitious. Her young life spent in Albany, New York, and her intimacy with Theodore Parker's family, of whom she most frequently spoke, and other rising Americans, gave her a taste for politics.

The winter Milton S. Latham was inaugurated governor of Cali-

fornia, and a few weeks afterward elected to the United States Senate, she said to a lady friend, after calling on Mrs. Latham (who was in too ill health to accompany her husband to Washington)—“I am determined Leland shall be Governor of California—and United States Senator—and—” Then she stopped. That was before her son was born. After the Central Pacific Railroad was completed, the same lady said to her—“Are you not prouder to have your husband president of the wonderful Central Pacific Railroad than to be President of the United States?”

Mrs. Stanford was a most gracious hostess all her Sacramento life. After her bliss with her son, Leland Stanford, Jr.—they were such close companions, always taking trips together—on that last great trip in Europe, where the fatal Roman fever took her beloved idol from her, she almost lost her reason. Then came the thought to build the great University in his name. She told her old friends it was an inspiration from her dear boy, in dreams he helped her and every new plan and thought seemed to come from him.

One day after they were so beautifully situated in their charming Palo Alto home, she had a group of old friends down for the day. It seemed an enchanted place. One friend said—“Mrs. Stanford, you never can be happy in Heaven after this place.” She stopped. With an almost sobbing voice, the reply was—“But in Heaven I shall have my dear boy.” Everyone was silenced and her great sorrow impressed every friend.

And was not Leland Stanford, Junior’s, death one of the great blessings of our country? His devoted mother’s heart felt she must do something for him—or her reason would go. And she—as so she felt, through him—started the great university. Faithful, true women, like Mrs. Leland Stanford, should be known better. She did not give up to overpowering grief. But out of the great grief of her life, gave an institution to build up to good the youth of our country.

Affectionately,

MAGGIE McCLURE.

BOUTWELL DUNLAP.

BUTTERFIELD'S OVERLAND MAIL

For two decades before the establishment of the great Butterfield Overland Mail in 1858 there had been considerable agitation throughout the United States for an improved method of communication between the east and west coasts. Asa Whitney and others played a prominent part in the advocacy of a Pacific railroad, but during the forties the scheme gave little promise of immediate realization.

The first regular United States mail service to the Pacific Coast was inaugurated in 1847.¹ It was a monthly ocean mail carried via the Isthmus of Panama. Overland mail service to the inter-mountain region was begun in 1850,² but it was on a schedule that permitted a single team to make the entire trip. One such line ran from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, another from San Antonio, Texas, to Santa Fe; a third ran from Independence, Missouri, to Salt Lake City, and a fourth from Sacramento to the Mormon capital. These latter two might be considered as constituting one through line, but since the time consumed in making the trip was so great, this route was employed for communication with the inter-mountain region only. The ocean mail made much better time and was used exclusively for through correspondence.

During the early fifties the Pacific railroad project was pushed with increased vigor. In the second session of the 32d Congress (1852-3) the Senate gave more time and attention to this project than to any other.³ In January, 1853, Senator Gwin of California, introduced a bill to authorize the construction of a Pacific railroad. A trunk line was to run from San Francisco by way of Albuquerque and along the Red River. Numerous branches were provided for. In fact the bill was framed to satisfy the demands of all sections. The result was a proposition too extensive to be practicable. It was, as Senator Cass said, "too magnificent"⁴ to get the necessary support, and the bill failed. However, the discussions had shown the need of more accurate information on the subject, and so the Army Appropriation Bill of March, 1853, was amended to provide for the survey of such routes as the Secretary of War should deem expedient.⁵ Five corps of engineers were put into the field and five transcontinental routes were explored.⁶

¹ United States Statutes at Large, IX: 187.

² Little, *Mail Service Across the Plains*, p. 1. (Bancroft Mss.)

³ Davis, *The Union Pacific Railway*, p. 44.

⁴ Congressional Globe 32d Cong. 2d Sess. Vol. XXVI, p. 285.

⁵ Cong. Globe 32d Cong. 2d Sess. Appendix p. 352. Laws of the United States, Chap. 36; sec. 10, Approved Mar. 3, 1853.

⁶ Albright, George L. "Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads."

By 1855 the reports of the explorations were before Congress and it was evident that there were several practical routes. In January, 1855, Senator Douglas introduced a bill providing for the construction of three railroad lines to the Pacific. It passed the Senate by a close vote,⁷ but failed in the House of Representatives. A contest which ensued dissipated the support of the general proposition. There was a majority in each house of Congress in favor of the general project of a Pacific railroad, but slavery sectionalism had become so strong that the choice of a route was almost impossible. Added to this difficulty was the rivalry among various cities—New Orleans, Memphis, St. Louis, Chicago—each of which desired to become the eastern terminus of the Pacific railroad.

In the face of these conditions, Congressmen from the West, finding their railroad projects defeated or sidetracked, turned their attention to a second-choice method of communication with the Pacific coast. During February, March, and April, 1856, four separate bills were introduced providing for an overland mail to San Francisco.⁸ Finally in August, near the close of the session, Senator Weller introduced an amendment to the annual Post Office Appropriation Bill providing for a semi-weekly mail service between the Missouri River and San Francisco. The mail was to be carried in four-horse coaches within a nineteen-day schedule, and the compensation was not to exceed \$500,000.00 per annum.⁹

The advocates of the amendment asserted that the railroad surveys had given assurance that the overland coach service was practicable; that the appropriation for wagon roads had created a sort of moral obligation to put coaches upon them; and that since eastern Congressmen had adequate means of communication with their constituents, the best possible facilities should be afforded to all.¹⁰ The opponents questioned the practicability of carrying the mail at the price stipulated and argued that by the amendment the legislative branch of government was intruding upon the prerogatives of the executive department. The amendment was adopted by the Senate but rejected in the House, and subsequently was lost in a conference committee.¹¹

⁷ Passed the Senate Feb. 19, 1855, by vote of 24 to 21.

⁸ Cong. Globe 34th Cong. 1 Sess. Feb. 14, 1856, Mr. Weller of California introduced an overland mail bill. Subsequent bills were presented Mar. 2nd, Mar. 25th, and April 17th, by Mr. Herbert, Mr. Phelps of Missouri, and Mr. Kennett, respectively.

⁹ Cong. Globe, 34 Cong. 1 Sess. p. 2201.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2202.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2225.

Having so nearly succeeded in August, 1856, the advocates of the overland mail were spurred to vigorous action in the short session beginning in December. Several bills were introduced and referred to the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads. Under the able chairmanship of Senator Rusk of Texas, the Senate committee gave full consideration to the proposals, consulted experienced western mail contractors, and earnestly endeavored to frame a bill that would be practicable and acceptable. Finally the bill was framed and again attached in the form of amendments to the annual Post Office Appropriation Bill.

Compared with the bill of the preceding session, this one offered higher remuneration and also extended the time for making the trip. The framers intended to permit a fairly liberal contract, as an inducement to responsible bidders; for the government had had considerable experience with contractors who had bid too little and then had come to Congress for an extra allowance.

Profiting from the experience with the Pacific Railroad bills which had been defeated through sectional conflicts, the framers of this measure left undetermined the route and the eastern terminus.

When the bill came up in the Senate on February 27th, it evoked considerable debate.¹² Opponents of the measure pointed to the already heavy expense for the ocean mail to California and strongly advised against a further increase. Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky argued for the principle that the Post Office Department should be as nearly self-supporting as possible. "Wait until your line can go a little further towards supporting itself. . . . It is out of season, out of time, inappropriate, extravagant, exaggerated in the highest degree. . . . Here is one route established by sea (to California) at a cost of nearly one million of dollars, and then there is a land communication to Salt Lake City from the western part of Missouri and from Salt Lake City to Sacramento. . . . You have then, perhaps, \$1,300,000 now of annual expense in carrying the mail to California. . . . The question is whether you will add to it \$600,000 or \$300,000 more."¹³

In reply to the economy argument, Senators spoke of the full treasury and prospects of ultimate repayment. Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, said: "It is almost impossible to tell when we shall ever succeed in obtaining an overland communication through our own territory with the Pacific Ocean. I imagine, however, that there never was a time in our history when this government was so well able to make an effort towards the accomplishment of that object as now. The discus-

¹² Cong. Globe 34th Cong. 3d Sess. Appendix.

¹³ Cong. Globe 34th Cong. 3d Sess. p. 313.

sions on the tariff bill yesterday demonstrated the fact that there are millions in the treasury not only for the purpose of making what is certainly a fair and reasonable experiment, but millions that we do not know what to do with."¹⁴

Supporters of the measure denounced the ocean mail service and the Panama Railroad as gigantic monopolies that could be broken only by the establishment of this competitive route. "How can we ever supersede the steamships unless we have a mail across the continent?" asked Senator Gwin of California. "We are entirely at the mercy of a steamship company—a gigantic monopoly,"¹⁵ Senator Rusk said. "We have a simple proposition before us—it is whether you will continue a contract for a mail, twice a month, across the Isthmus of Panama at \$900,000 a year, or whether you will make an experiment to see whether you can get the mail service performed twice a week through your own territory for \$600,000 a year."¹⁶ He was of course winking at the fact that this was to be a *letter* mail only and that the ocean service would still continue.

The supporters of the measure had objects in view other than merely the transportation of the mail to California. Senator Weller admitted: "I confess that I not only desire to have this mail route but what I regard as equally important, I desire to have a good emigrant route. I believe, by the establishment of a mail route with little posts every ten miles you will have in fact military posts all along that road. In this way you will give protection to your emigrants. That is what I am after. . . . This I regard as vastly important to the future interest of your possession on the Pacific. One cannot advise a family to go overland at the present time, because of hostile tribes of Indians in the way, and the unprotected condition of the road. But give us the mail route, let us establish little posts at every ten miles and then the emigration will be safe."¹⁷

The argument was also advanced that rapid communication with the Pacific Coast would bind that region to the Union and prevent the possibility of the future establishment of a separate nation beyond the Sierras.¹⁸

When finally the vote was taken, the Senate registered 24 for, and

¹⁴ Cong. Globe, 34th Cong. 3d Sess. Appendix p. 310.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

¹⁷ Cong. Globe, 34th Cong. 3d Sess. p. 317.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Mr. Brodhead of Pennsylvania, p. 312; Mr. Benjamin of Louisiana p. 308.

10 against the amendments.¹⁹ The House failed to agree so a committee of conference was named.²⁰ The Conference Committee recommended the amendments providing for the overland mail line; Congress accepted their report, and, on March 3, 1857, the Post Office Appropriation Bill became a law. The amendments relating to the overland mail read:

"Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That the Postmaster General be, and he is hereby, authorized to contract for the conveyance of the entire letter mail from such point on the Mississippi River as the contractors may select, to San Francisco, in the State of California, for six years, at a cost not exceeding \$300,000 per annum for semi-monthly, \$450,000 for weekly, or \$600,000 for semi-weekly, at the option of the Postmaster General.

"Sec. 11. And be it further enacted, That the contract shall require the service to be performed with good four-horse coaches or spring wagons, suitable for the conveyance of passengers, as well as the safety and security of the mails.

"Sec. 12. And be it further enacted, That the contractors shall have the right of preemption to three hundred and twenty acres of any land not then disposed of or reserved, at each point necessary for a station, not to be nearer than ten miles from each other; and provided that no mineral land shall be thus preempted.

"Sec. 13. And be it further enacted, That the said service shall be performed within twenty-five days for each trip; and that before entering into such contract, the Postmaster General shall be satisfied of the ability and disposition of the parties bona-fide and in good faith to perform the said contract, and shall require good and sufficient security for the performance of the same; the service to commence within twelve months after signing the contract."²¹

The Post Office Department on the 20th of April, 1857, advertised for bids to perform the overland mail service provided for in the above act. Bidders were to name the starting point on the Mississippi River and the intermediate points proposed to be embraced in the route. Separate proposals were invited for semi-monthly, weekly, and semi-weekly trips.²²

Nine bids were received. Three of these proposed routes from Memphis west through Arizona and New Mexico to Southern California and thence north to San Francisco. One bid by John Butterfield and others proposed this southern route with St. Louis as the point of beginning, and in another bid the same parties proposed a forked line from St. Louis and from Memphis, converging at some point east of Albuquerque. Two bids did not indicate the route, but proposed

¹⁹ Cong. Globe. 34th Cong. 3d Sess. p. 321. Those voting "Yea" were: Messrs. Benjamin, Bigler, Collamer, Douglas, Durkee, Fish, Fitch, Foot, Foster, Green, Gwin, Harlan, Houston, Johnson, Jones of Iowa, Nourse, Pratt, Rusk, Seward, Slidell, Stuart, Thomson of N. J., Weller, and Wilson—24.

Those voting "Nay" were: Messrs. Biggs, Clay, Crittenden, Hunter, Jones of Tenn., Mason, Reid, Thompson of Ky., Toombs, and Yulee.

²⁰ The Conference Committee consisted of Messrs. Gwin, Rusk, and Collamer of the Senate; and Davis, Mace, and Denver of the House.

²¹ United States Statutes, 1855-7, Chapter 96. Law approved March 3, 1857.

²² Postmaster General's Report of 1857. In Sen. Ex. Doc. 35th Cong. 1 Sess. Vol. III, p. 986. (Serial No. 921.)

beginning at St. Louis and at Gaines' Landing respectively. One proposal named the route via Salt Lake City. Another proposed this route in the main, with a detour north of Salt Lake City by way of Soda Springs, Idaho. Still another proposed a more northern route from St. Paul, by way of Fort Ridgely, South Pass, Humboldt River, and Noble's Pass to San Francisco.²³

After considerable deliberation the Postmaster General and his assistants selected a route "from St. Louis, Missouri, and from Memphis, Tennessee, converging at Little Rock, Arkansas; thence via Preston, Texas, or as nearly so as may be found advisable, to the best point of crossing the Rio Grande, above El Paso, and not far from Fort Fillmore; thence along the new road being opened and constructed under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, to Fort Yuma, California; thence through the best passes and along the best valleys for safe and expeditious staging, to San Francisco."²⁴

No bid had been received for this particular route, but all bidders agreed that their respective bids might be held and considered as applying to it. The Postmaster General, "looking at the respective bidders, both as to the amount proposed and the ability, qualifications and experience of the bidders to carry out a great mail service like this"²⁵ ordered that the proposal of John Butterfield, William B. Dinsmore, William G. Fargo, James V. P. Gardner, Marcus L. Kinyon, Alexander Holland, and Hamilton Spencer for a semi-weekly mail at \$600,000 per year, be accepted. Accordingly, on the 16th of September, 1857, a six-year contract was entered into with Butterfield and his associates. The service was to begin September 15, 1858.

Much criticism naturally arose from the selection of the southern route. A more northern route was followed by most of the emigration, and many had expected that the route by way of Salt Lake City would be chosen. As an answer to this criticism the Postmaster General in his annual report of December, 1857, set forth the reasons which induced a preference for the route selected. He cited that the repeated failures of the mail to and from Salt Lake City to cross the mountains because of deep snow "put that route entirely out of the question."²⁶ Next he maintained that the Albuquerque route also was too cold to insure certainty and regularity for the service, and especially would not afford the desired safety and comfort for the passengers. The

²³ Postmaster General's Report, 1857. In Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 11, 35th Cong. 1 Sess. Vol. III, p. 987. (Serial No. 921.)

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 990.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 988.

²⁶ Postmaster General's Report, 1857, p. 994.

minimum and maximum temperatures recorded by the War Department at Albuquerque since 1849, together with the observations of explorers and travelers, he contended, proved that the climatic conditions on this route were unsatisfactory.²⁷

The superiority of the El Paso route, especially for winter travel, was then set forth. "The Department supposed Congress to be in search of a route that could be found safe, comfortable, and certain during every season of the year, as well for the transportation of the mails as for the accommodation of emigrants and the future location of a railroad to the Pacific."²⁸ In substantiation of the desirability of the southern course he cited that Captain Marcy, who had explored both routes, and Commissioners Emory and Bartlett, Lieutenant Parke, and A. H. Campbell, at the head of the Pacific Wagon Road Office, Interior Department, who had gone over the two routes in 1853, '54, and '55—all expressed a decided preference for the one via El Paso.²⁹ Further, the fact was cited that Congress had appropriated \$200,000 to be expended in the construction of a wagon road between the Rio Grande and Fort Yuma. Then the Postmaster General continued:

"As the pioneer route for the first great railroad that may be constructed to the Pacific, the Postmaster General has bestowed upon it all the labor and examination possible. He contends that since the railroads have not concentrated at one point on the Mississippi, this pioneer mail line should point the way by choosing some point west of that river at which the future railroads might concentrate and from which point the line to the Pacific could be projected. . . . Thus it is that we have found *west* of the Mississippi what we could not obtain *on* it—a common concentration of railroads to a single point from which the future railroad may commence, swollen and enlarged in its common stem by the contributions of the railways coming in from nearly every State of the Union."³⁰ He also added that this route might serve a valuable purpose in our dealings with Mexico; it would help both nations commercially in time of peace, and furnish a highway for United States troops in case of war.

But the arguments so ably presented were not sufficiently convincing for the proponents of a more northern route. They saw in the southern choice a sectional favoritism on the part of the Postmaster General from Tennessee. It was, perhaps, as a concession to the disappointed and dissatisfied section that improved facilities were afforded to northern lines in the ensuing year.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 995.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 997.

²⁹ Postmaster General's Report, pp. 998-1001.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1004.

Let us now note briefly the character of the route chosen. It was, roughly speaking, in the form of a semi-circle from St. Louis to San Francisco, the most southern point reached being about six hundred miles below South Pass. The total distance was nearly twenty-eight hundred miles.³¹ The route from St. Louis was by railroad for one hundred and sixty miles directly west to Tipton. From this point the stage followed an almost direct southern course, going by way of Springfield, over the Ozark mountains to Fayetteville, and thence to Fort Smith, Arkansas, where the mail from Memphis was met. The route proceeded through the Choctaw country to the crossing of the Red River at Colbert's Ferry. From here it continued southwest across the almost uninhabited region of northern Texas via Fort Belknap to Fort Chadbourne. Upon leaving the Choncho the route led across a barren plain, along the Pecos River, through Guadalupe Pass, and across the rolling table-lands to El Paso. From the Rio Grande to Tucson, three hundred and sixty miles of rough, broken country without water except at the stations,³² the course led on to the Pima Indian villages on the Gila River. It then crossed from the Maricopas Wells through a forty-mile desert, striking the Gila again, which it now followed to Fort Yuma. From Fort Yuma to Carizzo Creek, about one hundred miles, the route was heavy with sand and there was no water in the dry season.³³ Here the route left the old San Diego trail, and turned to the north, crossed the mountains at Warner's Pass and continued northwest to Los Angeles.³⁴ From Los Angeles the road went north over the San Bernardino Range through San Francisquito Canyon, across the Sierra through Cañada de las Uvas, north through the central valley of California to Firebaugh, west through Pacheco Pass to Gilroy and thence north to San Francisco.³⁵

It was a route that offered many obstacles to staging. To afford

³¹ G. Bailey, special agent of the Post Office Department who accompanied the first mail east gives the total distance as 2795 miles, but says that this distance will presently be somewhat shortened. 35th Cong. 2d Sess. Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1 (Ser. No. 977), p. 743.

³² Postmaster General's Report, 1858, p. 742. Description of the route is also given by Mr. W. L. Ormsby of the New York Herald in a speech upon his arrival in San Francisco. He was the only passenger on the first stage going west. Report of his speech is given in the San Francisco Bulletin and the Alta California, Oct. 12, 1858.

³³ San Francisco Bulletin, Dec. 6, 1858.

In the S. F. Bulletin of April 13, 1859, we read: "The Overland Mail Co. have succeeded in sinking several wells on the Colorado desert, in each case finding water at a depth of fifty feet."

³⁴ Postmaster General's Report, 1858, p. 740.

³⁵ A good description of the route is given by a special correspondent of the San Francisco Bulletin who started east Oct. 22, 1858, and wrote letters back to his paper from various points. These are found in the issues of Nov. 5th, 19th, and 27th.

water, wells had to be sunk and reservoirs made. Over the longest dry stretches relays of teams had to be provided. However, the contractors went about their task with energy, and when the year was up, equipment was ready, stations were built or in process of building, and the preparation was such as would insure the successful execution of the great undertaking.

On September 15, 1858, the first mail coaches left St. Louis and San Francisco simultaneously for their long overland journeys. The arrivals of the mail, ahead of schedule time, were occasions of great public rejoicings. In St. Louis the first mail was escorted through the street to the post office by a long procession led by brass bands. In San Francisco salutes were fired, an immense meeting held and enthusiastic speeches made.³⁶ A San Francisco paper thus describes the reception of the Overland Mail:

"At a quarter after four o'clock the coach turned from Market into Montgomery street. The driver blew his horn and cracked his whip; at which the horses, four in number, almost seemed to partake of his enthusiasm, and dashed ahead at a clattering pace, and the dust flew from the glowing wheels. At the same time a shout was raised, that ran with the rapidity of an electric flash along Montgomery street, which throughout its length was crowded by an excited populace. As the coach dashed along through the crowds, the hats of the spectators were whirled in the air and the hurrah was repeated from a thousand throats, responsive to which the driver, the lion of the occasion, doffed his weather-beaten old slouch, and in uncovered dignity, like the victor of an Olympic race, guided his foaming steeds towards the Post Office."³⁷

Upon the arrival of the pioneer stage, Mr. Butterfield, elated at the success of the great enterprise, telegraphed the President of the United States: "The overland mail arrived today at St. Louis from San Francisco in twenty-three days and four hours. The stage brought through six passengers." President Buchanan replied:

"I cordially congratulate you upon the result. It is a glorious triumph for civilization and the Union. Settlements will soon follow the course of the road, and the East and West will be bound together by a chain of living Americans which can never be broken."³⁸

The schedule time for the route was twenty-five days. The first mail from the East came through in twenty-three days, twenty-three

³⁶ San Francisco Bulletin Oct. 11, 1858.

³⁷ S. F. Bulletin Oct. 16, 1858. This was upon the occasion of the arrival of the second stage.

³⁸ Quoted in Root and Connelley: "The Overland Stage to California," p. 13. Butterfield's telegram is dated Jefferson City, Oct. 9th.

hours. Mr. W. L. Ormsby of the New York Herald was the only through passenger. The first trip from the West was made in twenty-four days, eighteen hours, and twenty-six minutes. Mr. G. Bailey, special agent of the Post Office Department was one of the passengers. He reported in part:

"The various difficulties of the route, the scant supply of water, the long deserts, the inconvenience of keeping up stations hundreds of miles from the points from which their supplies are furnished; all these and the minor obstacles, naturally presented to the successful management of so long a line of stage communication, have been met and overcome by the energy, the enterprise, and the determination of the contractors."³⁹

The following summary of distances and of time made on the first trip eastward, is taken from Mr. Bailey's report:

	Miles	Hours
San Francisco to Los Angeles.....	462	80.00
Los Angeles to Fort Yuma.....	282	72.20
Fort Yuma to Tucson.....	280	71.45
Tucson to Franklin.....	360	82.00
Franklin to Fort Chadbourne.....	458	126.30
Fort Chadbourne to Colbert's Ferry.....	282½	65.25
Colbert's Ferry to Fort Smith.....	192	38.00
Fort Smith to Tipton.....	318	48.55
Tipton to St. Louis (by railroad).....	160	11.40
Total.....	2795	596.35
Total.....	2795	596.35 ⁴⁰

The line was equipped at first with the famous Concord spring wagons, capable of carrying conveniently four passengers and their baggage and five or six hundred pounds of mail matter.⁴¹ Later more commodious coaches were used, which carried six or nine inside and one to ten outside passengers.⁴² The team usually consisted of four horses or mules, but upon the more difficult stretches additional animals were attached.⁴³ Most of the horses were mustangs, "wild as deer, and as active as antelope." . . . They were all shod and branded O. M. (Overland Mail.) Stations were maintained at intervals of from eight to twenty-five miles. At first there were some drives of forty or fifty miles without change of teams⁴⁵ but these were reduced

³⁹ Given in Postmaster General's Report of Dec., 1858, p. 741.

⁴⁰ Postmaster General's Report, 1858, 35th Cong. 2d Sess. Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1 (Serial No. 977), p. 743.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 741.

⁴² S. F. Bulletin March 19, 1860; Dec. 3, 1858.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1858; Mar. 19, 1860.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1858.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1858.

until the average drive was between ten and fifteen miles.⁴⁶ Through the New Mexico and Arizona region the stations were large square enclosures with walls of adobe. During periods of Indian hostility guards of four or five men defended these posts. Supplies of hay, grain, and sometimes even water, often had to be hauled long distances.⁴⁷ In Los Angeles a splendid brick depot was maintained, consisting of an office, blacksmith shop, stables, and sheds.⁴⁸

The through passenger traffic was not heavy but there were usually passengers on every coach. Frequently, however, way passengers were crowded in, to the inconvenience of the through travellers.⁴⁹ The continuous riding day and night for twenty-five days was very tiring and it was a common custom for passengers to remain over at some intermediate station to rest. However it was said that the journey very often improved the health of the passenger.⁵⁰ At first the through fare was one hundred dollars from San Francisco eastward, and two hundred dollars from St. Louis or Memphis to the Golden Gate.⁵¹ In January, 1859, the fare eastward was raised to two hundred dollars,⁵² but was reduced to one hundred fifty dollars in May.⁵³ This fare did not include meals, which cost from seventy-five cents to one dollar each, varying, of course, according to the distance from settled regions. It did, however, allow each passenger to carry forty pounds of baggage without extra cost. In reply to numerous inquiries, a San Diego newspaper recommended the following equipment for the overland passenger:

"One Sharp's rifle and a hundred cartridges; a Colt's navy revolver and two pounds of balls; a knife and sheath; a pair of thick boots and woolen pants; a half dozen pairs of thick woolen socks; six undershirts; three woolen overshirts; a wide-awake hat; a cheap sack coat; a soldier's overcoat; one pair of blankets in summer and two in winter; a piece of India rubber cloth for blankets; a pair of gauntlets, a small bag of needles, pins, a sponge, hair brush, comb, soap, etc., in an oiled silk bag; two pairs of thick drawers, and three or four towels."⁵⁴

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Mar. 19, 1860.

⁴⁷ S. F. Bulletin, Dec. 14, 1859.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Mar. 19, 1860.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1858.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1859. St. Louis Correspondence of Dec. 13, 1858.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1858, and subsequent dates. Also advertisement of Dec. 1, 1858, reproduced in Dunbar, "A History of Travel in America," Vol. 4, p. 1315.

⁵² S. F. Bulletin, Jan. 10, 1859.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, May 23, 1859.

⁵⁴ Hayes Collection, Bancroft Library. Transcontinental Mails R. 104: 61. The article has reference to the San Antonio and San Diego Mail, but the route for a considerable distance was the same as that taken by the Butterfield.

The Overland Mail line gradually gained in favor until by 1860 more letters were sent by the Butterfield route than by the ocean steamers.⁵⁵ Even in England sealed letter-bags were made up regularly for San Francisco and the English Pacific Coast possessions to go overland in the times intervening between the dates of departure of the Panama line of steamers.⁵⁶

Despite occasional depredations by the Comanche and Apache Indians,⁵⁷ the schedule was very successfully maintained and the trips came to be made regularly in from twenty-one to twenty-three days.⁵⁸ An overland passenger wrote in the *New York Post*:

"The blast of the stage horn as it rolls through the valleys and over the prairies of the West, cheers and gladdens the heart of the pioneer. As it sounds through the valleys of Santa Clara and San Jose, it sends a thrill of delight to the Californian. He knows that it brings tidings from the hearts and homes he left behind him; it binds him stronger and firmer to his beloved country. So regular is its arrival that the inhabitants know almost the hour and the minute when the welcome sound of the post horn will reach them. . . . The Overland is the most popular institution of the Far West."⁵⁹

There never was serious criticism of the conduct of the service upon this line, but the route taken was ever the subject of criticism. Efforts were made time and again to get the contract cancelled or the line moved farther north. It was not until the outbreak of the Civil War, however, that this line was removed from the route over which it had operated so regularly and well.

L. R. HAFEN.

⁵⁵ S. F. Bulletin, April 27, 1860.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1859. St. Louis Correspondence of June 6th.

⁵⁷ Articles relative to Indian depredations and the need of Government protection are found in the S. F. Bulletin of Oct. 19th, Nov. 27th, Dec. 20, 1858; Jan. 12th, Feb. 9th, July 23, 1860.

⁵⁸ The first four mails west came through in 23¾, 26, 25, and 26½ days respectively. S. F. Bulletin, Nov. 19, 1858. The average time made during the six months from Oct., 1859, to April, 1860, was 21 days and 15 hours. This information is from a speech of Senator Latham in the Senate May 30, 1860, obtained from figures compiled by the Postmaster of San Francisco.

⁵⁹ Quoted in the S. F. Bulletin of June 13, 1859.

A DAVID DOUGLAS LETTER

David Douglas was a well-known botanist who came to the Pacific Coast to collect specimens. On his first journey he reached the mouth of the Columbia, April 7, 1825. After visiting various places in the upper country he went overland with Dr. McLaughlin and returned to England by way of York Factory in the fall of 1828. In the latter part of 1829 he again returned to the Columbia, and in December of 1830 made a journey to Monterey, where he remained until August, 1832. Returning to the Columbia he spent a year there and left for the Sandwich Islands in October, touching at San Francisco en route. While in the Islands he was killed by a wild bull in July, 1834, in a cattle pit into which he had fallen.

One of his letters from California was printed in the "Companion to the Botanical Magazine," published in London in 1836. That which we print is from a copy in the Douglas correspondence in the Provincial Library at Victoria, B. C., kindly furnished us by the librarian, Mr. John Forsyth. Although without address, it was most probably written to the celebrated botanist, Sir William Hooker. Douglas wrote another letter from Monterey, to which he refers in his published letter, which he says was descriptive of the country. All efforts to locate that letter up to the present have proved unavailing. Nevertheless the letter we publish contains a very good description of California as he saw it, even to the twenty-seven pound trout.

Some extracts from this letter were published in the *Overland Monthly*, Volume II, 1883, page 409.



Monterey,
Upper California,
Nov. 20, 1831.

Esteemed and ever dear Sir,

In the absence of all with kindred feelings to participate of our pleasures, to console us in adversity, how delightful is the task to write to them, the more especially when for a long time we have been deprived of their conversation and separated from them by half the diameter of the Globe. Still greater is the pleasure to the solitary traveller to learn the welfare and happiness of those who are dear to his remembrance in his native land. I am not ashamed to say such affords me great pleasure, stimulates me to exertion and makes my labour light. Though I have not written to you since last year, I am daily with you in recollection and were it not that sometimes I nearly

persuade myself that my feeble exertions in these countries may ere long yield pleasure looking over its beautiful plants I should be truly glad to assure you in person of my regard. I have had only one letter from you dated "Christmas day, 1829," for which I am abundantly thankful. This is the only one which gave me any news. I have none from Mr. Sabine.

Some of my London fashionable friends (he none of them thank God) were glad to get rid of me. I shall not at present torment these gentlemen with my scribbling and should I ever return I shall make but little exertion to renew my acquaintance with them, however much I may lose by it. I beg you to lay before Mrs. H., Mr. H. the Boys and Girls, and when you write to Yarmouth to say to Mr. Turner that I claim to be remembered to him.

On the 22nd. December last I arrived by sea from the Columbia, and obtained leave of the Territorial Government to remain for the space of six months, which has been nearly extended to twelve, for it took the first three months to negotiate this affair, which was effected to my satisfaction. I shall now endeavor to give you a brief sketch of my walks in California, of my progress. Upper California extends from the Port of St. Diego, lat. $32^{\circ}30'$ to the 43°N. , a space of six hundred and ninety miles from north to south. The Interior is but partially known. Such of the country as I have seen is highly diversified by hills covered with Oaks, Pines, Chestnuts and Laurels; extensive plains clothed with a rich sward of grass, but no large streams. Well does it merit its name. The heat is intense, and the dryness of its atmosphere incredible, 129° not infrequent, which, if I mistake not, is not exceeded in Arabia or Persia. In this fine country how I lament the want of such majestic rivers as the Columbia. In the course of my travels on the western and northern parts of this Continent, on my former as well as my present journey, I have observed that all mountainous countries situated in a temperate climate agitated by volcanic fire and washed by mighty torrents which form gaps or breaks in the mountains, lay open an inexhaustible field for Botanist. Early as was my arrival on this Coast Spring had commenced. The first plant I took in my hand in full flower was *Ribes Staminum*, (Smith) remarkable for the length and crimson splendour of its stamens, a plant not surpassed in beauty by the finest Fuchsia, for the discovery of which we are indebted to the good Sir Arch. Menzies in 1779. The same day I added to my list *Nemophila insignis*, a humble but beautiful plant, the harbinger of Californian Spring, which forms as it were a carpet of azure. What a delightful rest to the eye does this charming plant afford from the effects of the sun's reflection on the micaceous

sand in which it grows. These with others of less importance gave me hope. From time to time I continued to make journies in this neighborhood until the end of April, when I undertook a journey southwards and reached Santa Barbara, $34^{\circ}25'$ in the middle of May, where I made a short stay and returned late in June by the same route, occasionally penetrating the mountainous valleys which skirt the Coast. Shortly afterwards I made a journey to San Francisco and north of that Port. My principal object was to reach the place from whence I returned in 1826, (See Map of Flora), which I regret to state could not be accomplished. My last observation was $38^{\circ}45'$ N. which leaves a blank of sixty-five miles. Small as this may appear to you, it was too much for me!! My whole Collection of this year in California may amount to five hundred species a little more or less. This is prodigiously small I am aware, but when I inform you that the season for Botanizing is not more than three months your surprise will cease. Such is the rapidity of Spring that plants (like on the table-lands of Mexico and the platforms of the Andes in Chile) bloom only for a day. The intense heats set in about June when every bit of herbage is dried to a cinder. The facility of travelling is not great, wherein much time is lost, as is the case as a matter of course in all new countries. It would require at least three years to do any thing like good in California and the expense to me is not the least of the drawbacks. At present I can do nothing more and will content myself with particularising the present Collection. Of new genera I am certain of nineteen or twenty at least, and I hope you will find many more. Most are very curious. Of species, there may be about three hundred and forty new. I have added a truly interesting species to the genus *Pinus*, *P. Sabinii*, one which I discovered in 1826, and lost, together with the rough note crossing a rapid stream returning northward accompanied with the numerous species of this genus which inhabit the western parts of this Continent; it attains but to a small size—one hundred and ten to one hundred and forty feet high, three to twelve feet in diameter. In the aqueous deposits on the Western flanks of the Cordilleras of New Albion at a very great elevation above the sea (1,600 below the line of perpetual snow), they grow somewhat larger than on the more temperate parts near the Coast in a more southern parallel. I sent to London a description of the beautiful tree for the Trans. of the Linn. or Hort. Society, which you will see before this can reach you: so I will not trouble you with a description of it. But the great beauty of California is a species of *Taxodium*, which gives to the mountain a peculiar—I was going to say an awful—appearance, something that tells us we are not in Europe. I have never seen T.

nootkatensis of Nees, saving specimens in the Lambertian Collection, and I have no work to refer to; but from recollection I think the present specifically distinct. I have measured them frequently two hundred and seventy feet long, thirty-two feet round, three feet from the ground!! Some few I saw upwards of three hundred feet long, but none of a greater thickness than those instanced. I have fine specimens of these and seeds also. I have doubled the genus *Calochortus*; *C. luteus* is deserving of attention as the finest of all. To *Mimulus* several; *M. cardinalis*, three to four feet high, surpassing *M. luteus*, a magnificent plant. *Clarckia elegans* four to six feet high, petals entire, fine. But not equal to *C. pulchella*. It is to *Gilia*, *Colomia*, *Phlox* and *Hoitzia* the greatest additions have been made, too numerous to mention. To *Onagrarieae* something is also done. In addition to the new genus alluded to by De Candolle, (Prod. 111, p. 35) exhibiting the flower of *Fuchsia* with the fruit of an *Epilobium*, I have another new genus and a multitude of species of *Oenothera*. To *Penstemon* there are four new, two of which far excel any of the genus: two shrubs. In *Papaveraceae*, two, if not three, new genera, one a shrub with the bi-foliate calyx and four petals, flowers and stamens of *Papaver* with the fruit of *Escholtzia* and having entire leaves!! This is my *Bichenovia*, a plant worthy of him and he of it. The others are both annuals and too curious for me to describe. By far the most singular and highly curious plant is a genus in some respects akin to *Salvia* with the leaves of *Carduus*. This is one annual species, *Wellsia*, (Mr. Wells, Redleaf, Kent). This with many others I hope you will have the pleasure of describing from the living plants, as I have sent to London upwards of one hundred and fifty nondescript species which I hope may bloom next season. I have divided my collection for the Society in two parts, and have done myself the pleasure of laying aside as they were dry, your portion. They consist of two large thick bundles, addressed to you and sealed with that (by which I lay great store) which you gave me on my departure. With very few exceptions these bundles contain a good portion of my specimens. It is so pleasant to me to set apart something for your herbarium that I would not deny myself the gratification of doing so as they were gathered; besides, my dear Sir, were this duty left to a London house, they might do it I doubt not by accident, well, while I do it heartily. May you reap equal pleasure looking over them that I had gleaned them, and it will be to pleasure beyond what I can express to know you had found something that interests you. I shall, please God, have an opportunity of writing shortly, and for the present will only tell you of my

projects. I am daily in expectation of a vessel from the Columbia, in which I am to embark to renew my labours in the North, and should she not arrive before the 10th. of December, I take a passage in an American vessel for the Sandwich Islands, where I will fail not to endeavour to scale the lofty *Mouna Roa* or *Raah* (The White of Snow) in quest of Flora's treasures, and proceed to the North West Coast the ensuing Spring. I have met the Russian authorities twice since I wrote to you and have had the utmost kindness from them. I had two days since a letter from Baron Wrangel, Governor of the Russian possessions in America and the Aleutian Islands, full of compliments, offering all assistance, backed by Imperial favour from the Court. This gentleman, as you know, is the Capt. Parry of Russia, a man of science and keenly alive to assist everyone who endeavours to labour in the field. Since I began, Dr. Coulter, from the Central States of the Republic of Mexico, has arrived here with the intention of taking all to Geneva to De Candolle. He is a man eminently calculated to work, full of zeal, amiable, and I hope may do much for the great good. As a salmon fisher he is superior to W. F. Campbell, Esq., of Islay, who is the Isaak Walton of Scotland, besides being a beautiful shot with the rifle (nearly as good as me!!) And I do assure you from my heart it is a terrible pleasure to me to find a good man who can speak of Plants. I should be sorry to load you with compliments, but let me crave to be remembered to Mr. Murray, to whom I have written shortly, and as it would be only repeating by writing, either show him this sheet or tell him what I am doing. To my (on a former journey) companion and friend Dr. Scouler I request to be mentioned too in the shape of Bones and Fragments of different kinds of animals and will send him a prodigiously long letter and catalogue two months hence. I can never read what I write, so do pardon my blunders and if you can fathom what I wish to say I am for once happy. Tell Joseph I caught two fine trout yesterday, twenty-seven pounds each.

I am always

Your obliged and grateful servt.

D. DOUGLAS.

EARLIEST CROSSING OF THE DESERTS OF UTAH AND NEVADA TO SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA: ROUTE OF JEDEDIAH S. SMITH IN 1826

In the early fall of 1826 the venturesome explorer and fur-trader, Jedediah S. Smith, led a small party on horseback from Great Salt Lake, Utah, to San Diego, California. He appears to have been the first white man to cross the vast expanse of unknown deserts between the Rocky Mountain region and southern California, as he was also the first to cross the Sierra Nevada, which he did in May of the following year.¹

There is some doubt as to certain details of the route, but in his letter to General William Clark, of Lewis and Clark fame, written July 12, 1827,² he states: "My general course on leaving the Salt Lake was South-W. & West"—and adds that after passing Little Utah Lake he ascended "Ashley's river" [now known as the Sevier] which he erroneously supposed to empty into Utah Lake. On this river he found "a Nation of Indians who call themselves Sampatch," who he says "were friendly disposed towards us." These were a Utah tribe inhabiting Sevier and San Pete valleys and now commonly called Sanpeet Indians.

After ascending the Sevier (how far he does not state), he continues: "I passed over a range of Mountains running S. E. and N. W. and struck a river running S. W. which I called *Adams River*, in compliment to our President. The water is of a muddy cast, & is a little

¹ See my article entitled "*First Crossing of the Sierra Nevada.*" *Sierra Club Bull.*, vol. xi, No. 4, pp. 375-379, June, 1923.

² Smith's letter to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, from which the quotations in the present article are taken, is preserved in the archives of the Office of Indian Affairs at Washington. It is written in a remarkably clear hand and is dated "Little Lake of Bear River, July 12th, 1827."

Dale in his book entitled "The Ashley-Smith Explorations" (pp. 186-194, 1918) published what is believed to be a copy of the same letter, as contained in the letter book of General William Clark, still preserved in the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka. As printed by Dale the letter is dated July 17, 1827, but I am informed by Miss Clara Francis, Librarian of the Kansas Historical Society, that this is an error. Miss Francis writes: "I note that you mention the discrepancies in date. I suppose that has come through transcribing or poor proof reading, for this letter, under my hand at this moment, is dated July 12th, and the 2 is utterly unlike the 7 in the year 1827. So there could be no possibility of its being July 17." Miss Francis adds the important information that the letter "in the letter book of General William Clark is not an original letter from Jedediah Smith," and goes on to say: "We have some original letters and the writing is utterly unlike."

In this connection I wish to record my obligation to Miss Francis and also to Miss Stella M. Drumm, Librarian of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis, both of whom have contributed valuable information bearing on this subject.

brackish—the country is mountainous to East—toward the West there are Sandy plains and detached Rocky Hills. Passing down this river some distance, I fell in with a Nation of Indians who call themselves Pa Ulches.³ these Indians, as well as those last mentioned, wear rabbit skin robes—who raise some little corn & Pumpkins.”

Recent commentators, Chittenden in his *American Fur Trade of the Far West* (Vol. I, p. 283, 1902), Wagner in *Adventures of Zenas Leonard* (footnote p. 153, 1904), Richman, “Map of 22 Spanish and American Trails and Routes” in his book entitled “*California under Spain and Mexico*” (1911), and Dale in *The Ashley-Smith Explorations* (p. 188 footnote, 1918), have identified *Adams River* as the Virgin, but I believe this to be an error and am certain that the stream in question is the one now known as Meadow Valley Wash and its continuation the Muddy. Following are my reasons:

Smith well knew that in order to reach Southern California from Salt Lake his general course must be to the southwest.

In ascending the upper Sevier he had already gone a long distance south and knew that the time had arrived for turning to the west. Furthermore the forbidding aspect of the escarpments and mountains on the east and south would naturally have led him to seek a passage to the westward. That he did this is proved by his own words, for he tells us that his general course was southwest and west, and adds: “I passed over a range of Mountains running S.E. & N.W. and struck a river running S.W. which I called *Adams River*, in compliment to our President.” That this could not have been the Virgin is evident from the circumstance that the Virgin does not lie in that direction, its headwaters being immediately south of and close to those of the Sevier—both rising in canyons of the Markagunt Plateau, near its eastern front. What stream then could he have reached?

After crossing the mountains west of the upper Sevier, probably the Beaver Range, his course to the southwest and west lay over the open Escalante Desert. No stranger traversing this desert would attempt to force a passage through the mountains to the south, and moreover no waters from the desert flow southward, all the northern tributaries of the Virgin in this region being short streams flowing south from the *southern* slope of the divide. Hence the only river he could possibly have reached is Meadow Valley Wash—for there is no

³ Smith's writing of the word *Pa Ulches* is of course intended for *Pa Utches*, though the *t* is not crossed. However, it is written with a single upright stroke, as are all his *t*'s, while throughout the manuscript his *l*'s are looped. In Smith's letter to Clark as published in French in *Les Nouvelles Annales des Voyages* (2 ser. vol. 7, pp. 208-212, 1833) the correct form, *Pa Utches*, is given.

other. Once on the Escalante Desert the lay of the land leads naturally to the southwest and west as far as the low cedar hills of the Utah-Nevada boundary, beyond which lies the long north and south valley known as Meadow Valley Wash—which he probably reached in the neighborhood of Panaca or Pioche. Thirty-two years ago I followed this same course myself on horseback, and it has since been adopted by the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad—it being the natural passage to the southwest.

Sometime after crossing the mountains west of the Sevier, Smith described the country as “mountainous to the East; towards the West there are sandy plains and detached rocky hills.” This is correct for the Escalante Desert and Meadow Valley Wash, but grossly incorrect for any part of the Virgin.

In order to have reached the upper waters of the then unknown Virgin River, Smith would have been obliged to depart from the direction he wished to take and continue south up the Sevier to its very head, thus entering the region of the formidable cliffs and canyons of the Markagunt Plateau, instead of crossing, as he said he did, “a range of mountains running S.E. and N.W.”—the mountains that separate the upper course of the Sevier from the valleys on the west that lead to the Escalante Desert. Furthermore, the part of the Virgin which he could have reached and followed on horseback is so short that he could not possibly have marched down it for 12 days—or even half that number—unless entangled in its marvelous canyons which, had he seen, he most certainly would have mentioned. And finally, the main course of the Virgin to its junction with the Muddy being *westerly* and *southwesterly*, he could not have described it as *turning to the southeast* two days’ march from its junction with the Colorado.

Remember his statement that about 10 days’ march down the stream “the river turns to the southeast.” This just fits the Muddy, but is entirely wrong for the Virgin, as admitted by Dale, who, misidentifying the stream as the Virgin, criticized Smith’s directions as “confused and inadequate.” Smith continued following the river “two days further to where it empties into the Seedekeeden,” by which name, ordinarily written Seedskeedee, the Colorado River and its upper continuation the Green were then known.

Referring again to the stream he named Adams River he says: “Passing down this river some distance, I fell in with a Nation who call themselves *Pa-Ulches*”; and adds, “here (about ten days march down it) the river turns to the South East.” This is very important information as it locates his position with remarkable exactness, for

we know that the "*Pa-Ulches*" or "*Pa-Utches*"—written *Payuchas* and *Payuchis* by the early Spanish explorers, Escalante, Garces, Font, and Cortez—dwelt and still dwell on the lower part of Meadow Valley Wash and the adjacent part of the Muddy, and we know also that this is where the stream turns to the southeast.⁴

That just at this point Smith chose the gravel mesa several miles west of the stream bed instead of the less desirable course closer in, is obvious to anyone following the route on horseback, and is absolutely proved by the following interesting circumstance:

In his letter to General Clark, Smith makes particular mention of a remarkable Salt Cave. After having followed for some time the stream he named Adams River and which I identify as Meadow Valley Wash, and after passing the *Pa Ulche* [Pah Ute] Indians, he states, "Here (about 10 days march down it) the river turns to the South East." This would have brought him to the neighborhood of the junction of the Muddy and Virgin. He then goes on to say, "On the S.W. side of the river there is a *Cave* the entrance of which is about 10 or 15 feet high & 5 or 6 feet in width—after descending about 15 feet, the room opens out from 25 to 30 feet in length & 15 to 20 feet in width. The roof, sides, & floor are solid Rocksalt." I was told of this Salt Cave when I visited the region on horseback 32 years ago. It is well known locally and is situated about 5 miles southwest of the little place called St. Thomas in Clark County, southeastern Nevada. In other words, it is on the gravel mesa a few miles west and a little south of the junction of the Muddy and Virgin, thus explaining why the union of the two streams was not observed by Smith.

It is singular how proofs multiply, and also how easily they are overlooked. Among the precious archives of the Missouri Historical Society is the journal of Harrison G. Rogers, a member of Smith's Expedition. It was rescued by Smith from the Indians who had killed Rogers in 1828, and was published by Dale in his account of the Ashley-Smith explorations. As would be expected, it contains entries of more than passing importance, fixing dates and localities. Thus under date of October 1 and 2 Rogers locates the party on "Muddy River," and on October 5 and 24 and November 5, on the "Siskadee"—the name then used by hunters and trappers for the Colorado. This not only confirms Smith's route but also indicates that notwithstanding his bestowal of the name Adams River on Meadow Valley Wash and

⁴Nearly half a century after Smith's passage, Major Powell visited the same Indians, and in writing of them in connection with the present loose use of the term *Pahute*, states: "but the Indians know only those on the Muddy by that name." (Rept. Commr. Ind. Affairs for 1873, p. 45, 1874.)

the Muddy, others of the party actually called it *Muddy River*. So far as I am aware this is the first mention of the name.

The most important evidence after Smith's own account is to be found in the maps of General Gallatin (1836) and Commander Wilkes (1841), in both of which the geographic results of Smith's explorations were incorporated.⁵ Both show Adams River in approximately the right position for the Muddy (so far as permitted by the distorted course of the Colorado) while the stream now called the Virgin is neither named nor shown, except the few miles below the junction of the Muddy, which, being apparently a direct continuation of the Muddy, Smith naturally mistook for it—he having never seen any part of the Virgin above the junction, as already explained. On both maps Adams River is shown as a long stream and its course is correctly given as southwest by south for a long distance and then southeast to the Colorado River—thus agreeing with Smith's account and also with the combined courses of Meadow Valley Wash, the Muddy, and the lower part of the Virgin, below the junction. It is surprising that in a hurried horseback journey over mountains and deserts the course of a previously unknown stream should be described with such accuracy.

Frémont, in the large scale map showing his return route from Southern California to Utah in the spring of 1843, gives the course and name of the Virgin and its important branch the Santa Clara, with approximate correctness, and shows also the course of the Muddy, which though not named on the map, was called *Rio de los Angeles* in the text. Had the information recorded by Gallatin, Wilkes, and Frémont been perpetuated, many of the errors of subsequent cartographers would have been avoided.

Among the maps showing varying degrees of confusion in the positions and names of the Virgin, Meadow Valley Wash and the Muddy may be mentioned: *Mitchell's* New Map of Texas, Oregon and California, 1846; *Colton's* Map of New Mexico and Utah, 1855; *Lieut. Whipple's* Government Map, 1854; *Lieut. Warren's* Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean, 1857; *Major Emory's* Map of the United States and Territories between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean, 1857-1858; *Ives'* graphic relief map (drawn by Egloffstein) entitled "Map No. 2, Rio Colorado

⁵ The maps referred to are, Gallatin's *Map of Indian Tribes*, 1836; and Wilkes' *Map of Upper California*, 1841. But on the 1848 edition of Gallatin's map, the name Rio Virgin is substituted for Adams River, the river is greatly extended to the north, and given a course which is a compromise between that of the Sevier and Meadow Valley Wash with its continuation—the Muddy and Lower Virgin. This may be the source of the misidentification of Adams River by later authors.

of the West," 1858; the *Abbé Domenech's* Map of the United States, 1860; *Lloyd's* Map of the Territories and Pacific States, 1865; the Government *Land Office* maps of "Utah and Nevada, 1866"; *Keeler's* large "National Map of the Territories of the United States from the Mississippi River to the Ocean, 1867"; and *Bancroft's* Map of California and Nevada, 1868.

The Wheeler Survey map sheets published in 1874 (Nos. 50, 58, 59, 66, and 67) show with much detail the region between Great Salt Lake and the Great Bend of the Colorado, including Escalante Desert and the courses of Sevier River, Meadow Valley Wash, the Muddy, Santa Clara, and Virgin, thus covering the whole of the country traversed by Jedediah Smith from Utah Lake to the Colorado. They are very graphic, exhibiting in bold relief the mountains, canyons, and plateau escarpments of the region, and while not always accurate in minor details should be consulted by everyone interested in tracing the steps of the first white man who had the courage to explore this unknown route to California.

In conclusion, it may be said with confidence that "Ashley's river" of Smith is the upper part of the Sevier—the part flowing *northerly* toward Utah Lake, as correctly identified by Chittenden, Richman, and Dale; that "Adams River" of Smith is *Meadow Valley Wash* of eastern Nevada and its continuation the Muddy—not the Virgin, as heretofore misidentified (except the last few miles of its lower course, as previously explained); and that *Smith's route after crossing the mountains west of the Sevier lay across the Escalante Desert and thence down Meadow Valley Wash and the Muddy to the lower Virgin*, and down it to the Colorado River, which he crossed to the south side and followed westerly and southerly around the Great Bend, continuing south to the Mohave villages, where he recrossed to the west side before setting out over the Mohave Desert bound for the coast region of Southern California.

JEDEDIAH SMITH'S LETTER TO GENERAL CLARK

[Verbatim copy from original in Office of Indian Affairs, Washington.]

Little Lake of Bear River.

July 12th. 1827.

Gen^l. Wm. Clark

Sup^t. Indian Affairs

Sir.

My situation here, has enabled me to collect information respecting a Section of the country which, to the citizens of the U. States, has

hitherto been veiled in obscurity;—I allude to the country S.W. of the *Great Salt Lake*, west of the Rocky Mountains.

I started about the 22nd. of Aug^t. 1826 from the Great Salt Lake with a party of fifteen men for the purpose of exploring the Country S.W. which was entirely unknown to me, and of which I could collect no satisfactory information from the Indians who inhabit this country on its N.E. borders.

My general course on leaving the Salt Lake, was South-W. & West—passing the Little Uta Lake, and ascending Ashleys River which empties into the *little Uta Lake*: from this, I found no more sign of Buffalo—there are a few Antelope & Mountain Sheep and an abundance of *Black-tailed Hares*. On Ashleys river, I found a Nation of Indians who call themselves *Sampatch*.—they were friendly disposed towards us. I passed over a range of Mountains running S.E. & N.W. and struck a river running S.W. which I called *Adams' River*, in Compliment to our *President*. The water is of a muddy cast, & is a little brackish—the country is mountainous to the East—towards the West, there are Sandy Plains, and detached Rockey Hills. Passing down this river some distance, I fell in with a Nation of Indians, who call themselves *Pa Ulches*. these Indians, as well as those last mentioned, wear rabbit Skin robes.—who raise some little Corn. & Pumpkins. the Country is nearly destitute of Game of any description except a few Hares here (about 10 days march down it) the river turns to the South east. On the S.W. side of the river there is a *Cave* the entrance of which is about 10 or 15 feet high & 5 or 6 feet in width—after descending about 15 feet, the room opens out from 25 to 30 feet in length & 15 to 20 feet in width. The roof, sides, & floor are Solid Rock Salt—a sample of which, I send you, with some other articles which will be hereafter described. I have found a kind of plant of the Prickly Pear kind, which I called the Cabbage Pear.—the largest of which grow about 2½ feet high & 1½ feet in diameter. Upon examination, I found it to be nearly of the substance of a Turnip, altho' by no means palatable.—its form was similar to that of an Egg—being smaller at the ground & top, than in the middle.—it is covered with Pricks, similar to the Prickly Pear, with which you are acquainted.

There are here also, a number of shrubs & small trees with which I was not acquainted previous to my route there, and which I cannot at present describe satisfactorily, as it would take more space, than I can here allot.

The *Pa Ulches* have a number of marble pipes, one of which I obtained & Send you—altho' it has been broken since I have had it in

my possession—they told me there was a quantity of the same material in their country.—I also obtained of them, a Knife of *Flint* which I send you, but it has likewise been broken by accident.

I followed Adams' River 2 days further, to where it empties, into the Seeds Keeden, a southeast course.—I crossed the Seeds Keeden and went down it four days, a South Course. I here found the country remarkably barren, rocky & mountainous—there are a good many rapids in the river. About at this place a Valley opens out, about 5 to 15 miles in width, which on the river banks is Timbered and fertile. I here found a Nation of Indians who call themselves Am-muchábas.—the cultivate the Soil, and raise Corn, Beans, Pumpkins, Water & Muskmellons in abundance, and also a little Wheat & Cotton. I was now nearly destitute of horses, and had learned what it was to do without food. I therefore remained there fifteen days and recruited my men, and I was enabled also to exchange my horses & purchase a few more of a few runaway Indians who stole some horses of the Spaniards—I have got information of the Spanish country, (The Californias) and obtained two guides, recrossed the *Seeds Keeden* which I afterwards found emptied into the gulph of California, about 80 miles from this place by the name of the *Collorado* [words erased] the river *Gila* from the east.—I travelled a West course, fifteen days over a Country of complete Barrens.—generally travelling from morning untill night without water. I crossed a Salt Plane, about 20 miles long & 8 wide [now known as *Soda Lake or the Sink of the Mohave*], on the surface was a crust of beautiful fine white Salt, quite thin.—under the surface there is a Layer of salt from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in depth, between this & the upper layer, there is about 4 inches of Yellowish sand.

On my arrival in the Province of upper California, I was looked upon with surprise, & was compelled to appear in presence of the Governor of the Californias, residing at Sⁿ. Diego,—where by the assistance of some American gentlemen, (especially Capt. B. H. Cunningham of the *Ship Courier*, from *Boston*, I was enable to obtain permission to return with my men, the route I came, and purchase such supplies as I stood in need of.—The Governor would not allow me to travel up the Sea coast to *Bodago*. I returned to my party and purchased such articles as were necessary, & went eastward of the Spanish settlements, on the route I had come in. I then steered my course N.W.—keeping from 150 to 200 miles from the Sea coast—a very high range of mountains being on the east. After travelling 300 miles in that direction, through a country somewhat fertile, in which there was a great many Indians mostly naked, and destitute of arms, with the

exception of *Bows & Arrows*, and what is very singular among indians the cut their hair to the length of 3 inches—they proved to be friendly.—their manner of living is on fish, roots, acors & grass.

On my arrival at a River [Kings River] which I called the *Wimmel-che*, (named after a Tribe of Indians who reside on it of that name) I found a few Beaver.—& Elk, Deer & antelope in abundance. I here made a small hunt, and attempted to take my party across the [mountain] which I before mentioned, & which I called *Mount Joseph*, to come on & join my Partners at the Great Salt Lake.—I found the Snow so deep on Mount Joseph, that I could not cross my horses,—five of which starved to death. I was compelled therefore to return to the Valley which I had left. And there leaving my party, I started with two men, seven horses & 2 mules, which I loaded with hay for the horses & provisions for ourselves, and Started on the 20th of May & succeeded in crossing it in 8 days—having lost only two horses & 1 mule. I found the snow on the top of this mountain from 4 to 8 feet deep but it was so consolidated by the heat of the sun, that my horses only sunk from $\frac{1}{2}$ foot to one foot deep.

After travelling 20 days from the East side of *Mount Joseph*, I struck the S.W. corner of the Great Salt Lake, travelling over a country completely barren, and destitute of Game. We frequently travelled without water sometimes for two days, over sandy deserts, where there was no sign of vegetation. Where we found water in some of the Rocky hills, we most generally found some Indians, who appeared the most miserable of the human race,—having nothing to subsist on (nor any clothing) except grass seed, Grass-hoppers &c.

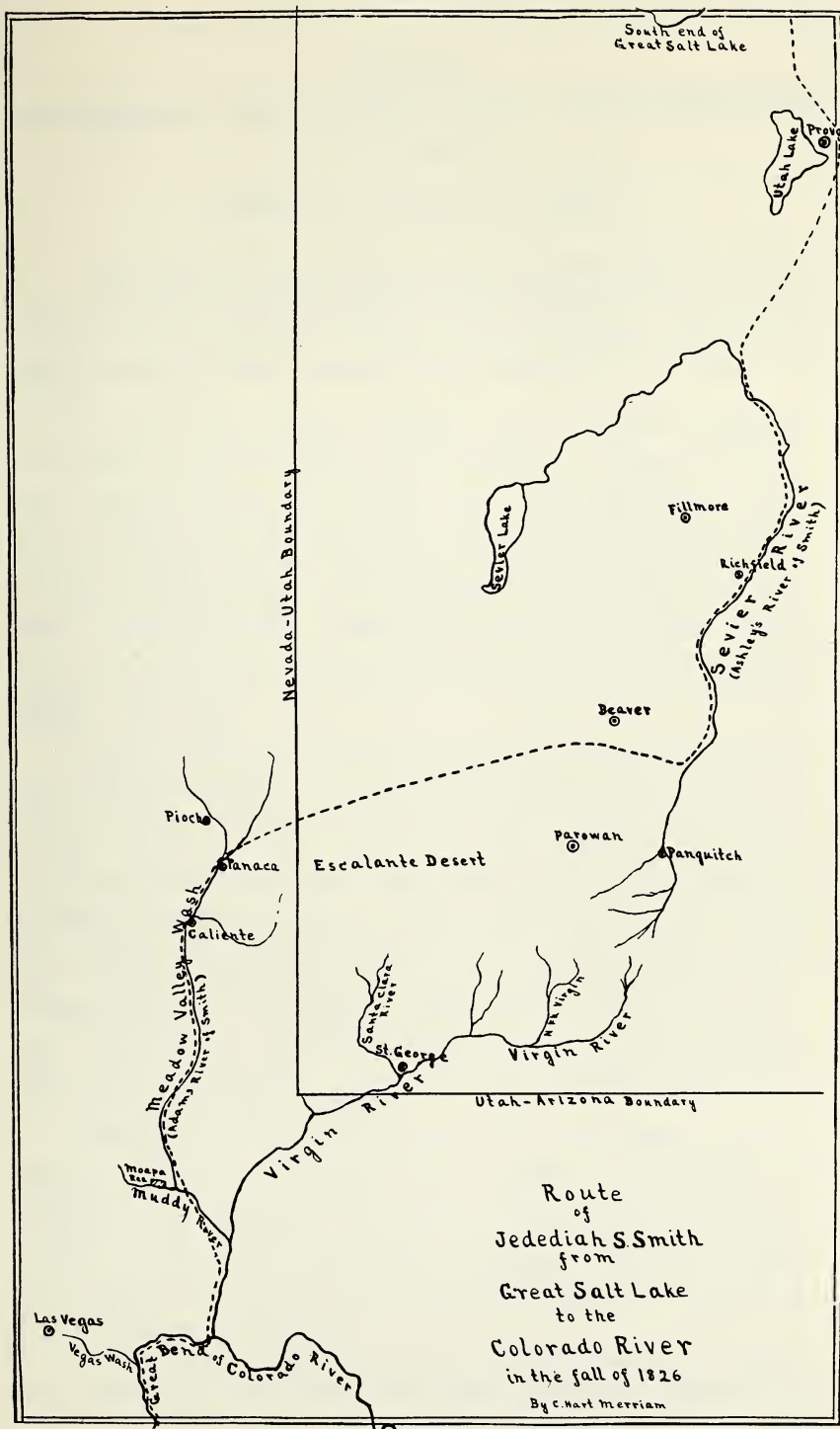
When we arrived at the Salt Lake, we had but one horse & one mule remaining, which were so poor, that they could scarce carry the little camp-equipage which I had along.—the balance of my horses, I was compelled to eat as the gave out. The Comp^y are now starting; therefore must close this Communication.

Yours respectfully

JEDEDIAH SMITH, of the
firm of Smith, Jackson & Sublette.

[The spelling, capitalization and punctuation of the original have been faithfully followed. But it should be explained that at the end of the sentences and clauses there occurs a short stroke resembling an abbreviated dash, which is here rendered by a dash.]

C. HART MERRIAM.



NORTON I EMPEROR OF THE UNITED STATES AND PROTECTOR OF MEXICO

(Joshua A. Norton, 1819-1880)

"Every age has its peculiar folly; some scheme, project or phantasy into which it plunges, spurred on either by the love of gain, the necessity of excitement, or the mere force of imitation." Thus has a gifted writer laid down a human law as universal as the human race itself.

All cities have had that singular class of eccentric individuals commonly and generally known as "characters." Of these San Francisco has had perhaps more than her share. The years from 1860 to 1875 were generously prolific of these freaks. Some were impoverished, soiled and ragged; some were hopelessly woebegone and pathetic; some in their personal appearance were fantastic or picturesque; some were noted for sheer strength of character and vitality of obsessions; others, less few in number, were those who retained the gentility of their happier days and bore themselves with consistent and conspicuous dignity to the end.

In San Francisco in the sixties, the popular promenade was through the streets Montgomery and Kearny from Jackson to Sutter. Here in the late afternoon might be seen as in a rapidly shifting kaleidoscope, a most unusual procession, relieved here and there by the injected "characters," who lent life and color to the warp and woof of that most strangely variegated tapestry. A small army they were, each member living his own life and absorbed in his own mysterious schemes. Here were "George Washington Coombs," known also as the "Great Matrimonial Candidate"; "Old Rosey"; "Money King"; "Robert Macaire"; the "Gutter-Snipe"; "Old Crisis," and others, all of whom long since have passed into oblivion. And in this motley throng though never of it, appeared "Emperor Norton."

Joshua A. Norton was his real name. He was of Hebrew parentage, born February 4, 1819, probably in Scotland. Of his earlier life nothing is known as he rarely spoke of it. Before coming to California he had been for some time at Algoa Bay, Cape of Good Hope, where he was a member of the Cape Mounted Riflemen. He finally reached San Francisco in December, 1849, having come from Rio de Janeiro on the Hamburg vessel *Franzika*.

Norton at once engaged in business. He was occupied in extensive transactions in real estate, and many tremendous operations in

importation commissions. His native shrewdness was even unusual; his intelligence was wonderfully clear, and his business judgment was remarkably accurate. To this acumen were added the rarer attributes of a sound and inflexible moral and financial integrity. Some of these commissions involved transactions to the extent of several hundreds of thousands of dollars weekly, and Joshua Norton rapidly became wealthy. He had brought with him to California, \$40,000, and towards the close of 1853 he had amassed a fortune of a quarter million of dollars.

In 1853, in association with one Thorne and others he attempted to control the rice market. Earlier he had operated heavily, had been uniformly successful, and was applauded for his daring and foresight; co-operation was offered and accepted from other large firms and an immense quantity of rice was secured and held. Everything was promising for yield of immense fortune as profit, as rice was then thirty-six cents per pound in bulk, unloaded. Almost the last pound of rice in this port had been purchased by the combination. The profits were being calculated when two unexpected cargoes of rice arrived, which the combination could not take up nor control. The market was drugged and prices fell much below cost. To add to the general disaster, in order to protect themselves, some of the associated firms sold out and Norton was financially ruined. He contended stoutly to his closing days that one well-known firm owed him \$60,000.

Extensive litigation followed. The first of these cases was that of Ruiz Hermanos vs. Norton, et al. In this contention Norton was sustained in the lower court, but upon appeal this decision was reversed by the Supreme Court. This was in November, 1853. Other serious embarrassments followed, and the sacrifice of his extensive holdings of real estate, principally around North Beach, was the last chapter of his unfortunate disaster. The previous excitement of false expectation and shock of these disappointments coupled with the legal troubles constituted a severe blow to Norton's sanity. He retired into obscurity, and when he emerged in 1857, he gave palpable and distinct evidence of an overthrown mind.

His obsession took the form of a belief that he was the Emperor of the United States. He claimed that by an act of the legislature of 1853, he had been made Emperor of California. With this he was dissatisfied, and not unreasonably so, for he argued that California was but one of a union of states, and as such could neither loyally nor logically create an emperor. Further, as he would not renounce what he styled the "national cause," the act was accordingly suppressed.

The earliest printed proclamation of the self-created Emperor appeared in 1859.

At the peremptory request and desire of a large majority of the citizens of these United States, I, Joshua Norton, formerly of Algoa Bay, Cape of Good Hope, and now for the last 9 years and 10 months past of S. F., Cal., declare and proclaim myself Emperor of these U. S.; and in virtue of the authority thereby in me vested, do hereby order and direct the representatives of the different States of the Union to assemble in Musical Hall, of this city, on the 1st day of Feb. next, then and there to make such alterations in the existing laws of the Union as may ameliorate the evils under which the country is laboring, and thereby cause confidence to exist, both at home and abroad, in our stability and integrity

NORTON I,

Emperor of the United States.

17th September, 1859.

Having assumed the sword and the plume, Norton I actively entered upon the many duties that pertained to his royal station. It is of interest to note that the pretensions of Norton were early recognized by the public of San Francisco and as speedily humored. His name had temporarily disappeared from the city directory, but in Langley's issue for 1862, we find the following: "Norton, Joshua, (Emperor), dwl. Metropolitan Hotel." His empire was established and Norton I, Emperor of the United States had begun to reign.

One day at this period, some important news was received from Mexico, and in this as in all such matters, the Emperor was greatly interested. In a spirit of levity some joker stated that Mexico needed a protector, and suggested that Norton was the logical choice. Thereupon "Protector of Mexico" was added to the official title and retained for almost a decade. It was dropped during the unhappy career of Maximilian, for, as Norton sanely and even prophetically observed: "It is impossible to protect such an unsettled nation."

The imperialistic duties were manifold, comprehending grave affairs both national and international. The civil war gave him deep concern. On July 12, 1860, he declared the Union dissolved. Early in the war he declared a blockade, and in 1862 he issued a mandate to the Protestant and Catholic churches to publicly ordain him as Emperor, that he might more efficiently bring order out of the chaos into which the country had been plunged by the violent conflict and fierce dissensions of its rebellious people.

Some of the proclamations to be found in the contemporary journals were jokes which originated with the graceless wags and inspired idiots of the day. Others, of which one or two are extant, were the inspiration of Norton alone. They are couched in terms of sanity and composed in superior English. Most of them are national in pur-

port and bear upon relations with Great Britain, Russia, Mexico and other foreign countries. Others relate to the affairs of the civil war. One has survived which is entirely personal. In February, 1860, the Emperor desired to visit Sacramento where the legislature was then in session. The Steam Navigation company denied him transportation. Norton issued an order to the commander of the revenue cutter to blockade the Sacramento river until the offending company could be brought to terms.

The proclamations which were issued as jokes are easily to be recognized. Norton had no part in them as they were the work of the conscienceless wags and amiable villains of the times. One of these fictitious documents was issued in observance of the forty-sixth birthday of the Emperor:

Owing to unsettled questions between His Majesty Maximilian I, El Duque de Gwino, The Tycoon, the King of the Mosquitos, the King of the Cannibal Islands, &c., the usual display of bunting on foreign shipping and on public buildings, in commemoration of our 46th birthday, will be omitted.
Feb. 4, 1865.

Another proclamation was to the effect that the Emperor contemplated marriage, but to avoid arousing jealousy among the fairer sex, he played no favorites and they were to decide for themselves which one of them should be Empress.

Falsified telegraphic news was also a source of great amusement for the versatile wits. In 1864, Jefferson Davis telegraphed to inquire if it were true that Norton was in sympathy with Lincoln, also the request that \$500 be sent, as Davis had but one pair of trousers, and even that was worn out. Another telegram was from Lincoln. The President thanked the Emperor for his support, and said he had a good story to tell but at present was too busy settling accounts with a seedy individual named Davis. Norton was instructed to proceed to Petaluma, there to remain until further official notice. What the Emperor thought of these effusions will never be known. But interlinear reading is not altogether difficult, for in many directions the mind of Norton was unusually clear, and at all times he was remarkably philosophic.

During his long reign the equanimity of the Emperor was never seriously disturbed except by the actions of two individuals.

The first of these was D. Stellifer Moulton, formerly New York correspondent of the *Boston Traveller*. In 1865, he proclaimed a monarchy and styled himself, "Stellifer the King, Reigning Prince of the House of David, and Guardian of Mexico." Stellifer was of fine education and possessed luxurious tastes, but unlike Norton, was entirely insane. He had lived at the leading hotels in New York and

Boston, and when dunned by them had agreed to pay upon receipt of his claims against the United States Treasury for \$3,500,000, which was to be his semi-annual allowance. In a republic such regal ambitions are not always appreciated, so the authorities apprehended Stellifer the King, and promptly sequestered him. This state of affairs was too much for our Emperor. He, himself, was of the House of David, and also was he not Protector of Mexico? He purged his soul of its bitter resentment which flamed forth in the following:

PROCLAMATION.

Down with usurpers and imposters! Off with his head! So much for cooking other people's goose! The legitimate authorities of New York are hereby commanded to seize upon the person of one Stellifer, styling himself King or Prince of the House of David, and send him in chains to San Francisco, Cal., for trial before our Imperial Court, on various charges of fraud alleged against him in the public prints.

NORTON I

Emperor of the United States and Protector of Mexico.
S. F. 6th day of Nov. 1865.

The other member of the grossly offending duo was Denis Kearney, famed for his sand-lot statesmanship and anti-Chinese oratory. For Denis, the Emperor favored speedy judicial extermination. At the same time the new Constitution also exasperated him and he denounced it as high treason. He would have destroyed it but was willing to have the eminent attorney, Hall McAllister legally annul it.

In personal appearance the Emperor was always a picturesque and striking figure. He was of medium height, heavy-set, with hair that was inclined to curl, heavy eye-brows under a massive forehead, moustache and beard that became a royal personage, and clear and penetrating eyes. His garb was of navy blue cut in military style and profusely adorned with brass buttons. The shoulders were surmounted with massive gilt epaulettes, sometimes tarnished from exposure. In the earlier years of his reign he had worn a military cap embellished with red trimmings, which is quite familiar in the cartoons of that time. About 1865, one of his loyal subjects presented the Emperor with a tall beaver hat, which was thoughtfully decorated with a cockade of feathers and a rosette. The cap had outlived its usefulness and was laid aside forever. The hat, replaced from time to time, continued to be the regal headgear until the close of the Emperor's reign. In 1867, one of his subjects had sent from Oregon a large and unusual specimen of grapevine intended for a walking-stick. It was shod with a ferule and gold-mounted, and thereafter constituted his sceptre. He was never without it, but in inclement weather he carried also an umbrella, knowing wisely that royalty may be drenched and that his kingly authority was no greater than that of his illustrious predecessor, Canute.

He bore a sort of resemblance to Napoleon III, which fact when commented upon brought forth the ridiculous rumor that Norton was the son of that ill-starred monarch. This misstatement, so obvious in its utter absurdity, was hatched in the scattered brains of some irresponsible contemporary, whose living prototypes, loud with vacant volubilities and rich in historical misapplications, are yet in our midst.

The private life of the Emperor was simple. For seventeen years he had lived at the Eureka Lodging House, and the regal apartment was not palatial. It was a room of 6 x 10 feet in dimensions, with threadbare carpet and disabled furniture. The chief mural decorations were portraits of the foreign rulers and his collection of hats. His familiar figure was seen and known everywhere. He was a constant attendant of churches, theatres, musical affairs, civic gatherings and school commencements. He was deeply interested in higher education and in the earlier days of the University was a frequent visitor. He was fond of children and to them he was always gentle and courteous. There was at that time a Lyceum of Free Culture of which he was a member, and there he sustained many debates most intelligently and logically. It is said that he had some interest in spiritualism, but in which direction is not known. For sustenance he had the freedom of nearly every restaurant in the city, as also of every saloon. He was unusually abstemious, and if he frequently appeared in the popular saloons of Barry and Patten and "Frank's," or in the famous "Bank Exchange" and the "Pantheon," it was not in quest of liquor, but of "free lunch."

It was his custom to visit the markets and the docks, and to view buildings in process of construction. This was not from idle curiosity but from genuine interest, for in all these and kindred matters he was keenly informed. From time to time visits were made to men of affairs, and the Emperor had that rare discretion that never permitted himself to be regarded as a nuisance. He was even welcomed, for his own business training had taught him to appear at a suitable time and to retire at a proper moment. He had never met with royalty but once, and that distinguished personage was Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil.

No sketch of Norton would be entirely complete without some reference to "Bummer" and "Lazarus," the two dogs that enjoyed the freedom of San Francisco in the sixties. Lazarus was a wretched beast of low degree, and Bummer was but little better. But in some of his long gone ancestors there must have been a strain of nobility, for it was Bummer who sniffed this in the Emperor, and thereafter associated

himself with the royal presence, with the miserable Lazarus as an humble retainer. This was not of Norton's choice, but—noblesse oblige.

Edward Jump, then a young man, was the popular cartoonist of the sixties. In numerous of his cartoons he had introduced the well-known figure of the Emperor. In one of these, Norton is depicted at a free-lunch table satisfying the royal appetite, and beneath him are the two dogs awaiting the crumbs. Bummer as usual is alert and confident; Lazarus stands meanly, looking even more dejected than he did upon the morn of his resurrection. This caricature was displayed in a local shop-window where it was seen by Norton. It was the only time throughout his long reign that he was known to exhibit signs of violence. He savagely growled, "It is an insult to the dignity of an Emperor!" and crashing his stick through the window, destroyed the offending print.

Once only was he arrested. In 1867, a newly-appointed, young and zealous deputy apprehended Norton and took him before the Commissioner of Lunacy. The next day when brought before the proper authorities he was promptly discharged with an apology. The verdict was, "that he had shed no blood; robbed no one; and despoiled no country; which is more than can be said of his fellows in that line." There were returned to him the key of the palace, and the imperial funds amounting to \$4.75 lawful money. For these the Emperor gave his royal receipt.

During all of these years the Emperor had lived. From June 15, 1858, he had been a charter member of Occidental Lodge, F. and A. M., and the Masons, it is said, had paid his room rent. Voluntary subscriptions were made by the faithful among his subjects, and when the treasury was depleted he was accustomed to levy a tax of varying but small amounts. For these he invariably gave or offered a receipt in the form of a promissory note. This was a printed scrip which bore a vignette of the Emperor and was payable in 1880. It had been his purpose to exchange these for a new series, payable in 1890 at 4%.

The last hoax played upon him was also the crowning effort of the graceless, witty scamps of his realm. Norton was induced to believe that by marriage with Queen Victoria, he could bind closer the ties of the two great nations. Telegrams of congratulations upon the approaching happy event were found among his effects. These purported to be from Alexander of Russia, Beaconsfield, Grévy, former President Grant, and others.

The close of the Emperor's life and the end of his long reign came on January 8, 1880. Early in the evening while standing at the corner of California street and Grant avenue, he was observed to fall.

Assistance was rendered immediately, but ten minutes later the Emperor was gone. Death had been caused by sanguineous apoplexy. An autopsy by Doctors Stivers and Douglass, made with special reference to the brain, disclosed the fact that that organ was quite normal, and the more unusual fact that it weighed 51 ounces. The costs of the funeral were provided by Joseph G. Eastland, R. E. Brewster, and the members of the Pacific Club. The final ceremonies were conducted at the Morgue, and the eulogy was delivered by Rev. N. L. Githens, Rector of the Church of the Advent. It is estimated that 10,000 people of all walks in life came to view that silent figure, which rested in a wilderness of flowers. A lady, well-known and of high social station, with her own fingers pinned upon the lapel of the sleeping monarch a beautiful boutonniere of hyacinth and a spray of fern, remarking quietly that Norton had been kind to her when she was a child and he was in the heyday of his success. He was interred in Masonic Cemetery.

For twenty-three years the Emperor had reigned in his fantastic realm. His were the best-known features in San Francisco, and many hundreds of citizens yet live who vividly remember him. A striking portrait of him, painted by Benoni Irwin, was formerly in the chess-room of the Bohemian club, and a familiar little terra-cotta figure, possibly by Mezzara or Wells, may yet occasionally be seen.

The question of the insanity of Norton has been debated, but the evidence would appear to be in favor of the entire sincerity of his belief. At the time of his disaster he was but thirty-five years of age, and with his great abilities might easily have regained his fortune or created a new one. But that single, twisted convolution lay uppermost and for twenty-three years dominated his purpose. Poor, sometimes soiled and shabby, pathetic and philosophic, but always with a noble mind, he bore himself with dignity amid his squalid surroundings with one fixed and unvarying purpose, and that was consistently the welfare of his people. The heritage of honor and integrity that he had handed down while in his affluence, was never squandered nor dissipated, and so he bore the respect and goodwill of the best of his people to the end. The jokes played upon him had been harmless, and the merriment that he sometimes excited had been without the bitter venom of ridicule.

If sincere, his was a career of long heroic sacrifice; if an imposter, he must be ranked as one of the most extraordinary of that class who has yet lived. He left no successor. The emoluments of an unattractive throne and an empty royalty were not alluring; there was none strong enough to follow him; and finally the world was entering upon

an epoch of materialism in which there is no provision for such a monarch. From that strange stage through the doors of oblivion, thus passes forever Norton I, Emperor of the United States, and Protector of Mexico. L'Empereur est mort.

In the same month, at a Low Jinks of the Bohemian club, a gifted and beloved member, the late Dr. George Chismore, presented this beautiful tribute:

NORTON IMPERATOR

"No more through the crowded streets he goes,
 With his shambling gait and shabby clothes,
 And his furtive glance and whiskered nose—
 Immersed in cares of state.
 The serpent twisted upon his staff
 Is not less careless of idle chaff,
 The mocking speech or the scornful laugh,
 Than he who bore it late.
 His nerveless grasp has released the helm,
 But ere the Lethean flood shall whelm
 The last faint trace of his fancied realm,
 Let us contrast his fate
 With other rulers and other reigns,
 Of royal birth or scheming brains,
 And see if his crazy life contains
 So much to deprecate.
 No traitorous friends, or vigilant foes,
 Rippled the stream of his calm repose;
 No fear of exile before him 'rose,
 Whose empire was his pate;
 No soldiers died to uphold his fame;
 He found no pleasure in woman's shame;
 For wasted wealth no well-earned blame
 Turned subjects' love to hate.
 No long and weary struggle with pain;
 One sudden throe in his clouded brain
 Closed forever his bloodless reign,
 With every man his friend.
 For Death alone did he abdicate.
 What Emperor, Prince or potentate,
 Can long avoid a similar fate
 Or win a better end!"

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

DOCUMENTARY

(Continued from page 172.)

[Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy.]

By the President of the United States of America.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the Congress of the United States, by virtue of the constitutional authority vested in them, have declared by their act, bearing date this day, that, "by the act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that Government and the United States. Now, therefore, I, James K. Polk, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the same to all whom it may concern; and I do specially enjoin on all persons holding offices, civil or military, under the authority of the United States, that they be vigilant and zealous in discharging the duties respectively incident thereto: and I do moreover exhort all the good people of the United States, as they love their country, as they feel the wrongs which have forced them on the last resort of injured nations, and as they consult the best means, under the blessings of Divine Providence, of abridging its calamities, that they exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, in maintaining the authority and the efficacy of the laws, and in supporting and invigorating all the measures which may be adopted by the constituted authorities for obtaining a speedy, a just, and an honorable peace.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents. Done at the City of Washington the thirteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and fortysix, and of the independence of the United States the seventieth.

(signed) JAMES K. POLK.

By the President

signed. JAMES BUCHANAN

Secretary of State.

[Reprinted from Theodore H. Hittell's Memorial Address on George Bancroft, 1893.]

U. S. Navy Department, }
Washington, May 13th, 1846. }

Commodore John D. Sloat, Commanding U. S. Squadron, Pacific.

Commodore: The state of things alluded to in my letter of June 24th, 1845, has occurred.

You will, therefore, now be governed by the instructions therein contained and carry into effect the orders then communicated with energy and promptitude, and adopt such other measures for the protection of the persons and interests, the rights and the commerce of the citizens of the United States as your sound judgment may deem to be required.

When you establish a blockade, you will allow neutrals twenty days to leave the blockaded ports, and you will render your blockade absolute except against armed vessels of neutral nations.

Commending you and your ships' companies to Divine Providence, I am respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE BANCROFT.



[Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy.]

(Confidential Circular.)

Department of State
Washington, May 14th, 1846.

Sir,

I transmit to you, herewith, a proclamation of the President, of yesterday's date, declaring that war exists between the United States and Mexico. Congress adopted the measure with unprecedented unanimity. On the passage of the "Act providing for the prosecution of the existing war between the United States and Mexico", there were but fourteen dissenting voices in the House, and two in the Senate. The truth is that we had endured so many insults and grievous wrongs from Mexico, with such unexampled patience, that at the last she must have mistaken our forbearance for pusillanimity. Encouraged, probably, by this misapprehension, her army at length passed the Del Norte,—has invaded the territory of our country,—and has shed American blood upon the american soil.

The vote in Congress will serve to convince the world that, in this

country, at a crisis, when it becomes necessary to assert the national rights, and vindicate the national honor, all party distinctions vanish.

You will observe from the President's message, a copy of which is enclosed, the extreme reluctance with which the United States have engaged in this war. It is our interest, as it has ever been our inclination, that Mexico should be an independent and powerful Republic, and that our relations with her should be of the most friendly character. The successive revolutions by which she has been afflicted, and the avaricious and unprincipled men who have placed themselves at the head of the Government, have brought her to the brink of ruin. We feel deeply interested that she should establish a stable Government sufficiently powerful and pacific to prevent and punish aggressions upon her neighbors. For some years, in our intercourse with her, we have incurred much of the expense, and suffered many of the inconveniences of war, whilst nominally at peace. This state of things had at least become intolerable.

We go to war with Mexico solely for the purpose of conquering an honorable and permanent peace. Whilst we intend to prosecute the war with vigor, both by land and by sea, we shall bear the olive branch in one hand, and the sword in the other; and whenever she will accept the former, we shall sheath the latter.

A strict blockade of the ports of Mexico, both on the Atlantic and Pacific, will be immediately established.

In conversing on the objects and purposes of the war, you will be guided by the sentiments expressed in the President's message and this despatch.

I am Sir, respectfully,
your Obedient Servant

(signed) JAMES BUCHANAN

JOHN PARROTT ESQ^r.
U. S. Consul
Mazatlan.

[Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy.]

U. S. Navy Department
Washington May 15, 1846.

Commodore,

By my letter of the 13th inst, forwarded to you through different sources, in triplicate, of which a copy is enclosed, you were informed of the existing state of war between this Government and the Republic of Mexico and referred to your instructions bearing date June 24th 1845, in reference to such a contingency, and directed "to carry into effect the orders then communicated, with energy and promptitude, and adopt such other measures for the protection of the persons and interests, the rights and the commerce of the citizens of the United States, as your sound judgment may deem to be required."

I transmit you herewith, by the hands of Midshipman McRae, whom you will employ on your station, a file of papers containing the President's Message and the proceedings of Congress relative to the existing state of war with Mexico. The President, by authority of Congress, has made proclamation of war between the United States and Mexico. You will find a copy of the Proclamation in the papers enclosed.

You will henceforth exercise all the rights that belong to you as Commander in Chief of a belligerent Squadron.

You will consider the most important public object to be, to take and to hold possession of San Francisco, and this you will do without fail.

You will also take possession of Mazatlan and of Monterey, one or both, as your force will permit.

If information received here is correct, you can establish friendly relations between your squadron and the inhabitants of each of these three places.

Guymas is also a good harbor, and is believed to be defenceless. You will judge about attempting it.

When you cannot take and hold possession of a town, you may establish a blockade if you have the means to do it effectually, and the public interests shall require it.

With the expression of these views, much is left to your discretion as to the selection of the points of attack, the ports you will seize, the ports which you will blockade; and as to the order of your successive movements.

A connection between California and even Sonora and the present

government of Mexico is supposed scarcely to exist. You will, as opportunity offers, conciliate the confidence of the people in California and also in Sonora towards the government of the United States; and you will endeavor to render their relations with the United States, as intimate and as friendly as possible.

It is important that you should hold possession at least of San Francisco; even while you encourage the people to neutrality, self government and friendship.

You can readily conduct yourself in such a manner, as will render your occupation of San Francisco and other ports, a benefit to the inhabitants.

Commodore Biddle has left, or will soon leave China. If occasion offers, you will send letters for him to our agent at the Sandwich Islands, conveying to him the wish of the Department that he should appear at once off California or Sonora.

You will inform the Department by the earliest opportunity of those ports which you blockade. You will notify neutrals of any declaration of blockade, you may make, and give to it all proper publicity. Your blockade must be strict, permitting only armed vessels of neutral powers to enter; but to neutrals, already in the ports, you will allow twenty days to leave them.

The frigate "Potomac" and sloop "Saratoga" have been ordered to proceed, as soon as possible, into the Pacific; and Captain Aulick in the "Potomac" and Commander Shubrick in the "Saratoga" directed to report to you at Mazatlan, or wherever else they may find your forces. You would do well, if occasion offers, to send orders to Callao and Valparaiso, instructing them where to meet you.

Other reinforcements will be sent you as the exigencies of the service may require.

You will communicate with the Department as often as you can, and you will, if practicable, send a messenger with despatches across the country to the Del Norte, and so to Washington.

Very respectfully

Your obedient Servant

(Signed) GEORGE BANCROFT.

Com^o. JOHN D. SLOAT. }
Com^g. U. S. Naval Forces }
in the Pacific }

[Reprinted from Theodore H. Hittell's Memorial Address on George Bancroft, 1893.]

U. S. Navy Department, }
Washington, June 8th, 1846. }

Commodore John D. Sloat, Commanding U. S. Naval Forces in the Pacific Ocean.

Commodore: You have already been instructed, and are now instructed, to employ the force under your command first, to take possession of San Francisco; next, to take possession of Monterey; next, to take possession of such other Mexican ports as you may be able to hold; next, to blockade as many of the Mexican ports in the Pacific as your force will permit, and to watch over American interests and citizens and commerce on the west coast of Mexico.

It is rumored that the province of California is well disposed to accede to friendly relations with the United States. You will encourage the people of that region to enter into relations of amity with our country. In taking possession of their harbors you will, if possible, endeavor to establish the supremacy of the American flag without any strife with the people of California.

The squadron on the east coast of Mexico, it is believed, is in the most friendly relations with Yucatan. In like manner, if California separates herself from our enemy, the Central Mexican Government, and establishes a government of its own under the auspices of the American flag, you will take such measures as will best promote the attachment of the people of California to the United States, will advance their prosperity and will make that vast region a desirable place of residence for emigrants from our soil.

Considering the great distance at which you are placed from the Department and the circumstances that will constantly arise, much must be left to your discretion. You will bear in mind generally that this country desires to find in California a friend and not an enemy, to be connected with it by near ties, to hold possession of it at least during the war, and to hold that possession, if possible, with the consent of its inhabitants.

The sloop of war "Dale," Commander McKean, sailed from New York on the 3d instant to join your squadron. The "Lexington," Lieutenant Bailey, will sail as soon as she can take on board her stores. The "Potomac" and "Saratoga" have also been ordered to the Pacific.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

BOOK REVIEWS

Santa Barbara Mission. By Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M.
San Francisco: James H. Barry, 1923. Illustrated. xviii,
470 pp. 8°.

Singularly fitting it is that the most authoritative and compendious history yet written of California's Franciscan Missions has resulted from the labors of Friar Engelhardt, himself a member of the Franciscan Brotherhood. And it is gratifying to have a detailed and succinct account of the happenings at Santa Barbara from the pen of one who has had opportunity for careful study of the precious archives which are undoubtedly the most complete of any now preserved in the Missions.

Not only from the Mission archives are drawn the materials for the present account: an important source is the collection of the Archbishop of San Francisco now the property of the St. Mary's Library Association. And extensive use has been made of Bancroft's transcripts from the Surveyor General's *California Archives*, destroyed in the great fire. The author has also reviewed many of the contemporary published writings.

Placed in a commanding position upon the plain at the foot of the range of Santa Inez and overlooking the sea, the Mission and Presidio of Santa Barbara, landmarks to navigators in the early days, held a strategic point in the midst of a large Indian population and about midway on the King's Highroad between the establishments to the south and on the north. At the present time the buildings that remain have been encroached upon by the rapidly growing town. But the substantially built stone church still retains a quaint aloofness and enjoys the unique distinction of being the oldest continuously occupied establishment of its kind in Western America; a mute testimonial to the absorbing devotion of the little band of friars whose earthly remains now rest in the Mission vault. In these busy days it is indeed hard to realize the extent of renunciation and the loneliness that must have been the lot of the brave guardians of these outposts of civilization on the far edge of the Western World. And the history of these true pioneers of the church deserves all the ample treatment that Friar Engelhardt has bestowed upon it.

This book on Santa Barbara follows the style of the author's recently published work on San Diego Mission.

The opening chapters, the first four, deal with the discovery and early history of the coast districts before the founding of the Missions.

Particular portions of the narratives of Cabrillo, Cermeño, Viscaino, Portolá, and Anza are recounted. Details are furnished of the founding of the Presidio of Santa Barbara which antedated the Mission itself by a period of nearly five years. One gains the impression that the military occupation of California was considered at that time paramount to the extension of the Mission system. Services, conducted by President Serra himself, were held at the Presidio from the beginning.

Disagreement between Viceroy Neve and the Mission authorities concerning plans for the conduct of the Mission led to such delay that it was not until December 16, 1786, that Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuén formally declared founded the Mission of Santa Barbara. Buildings were commenced early in 1787. One of the first considered necessary was the famous *monjério*, a sort of citadel, where the unmarried Indian women and girls were required to be locked in every night. The first plantings consisted of wheat, chickpeas, beans, barley, and corn. The livestock by the end of the first year numbered 80 head. Seventy baptisms were recorded during the first six months of Mission activity. The majority of these were, of course, of adult Indians. "By the close of the year 1799 the Mission numbered 864 neophytes."

In the year 1789 a commodious new church was erected. "It was constructed of adobes and roofed with tiles. The old chapel of poles and thatch was removed save, perhaps, the sanctuary, which was of adobe." The third church was commenced in 1793. It was of adobe, tile-roofed and plastered inside and out. This was the building destroyed by the great earthquake of 1812, which damaged many of the other Missions. There had been a violent earthquake twelve years before which did but little damage.

On pages 75-81 is an unusually interesting account of life at the Mission in the early days from the contemporary pen of Fr. Estévan Tapis. We are told how the hours for work and recreation were regulated, the kinds of instruction and punishments administered, the recompense for work, etc. "Every day . . . each Indian received eight pounds of nourishing food, not counting the fruits. 'That this was sufficient'" Fr. Tapis naïvely continues, "'any one can see, for some of the *pozole* remains over and is fed to the cattle.'"

Surplus products were of course sold and the money put into the general fund as were the wages earned by such Indians as hired out to the Spanish inhabitants of the Pueblo.

A serious epidemic of pneumonia visited the Indians in 1801. This was the occasion of a dangerous uprising which might easily have

wiped out the unsuspecting missionaries. From about the year 1803 the neophyte population began to decrease. The cause is said to have been the spread of disease brought by the soldiers and the Mexican immigrants; "most of whom were recruited from the scum of society in Mexico," it is asserted. As is well known, the military and religious establishments at Santa Barbara lived in anything but close accord. The loose, lazy life of the soldiery probably had more influence upon the child-like Indian than the discipline intended for him by the missionaries. Complaints against the conduct of the military company were indited in frequent letters from the friars to the civil authorities. Indeed the beginning of the end of the unfortunate Missions is attributed to the parasitism and misconduct of the troops. But it cannot be forgotten that up to the year 1831, when the Presidio of Santa Barbara received its first chaplain, the missionaries themselves were responsible for the religious welfare of the garrison as well as of the Indians.

The present church at Santa Barbara was commenced in 1815 and finished in 1820. In the erection of this building the fathers, it is stated, were not permitted to carry out exactly the plans they wished, since by royal decree of December 22, 1800, the missionaries of Upper and Lower California were prohibited, without the consent of the Governor, from employing Indians whom they had not "the means for maintaining." We might be permitted to wish that our author had dealt as fully with this question of slavery at the Missions as he has with other topics.

It appears that the new stone church was erected around the old one which was then removed from within. This church built in the years 1815-20 stands today the most perfectly preserved of all the Missions.

Events dealt with in some detail from this time forward are: the invasion of the pirate Bouchard; a serious revolt of the Santa Barbara Indians instigated by the flogging of a neophyte by one of the soldiers at Purisima; the reaction in California to the Mexican declaration of independence from Spain, in 1824, and the cruel expulsion of the Spanish born missionaries; the Solis Revolt in 1829, and Figueroa's decree of Mission secularization, August 9, 1834. The latter had of course the opposite effect from that intended. Instead of freeing the neophytes from the slavery in which they were supposed to be held by the friars it subjected them to the far worse tyranny of civil administrators, and by placing the Mission properties in secular hands ended in the complete dismemberment and confiscation of most of the estates.

Santa Barbara was never entirely deserted. Her friars were reduced to the direst poverty and harassed almost beyond human endurance but they stuck to their posts. The patient Fr. Durán in 1836, after suffering an attempt at banishment, returned to record the lamentable conditions:

The Missions are coming to an end: but the fondness of those concerned for their victims, on which they are growing fat, forbids them to let them go until they can not avoid it. All these things I have sent to you in writing so that you may do what you can before the Government, in order that a remedy may be applied against the great disorders and the torments of evils which are overwhelming us, and which are afflicting us to such a degree that I can assure you, if we are not relieved we shall scarcely be able to bear it another year. . . .

The first step must be that from our houses be driven the administrators, who now have possession of the quarters which our brethren occupied when two Religious were stationed at a Mission. As it is, we can not give a home to a poor, aged, and infirm Father without exposing him to the indignity of being treated like a dishrag. . . . The administrators have placed in our very houses their numerous families, their women, their crying and turbulent children, and a multitude of relatives, who all make an unbearable racket. . . . We have borne this for three years but it can not continue.

Some space is devoted to alleged mistreatment of Fr. Durán by the young general Mariano Vallejo, Commandante of the military forces of *The Free and Sovereign State of Alta California* established in November, 1836. The narrative continues with accounts of looting and disturbance resulting from the presence of troops during the civil disturbances in the thirties. The conduct of Fr. Durán during all this vexation appears in the light of true heroism.

At last on July 14, 1839, Micheltorena, by decree, restored what was left of all the Missions of California to the management of the Franciscans. This happy state of affairs was to last only until 1845, when Pio Pico, the *insurrecto* who had ousted Micheltorena, decreed the final confiscation and sale of the religious estates. "On November 20, 1845, Pico informed Fr. Durán that . . . Mission Santa Barbara had been rented for \$1,200 and the payment of the debts in cash, for nine years to Nicholas A. Den and Daniel Hill." Durán was reduced to the extremity of having to beg the means of livelihood from the despoilers. He "escaped the Poorhouse only through the charity of an American." Many of his remaining Indians, in their thoughtlessness, deserted him.

The year 1846 marked the deaths at Santa Barbara of the Bishop of California, the Rt. Rev. Francisco García Diego y Moreno and of

the faithful Fr. Narciso Durán. "Fr. González Rubio became sole administrator of the orphaned Diocese, and resided as before at Mission Santa Barbara."

Little is said of the visits of the first Americans from overland. It is of interest to note, however, that "at none of the Missions is anything recorded about Pattie's visit and alleged vaccinations." The McNamara episode, though not directly concerned with Santa Barbara comes in for a share of attention, also the arrival of Stockton and Frémont and the American occupation under Col. J. D. Stevenson.

The work closes with an appreciation, perhaps somewhat overdrawn, of the beneficent influence of the missionaries upon the Indians, with important extracts from the Registers, biographical sketches of friars and military commandants and finally the later history of the Mission,—the founding in 1854 of the novitiate and in 1896 of the present college. An appendix containing Indian place-names and miscellaneous information is added.

The book is tastefully printed and copiously and artistically illustrated.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage April to October, 1792.

Edited, with Botanical and Ethnological Notes, by C. F. Newcombe, M.D., and a Biographical Note by J. Forsyth. Victoria, B. C.: 1923. xx, 171 pp. 8°.

We are indebted to Mr. John Forsyth, the Librarian of the Provincial Library of British Columbia, for a very interesting selection from the journal of A. Menzies, who accompanied the Vancouver expedition to the northwest coast. Dr. Newcombe has edited the narrative in a thoroughly satisfactory manner, and the result, with a preface written by Dr. Newcombe and a biographical note by Mr. Forsyth, together with appendixes of botanical and ethnological notes and a bibliography, forms a volume of some 171 pages, well printed and bound.

The selection from Menzies' journal comprises the voyage from April 8, 1792, about a week before sighting the California coast, to October 13, the day the expedition sailed from Nootka for San Francisco.

On April 17 land was sighted, and the following day an observation showed them to be off the California coast in $39^{\circ}27'$. On the 19th they were abreast of Cape Mendocino, and continued following

and exploring the coast to the Straits of Juan de Fuca. The summer was chiefly spent in Puget Sound and in rounding Vancouver Island on the east and north. On August 28, the ship anchored in Nootka Sound, where they found a Spanish vessel, and Captain Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish commandant, on shore living in a two-story house.

Menzies gives us an interesting picture of the official and social festivities which followed during the ensuing month. Nootka at this period was a lively spot, vessels of all kinds coming and going, mostly fur traders. A number of Spanish vessels were on the coast that year besides the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*. Moziño, the Spanish botanist, was on shore with Bodega.

At some future time we hope to be able to present to our readers the part of Menzies' journal which covers the visit of the expedition to California.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

On Tuesday, June 19th, the Society had the pleasure of listening to an interesting address by Professor E. D. Adams, of Stanford University, on "British-American Relations in Connection with the Acquisition of California."

Professor Adams has for a long time made a study of this question, and was well-equipped to discuss the matter, and incidentally put the quietus on a number of what might be called fairy-tales regarding the alleged activities of the British in seeking to gain possession of California. He read extracts from a number of documents in the British archives in London, which established the fact that at no time during the period under discussion had the British government any idea of taking possession of California. They not only failed to swallow the bait which was temptingly held out to them by various adventurers and empire builders, but even failed to nibble at it. Professor Adams stated that the reason for this chiefly was that at that particular period there was in power in Great Britain a party which had no particular interest in the extension of the empire. It was the party later known as the "Little Englanders." Least of all were they willing to enter into any enterprise which threatened a conflict with the United States. Their attitude in this matter was to a certain extent indicated by their handling of the more difficult Oregon and Texas questions.

The large audience comprised not only the members of the California Historical Society but a number of invited guests, members of the English-Speaking Union, all of whom evinced the greatest interest in the address, which was one of the most noteworthy that has been delivered before the Society.



On Thursday, July 19th, Mr. H. R. Wagner addressed the Society on "The California Material in the Archives of Spain." He said that he had spent four months in Seville at the Archives of the Indies, and a month or more in Madrid at the Biblioteca Nacional and the Real Academia de la Historia. It was impossible to say whether any new material of importance had been found, but much correspondence of the viceroys and public officials in Mexico had been examined, from which what was apparently much new material had been unearthed. Mr. Wagner spoke of the account of the Ulloa expedition to California, known as Diego de Palencia's account, and stated that the account was not by Palencia at all, but Ulloa himself. A copy of this was

obtained and a translation made preparatory to publication. While not so full in some respects as the account written by Francisco Preciado, a soldier connected with the expedition, which was published in Italian by Ramusio in 1556, it is nevertheless more important, as it gives much more information regarding the individuals connected with the expedition, preserves the different acts of possession which were made by Ulloa, and in general gives a much clearer description of the route followed.

The account of the Rodriguez Cabrillo expedition is found in the archives only in the form of a copy, and probably not a contemporary copy at that. The notion that it was written by Juan Paez, because this name is written on the first page at the top, appears to be without foundation, as the same name appears in exactly the same handwriting in the same place in the account of the Jaramillo expedition to New Mexico, this latter being like the other, also a copy. Another notion that seems to prevail, that there are two accounts of this expedition, was referred to, and the explanation given that the differences arise from the fact that the document was first copied by Muñoz into his collection, and from that published by Buckingham Smith, while the other copy in the Pacheco and Cardenas collection was taken from the archives direct. What differences, therefore, occur have been brought about by errors in copying and printing.

Mr. Wagner further stated that a complete record of all the known expeditions to California down to 1685 had been obtained in copies, except that of Piñadero in 1664 or 1665, of which nothing remained but the cover. Asked whether he had found any new facts bearing on the name "California" or the naming of the peninsula, he said that he had not, although diligent search had been made among the documents in Seville up to 1570 or later. No contemporary reference to the peninsula was found under the name "California" until after 1564, other than that in the Rodriguez Cabrillo narrative, which having been written much later lies under the suspicion of having the name "California" interpolated. No more extended account of Cortes' expedition to California was found than those already printed. Mr. Wagner briefly referred to the expeditions to the California coast of Urdaneta, Arellano, Gali, Unamuno, Rodriguez Cermeño and Viscaino, in the sixteenth century, as well as the one projected by Juan de la Isla in 1572, which never took place so far as can be discovered from the documents in the archives. He also referred to the seventeenth century expeditions of Viscaino, Cardona, Ortega and others, all except the first being pearl-fishing enterprises pure and simple. He spoke of Father Antonio de la Ascension and his theories of California as an

island, and expressed the opinion that it was from one of his maps that the theory that it was an island began to circulate in Europe after 1620.



At a meeting held on Thursday, August 16th, Mr. Wells Drury addressed the Society on the subject, "How Californians Gave Life and Color to Nevada's Bonanza Boom Times."

The speaker went to the Comstock in the '70s and was an eyewitness of the boom scenes there. He related a number of his personal experiences as a newspaper man, and called to the attention of the Society a long list of Californians, more or less famous, who had at different times inhabited that famous spot. His list, needless to say a long one, ranged from miners like John W. Mackay, and writers such as Sam Davis, down to the bad men of the camp. He stressed the point that the Comstock was nothing but a suburb of California, so to speak, almost every name mentioned being that of a previous resident of that state. He said: "In fact Nevada was flooded with Californians, who went in for living again the tragedies and excitements of the days of '49, and they succeeded to their hearts' content. To illustrate how genuinely Virginia City was Californian, it may be mentioned that that city had a society of Pacific Coast Pioneers as large as the parent body in San Francisco and every man a genuine '49er.

"Not only the officials were from California, but also the miners, merchants, mechanics, editors, hightoned gamblers, hightoned gun fighters, bad men, stage drivers and stage robbers, lawyers, mining magnates, prize fighters, hotel keepers, cooks, waiters, and bottle washers—all hailed from California, and as all the men carried guns, all were on an equal footing, regardless of education, breeding, wealth or poverty, race, color or previous condition of servitude. And they were probably the most polite lot of men ever herded together in such a vast region of sagebrush and cactus. When every man is the judge of his own conduct and is swiftly resentful of even the slightest intimation of dereliction or error, the standard of behavior is necessarily marked by a high degree of punctilious courtesy that would under less strenuous conditions make the polished Chesterfield look like a rube at an afternoon pink tea. But even so, there were frequent disagreements among those ultra polite gentlemen, and in any history of Nevada you may pick up you will find from 20 to 30 pages of fine print giving a mere schedule of the shooting affairs, mostly fatal, which punctured and punctuated the current of social events. These killings, to be sure,

did not include the ordinary stage robberies, highway holdups, and such vulgar crimes as are indulged in by inferior elements of society."

Mr. Drury wound up his very interesting address by a characteristic anecdote of the famous Sam Davis. It seems that he had had some personal difficulty with Davis while they were living in Carson. Having sold out his newspaper and gone east, Drury devoted some six months in Kansas City to developing his knowledge of pugilism so as to be able to knock out Davis without resort to more murderous weapons. On his return to California, hunting up his one-time friend, he was surprised on meeting him on the street to have Davis rush up to him and say, "God bless you Wells,—how are you?"

IN MEMORIAM

Edward Robeson Taylor

(September 24, 1839-July 5, 1923)

Edward Robeson Taylor, physician, jurist and litterateur, whose death occurred on July 5, was a member of the California Historical Society from 1887 until the close of its activity in 1893.

He was born in Springfield, Illinois, September 24, 1839. At the age of eleven when in Kemper school, his father died leaving young Edward, his mother and three sisters. He remained at school until he was sixteen years of age, and his progress must have been remarkable, for when he was only fourteen, Mr. Kemper appointed him instructor in Latin and mental arithmetic, and thus he earned his first money.

After leaving school he became an apprentice in the printing office of the Booneville "Observer" and served a full term of seven years. A part of his work was editorial; and so well adapted was he, that during the last year he acted as editor of that journal.

In 1862, he came to California and the members of his family gradually followed. He entered Toland Medical College and was graduated in 1865. For a short period he practiced medicine, but his scholarly abilities resulted in the appointment as private secretary to Governor Henry H. Haight. The term of office was from 1867 to 1871, and Taylor continued until its close. In the meantime having read law, in 1872 he was admitted to practice in California, and in 1879 to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States. He was of counsel in many important cases, one being the famous "Pueblo Title." He was dean of the Hastings Law college (the legal department of the State University), from 1888-1900. He was a member of the Board of Freeholders, 1885-1887, and was also one of that same board which in 1898 framed and gave the city its present charter.

In the disturbed year of 1907, at the urgent request of its best citizens, Doctor Taylor was appointed mayor of San Francisco. The writer of this note, who knew Taylor intimately and long, can testify that the Doctor was an able and impartial chief magistrate. He remained in office until 1910. In his professional capacities, Doctor Taylor was for thirty years vice-president and president of Cooper Medical college; and president of the Bar Association during 1890-1891.

He was widely known for his literary accomplishments, and was the first president of the Book Club of California. He has left after

him many volumes of poetry and many graceful sonnets of which the best known is his translation of the Sonnets of Heredia. The elegance of his translation and rendition attracted the attention of the French government, and Edward Robeson Taylor was created a Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur.

E. J. MOLERA.

Edward James Wickson

(August 3, 1848-July 16, 1923)

Professor Edward James Wickson, former dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of California, and a well-known horticulturist, died in Berkeley on July 16. He was born in Rochester, New York, August 3, 1848, was educated at Hamilton College, and after graduation embarked on a newspaper career. In 1875 he came to the University of California, where he remained in active service until 1915, when he retired as professor emeritus. He was perhaps best known for his connection with farming work generally, and especially with the Pacific Rural Press.

At the time of the resuscitation of the California Historical Society under the auspices of Edward S. Holden, President of the University of California, Professor Wickson became a member; and he continued an active member until 1894, when the activities of the Society again ceased.

California Historical Society Quarterly

MENZIES' CALIFORNIA JOURNAL

INTRODUCTION

Archibald Menzies accompanied Captain George Vancouver as naturalist on the *Discovery* in the famous voyage around the world 1790-1794. His journal is in the British Museum and a certified copy has been deposited in the Archives Department of British Columbia at Victoria. That part referring to Puget Sound and Vancouver Island has been published as Memoir No. V. Archives of British Columbia, edited with botanical and ethnological notes by C. F. Newcombe M. D., with a biographical sketch by J. Forsyth. Through the courtesy of Mr. Forsyth, the Librarian of the Provincial Library, a photostat copy of the part relating to the exploration of California has been made for the California Historical Society and the following publication of this part of Menzies' Journal is an exact reproduction.

The *Discovery* arrived in the harbor of San Francisco on the evening of the fourteenth of November 1792 and anchored about where ships now dock. As they sailed in through the Golden Gate they saw signal lights on the shore and heard guns fired. The photostat copy begins with the morning of the fifteenth.

They were ten days in San Francisco and on November twenty-fifth sailed out of the harbor for Monterey, arriving there two days later. They left Monterey January fourteenth 1793. In the original manuscript a small space occurs here and the next date is May second, 1793, when they landed at Port Trinidad. Here Menzies collected *Ribes Menziesii* and *Romanzoffia* and probably other species credited to "Northwest America" but his notes are not so full as those of Captain Vancouver. They left Port Trinidad May fifth for the north. The next entry in the photostat copy is October eighth, 1793, when they left Puget Sound and sailed south. On October fifteenth Menzies left the *Discovery* and went on board the *Chatham* in expectation of landing on other coasts where new plants might be collected. On October twentieth they landed in Tomales Bay near what is now known as Hog Island but which they named Gibson Island. On October twenty-first they rejoined the *Discovery* in San Francisco Bay and on October twenty-fourth sailed for Monterey. Owing to stormy

weather and adverse winds they were delayed and did not reach Monterey until November first. They left November sixth and arrived at Santa Barbara November tenth. November eighteenth they sailed south arriving at San Diego November twenty-seventh and they were here until December ninth.

It will be seen from these dates that with the exception of the short time at Port Trinidad in May, they were in California at the most unfavorable time for the collection of botanical specimens. From my knowledge of the flora of the different places where Menzies collected I have tried to identify the plants that he mentions. He collected others to which he does not allude. The glaucous *Arbutus* which Pursh named and described as *Arbutus tomentosa* founded on specimens collected by Menzies, now known as *Arctostaphylos tomentosa*, came from Monterey since only there of all the places where Menzies collected is found a species which agrees with Pursh's description and of which there is a specimen just coming into flower in the British Museum Herbarium as would be the case in the months when Menzies was at Monterey.

ALICE EASTWOOD.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL

[SAN FRANCISCO]

In the morning of the 15th Nov^r [1792] we had the wind South East with thick weather & some rain. Pretty early a number of Spaniards came down to the Beach abreast of us mounted on horseback, & observing them waive with their hats a Boat was sent to them on shore, in which a venerable Friar in the gray habit of the Franciscan order with a Serjeant & two Men belonging to the Troops came off. This worthy Father was no sooner made acquainted with our being so much in want of refreshments, Wood & Water &c than he felt a noble & immediate impulse to gratify all our wishes from a principle of humanity & goodness that was conspicuously pourtrayd in his countenance & guided all his actions. He told us that Wood & Water could be obtained with very little trouble abreast of us & whatever else the Country produced in the way of refreshment would afford him a particular pleasure in supplying as far as lay in his power; and to convince us that this was by no means a complimentary offer, he expressed an anxiety of returning immediately on shore on our account, but Cap^t Vancouver prevaild on him to stay till after Breakfast when he & some of his Officers would accompany him. When they were landed he instantly orderd a/Bullock to be caught from among the Herd that were feeding on the Pasture near the Shore, which the Soldiers performd in a short chace on horse-back by throwing a noose over its head with great dexterity they brought it down to the Beach where it was slaughterd by our own people. He likewise dispatchd a Messenger to the *Garrison* here called the *Proesidio* to acquaint the Commandant with our arrival, & hastend himself to the Mission from whence he sent a Sheep & some excellent Vegetables for our immediate use, so that we were this day able to fare sumptuously by the munificence & kind attention of this reverend Father, but as we did not expect to be supplied with refreshments so soon, a Boat was sent in the Morning to haul the Seine, which after repeated trials in different places returnd without success. A party was likewise landed abreast of us with Casks to fill Water.

Our present situation was pretty well sheltered & afforded good & safe Anchorage, the skirts of the Bay & hilly Country behind was interspersed with brush-wood & clear spots of Pasturage on which a number of Black Cattle were seen feeding in Herds; these inducd us to think favorably of the Country, which we should otherwise from general appearance be apt to pronounce naked dreary & barren.

As I was at this time not quite recoverd of a severe cold I had on

the passage from Nootka I did not venture on shore till about mid-day when I landed & took a short walk into the Country, & found it was not so very barren/as its appearance led us to suppose it. The Soil in general is loose & sandy of a dark brown colour, but pretty deep; the Grass which grew on the Pastures was not of a very thick bottom, the Bushes too with which a great part of the Land along shore was covered was of a stinted scrubby appearance & not very numerous in variety, yet I was not able to ascertain their names, being so unfortunate as not to meet with a single Plant in Flower in my whole excursion; I however observed that these Thickets were in a great measure composed of a species of Ever green Oak with Holly-like leaves which I took to be the *Quercus Cocciferus*¹ & which did not here grow above fifteen feet high. There was another Ever green nearly the same height but more ornamental & at this time plentifully cropped with red Berries which appeared to be a new species of *Cratoegus*.² I also found growing near the sea side, what by its fruit seemed to be a dwarf species of Horse Chesnut³ & another bushy Plant which appeared to be a *Ceanothus*⁴ with some smaller shrubby Bushes of the Class *Syngnesia*,⁵ two kinds of Willows⁶ & the *Lonicera*⁷ *Nootkagensis*.

I saw likewise several Birds which were new to me, but I shall be able to speak of them more particular hereafter.

I met no fresh water stream in all my walk, what they filled our Casks with was from a standing Pond in a Marsh behind the Beach & which proved very good & wholesome.

The other Officers having returned to the Beach/I joined them & we came on board to dinner.

In the afternoon we were favored with a visit from *Sr Hermegildo Sal*, the Commandant of the Settlement, an elderly Man with only the rank of an Alferez or Ensign in the Spanish Service, he was on this occasion accompanied by the principal *Padri* of the Mission & some Attendants. He no sooner came on board than he told Cap^t Vancouver with the honest frankness of an old Castilian, that we should be supplied with every kind of refreshment which the Country afforded, & that during our stay he would further have a particular satisfaction in contributing to our amusements by furnishing us with Horses & Guides whenever we wished to ride or traverse the Country.

¹ *Quercus agrifolia* Neé.

² *Heteromeles arbutifolia* (Lindl.) Roem.

³ *Æsculus californica* Nutt.

⁴ *Ceanothus thyrsiflorus* Esch.

⁵ Probably *Baccharis pilularis* DC. and *Ericameria ericoides* (Less.) Jepson.

⁶ *Salix lasiolepis* Benth. *Salix lasiandra* Benth.

⁷ *Lonicera Ledebourii* Esch.

These offers were certainly gratifying to us, & still more so from the liberal manner in which they were offerd by a man whose heart seemd to glow at such a favorable opportunity of exercising his hospitality & kindness, for with that candour inseparable from real merit he further added, that these were the orders of his Sovereign, which he beleivd were general over all the Country respecting us, & in complying with them he would have a double pleasure in gratifying our wishes. But that he might supply our wants with more ease & satisfaction to himself he recommended to us to remove the Ship back opposite the *Proesidio* where he assur'd us the anchorage & conveniency of Wooding & Watering was nearly the same as here. In consequence/ of which Cap^t Vancouver determind to remove next day & therefore gave orders to stop the operations on shore, & collect the parties Casks &c on board.

The Commandant also informd us that he had been very lately at *Monterey* a Settlement about twenty three leagues off, to the Southward of this Visiting *S^r Quadra* who had been there then six weeks waiting for our arrival, & that he particularly requested him if we should touch at *San Francisco*, to supply us with every accommodation the Settlement afforded; so that the care & attention of this worthy Man to contribute to our happiness & welfare still continued with unremitting ardor.

As the Commandant was to dispatch an express by land to *Monterrey* to make our arrival known, Cap^t Vancouver wrote to *S^r Quadra* in expectation of an answer in four days as we could not compleat our repairs & leave the Port sooner. The Tide ran here very strong & we had high water this day about eleven in the forenoon.

On the 16th there was drizzling rain with the Wind at South East. About nine in the forenoon we got under way after a strong heave to weigh the Anchor, the bottom being composd of mud of a very tenacious quality, & at two in the afternoon we came to again in a Bay abreast of the *Proesidio* about a quarter of a Mile off shore in five fathoms & moored with the other Anchor/in fourteen fathoms, the *Proesidio* S 42° E & Fort Point on with the Outer North entrance point S 80° W by Compass. This Bay is situated near the entrance of the Port & tho not quite so well shelterd as the Bay we left, yet as we brought to so near the Shore we were quite shut in.

After we anchord the Commandant came on board & din'd with Cap^t Vancouver, he was accompanied only by one of his Children for which he shew'd a great degree of fondness. He told us that the Messenger for *Monterrey* was dispatchd in the forenoon, & as he was to travel express he would be there in 24 hours.

We were also favord with a visit from our good & kind friend the *Padri* who was our first visitor, & who now came to pay his respects, but we could not prevail on him to partake of any of our fare on account of his strict adherence to the rites of that Religion which sets no rational bounds to its austerities. Both he & the Commandant staid on board till pretty late & went on shore together in the evening.

In the morning of the 17th it was Cloudy with Showers but afterwards became fair. In the forenoon I accompanied Cap^t Vancouver & some of the Officers on shore, we found a low track of Marshy Land along shore, with some Salt Water Lagoons that were supplied by the overflowings of high Tides & oozings through the Sandy Beach: On these we saw abundance of Ducks & wild Geese. The watering party who/landed before us could meet with no fresh water stream, they were therefore obliged to dig a Well in the Marsh to fill their Casks from, but the Water thus procurd was afterwards found to be a little brackish, which might indeed be expected from the nature of the Soil which was loose & sandy & the little distance it was from the sea on the one side & salt water ponds on the other. Fire Wood was here equally difficult to procure, there being only scrubby brush wood on the side of an adjacent hill, a Tent was however erected in order to screen the parties employd on these duties at night & to afford shelter in case of bad weather.

The Commandant having observd us come on shore was so obliging as to send a Messenger to know if we would wish to ride, to which an answer was returnd in the affirmative, & soon after a number of Saddle Horses were sent down to the Beach on which we rode to the *Proesidio*; What was pompously called by this name had but a mean appearance at a distance & a near approach did not at all contribute to make its appearance more favorable. The Commandant himself came out to meet us & conducted us with a hearty welcome through a breach in the Wall, which might possibly be intended or left unfinished for a Gate. The view we then had of the inside serv'd only to confirm the opinion we had previously formed from its external appearance.

It is situated on a gentle declivity about a quarter of a Mile from the sea side,/ & occupied a square space of ground about four hundred Yards on each side, walled in on three sides with Turf or Mortar Wall of twelve or fourteen feet high & rudely fenced in on the other or Eastern side with a dead hedge. The Walled part is lined on the inside with a row of shabby mean houses irregularly built of the same materials & thatchd with coarse long grass & bulrushes, as Habitations & Store houses for the Soldiers & their Families who were about thirty six in number under the command of the Governor as Commandant & a

Serjeant. The Commandant's own dwelling could hardly be distinguished from the rest till we got on the inside of it, & then the friendly treat & hearty welcome we received from his Lady & Family made ample recompense for the poverty of its exterior appearance.

The Houses & Wall of the Proesidio were built of Turf & Mortar in the form of large Bricks workd up & incorporated with Straw or Grass & afterwards dried in the Sun till they became hard & appeared to be durable.

We saw no Guns or Artillery of any kind if we except a shattered one that lay before the entrance of the Garrison. The Soldiers constantly rode on Horseback fully accoutred with Target Lance Musket & Sword secured to the Saddle before them.

At the request of Cap^t Vancouver the Commandant & his Family with two other Ladies accompanied us on board to Dinner, & staid till the dusk of the evening, when/they were landed, at which time it came on to rain so hard, that they were inducd to take shelter in our Tent, & the evening continuing dark & stormy, they were obliged to remain there all night; of this however we knew nothing till next day, otherwise we should have endeavoured to render their situation a little more comfortable.

As we were going on shore in the forenoon two of the Natives came along side in their *Canoe* if a few bundles of bulrushes fastend together could be called by that name, for it was about fourteen feet long & consisted of three or four bunches of bulrushes fastend together with thongs & tapering at both extremities; on this the two Men sat, each having a long paddle with a blade at each end which was held by the middle & used on both sides alternately, impelling this miserable contrivance through the Water with a slow motion. There is nothing which more fully proves the slothfulness or want of ingenuity in these Natives than this frail means of embarkation, as they must undoubtedly draw a considerable share of their subsistance (at least formerly) from the Sea, it is but reasonable to suppose that they might easily contrive a more commodious & durable means of obtaining it.

In consequence of previous invitation from the Reverend Fathers at the Mission, Captain Vancouver accompanied with several of the Officers & Gentlemen went in the forenoon of the 18th to wait on them, & as it was thought that the novelty of a short ride/might be pleasing to the two Sandwich Islands Women we had on board, they were included in the party. Hitherto these Women had only been distant Spectators of the Country & its produce, Black Cattle they had some idea of from having seen a few of them at Nootka, but Horses & the fleetness with which they saw them carry people about on their

backs produced much admiration & afforded a fertile theme for conversation between them since they came into this Port; the proposal of a ride therefore much excited their curiosity & was readily accepted, & we no sooner landed than they mounted on Horseback & kept their Seats throughout the journey without shewing the least sign of fear or timidity, in short with as much ease & apparent satisfaction as if they had been brought up or accustomed to such mode of Conveyance from their infancy.

We touch'd at the *Proesidio* where we were joined by the Commandant & an escort of Soldiers, from thence the ride to the Mission is about four Miles through a hilly Country, but the road was pretty good & the novelty of the prospect not unpleasant; for we had an extensive view of the Harbour, which on the North side appeared much broken with Islands & Inlets, but the Eastern Shore was seemingly straight & backed by a rugged hilly ridge of a light verdurous hue, on which there appeared some Tufts of Trees & indeed apparently the only ones within the verge of our Sight, the rest of the Country being either covered with scrubby brush wood or of a naked arid & hilly appearance.

/On our arrival at the Mission the Venerable Fathers received us with open Arms & testified their satisfaction by every mark of civility attention & kindness. They provided an elegant & plentiful dinner for the whole party, which at their particular request was Cooked in the English Stile by our own Servants, & while it was getting ready, they took great pleasure in shewing us through every part of the Building of the Mission & its dependencies.

The Mission of San Francisco has been established about fifteen years & is situated near the sea side at the bottom of a pleasant fertile Valley where the surrounding Country looked gay with rich verdure. It is at present under the direction & management of two Fathers of the Franciscan order of Friars, & consists of a regular range of buildings inclosing a small Court of about twenty/yards square, faced round on the inside with Colonades, from which the entries to the different Granaries & Manufactories lead, but the only entrance to this Court is through a large Hall, where we din'd, & where the watchful Fathers generally reside, so that nobody can enter or go out of this Building without their knowledge. The Church which is by far the largest Building takes up one side of the Square & every thing belonging to it is kept very clean & in good order; the entrance to it is from the end on the out side, but the Fathers have a private one for themselves from the inside of the Mission, with a Vestry where they keep & preserve their different Robes & Dress for Religious rites. Besides this com-

pact building there are several separate houses for the Mechanics to work in & for Habitations for them & five Soldiers with their Families, which is conceivd necessary to guard the place from any sudden attack from the Natives. The whole of these buildings were of Mortar & Turfs & thatchd in the same manner as the Houses at the Proesidio. There was also a small Garden fenced in containing about two Acres of Ground divided into quarters by cross walks & pretty well filld with a variety of Potherbs & Culinary Vegetables, together with a number of Fruit Trees, such as Apples Peaches Figs & Vines, but none of these were very productive or had yet bore any good Fruit; Whether this was owing to their not being of a good quality or their not agreeing with the Soil & Climate was uncertain.

But what particularly engagd our attention was a Village close to the Mission, which containd about five or six hundred Natives converted to Christianity by the indefatigable perseverance of these Humane Fathers. Their Habitations or Wigwams were aptly compar'd to a crouded cluster of Bee-hives each of which was of a hemispherical form about nine feet high & nearly the same in diameter & consisted of slender sticks or rods stuck in the ground & lashd together with thongs into the above form & afterwards/closely thatchd all round with Bulrushes, excepting a small hole left on one side just sufficient to creep in at. The Fire is plac'd in the middle of the Wigwam & as no particular aperture is left at the top for the smoke to go out at, it was observd oozing out through the Thatch.

The Fathers industriously employ these Natives in cultivating the Land for their own subsistance & in spinning of Wool which they weave in Looms in the form of small Blankets for their own Clothing in a large Room within the Mission; We saw several of the Machines for this occupation. Others are reared up to Farming & to Mechanical Arts; so that they are now enabled to carry on every thing necessary for the subsistance & support of the Settlement within themselves, or at least with very little expence to the Mother Country. These are the happy effects of religious persuasions when conducted on the rational plans of industry & the supplying of necessary wants, & when inculcated by the mild influence of such exemplary Fathers.

These *Proselytes* appear'd peaceable & docile in their behaviour & so contented with their situation, that we have no doubt but they will be inducd to continue in pursuing that quiet industrious line of life which so easily gratifies all their wants & comforts their minds with the enjoyments of happiness here & hereafter. How different the comparison between them & the more Northern Tribes, who have been visited these eight years by commercial people, whose selfish/Views have

taught them duplicity, & whose avaricious objects have increasd their original ferocity, by the knowledge & exercise of those destructive Weapons with which they daily arm them, so that they seem to excel their civilized instructors in the refinement of their cruelties & the exercise of the most consummate frauds.

After spending the day agreeably with their Reverend Fathers we returnd in the evening highly satisfied with our cordial reception & impressed with a due sense of their hospitality & kind attention to every circumstance which they thought would please us. Nor could we reflect without admiration on the patience constancy & perseverance with which these worthy Fathers pursued their laudable object of Civilization, in a faithfull & humane discharge of their function, under the inconveniencies & sufferings to which they must be daily exposd in such distant & remote regions.

On our arrival at the Proesidio the Commandant's Lady & two or three others were dressed in their best Robes to receive us, but the manner of this reception was new to us—We found them squatted down on their Heels upon a Mat spread on a part of the Floor that was a little elevated from the rest, to this Emporium we severally advanced paying our obeisance to them in a low bow, but none of them offerd to get up, or make the least return to our Salutation, nor did they quit the Mat while we were in the House. At their own/invitation the two Sandwich Island Women who were of our Party sat down by them, but they being unacquainted with the etiquette of the Mat, instead of folding their Legs in under them they stretchd them out at full length, which occasiond some little tittering & looks of surprize amongst the Spanish Ladies.

As this was our Sunday, a number of our people were sufferd to take the recreation of the Shore & many of them strolled towards the Proesidio, where they receivd the most friendly treatment from the Spanish Soldiers, & as our reception at the Mission of San Francisco was so flattering, Captain Vancouver & several of the party expressed a desire of visiting the Mission of S^{ta} Clara which was understood to be only eighteen or twenty miles off. This was made known to the Commandant who very readily acquiesced & promised that Horses & Guides should be in readiness for them the following morning, but it rained & blew so hard from the South East the whole of next forenoon that the Party was prevented from setting out. The Commandant came on board to dinner accompanied by one of the Fathers from the Mission, but we could not prevail on him to eat any thing with us, for the austerity of his Religion sufferd him only at this Season to

eat Fish & that only once a day on weekly days & three times on Sundays.

The Messenger returnd from Monterrey & brought Cap^t Vancouver a letter from S^r Quadra in answer to the one sent on Friday/morning, by which we learnd that neither the Chatham nor Doedalus were yet arrivd at that Port.

The morning of the 20th was fair & pleasant, when Cap^t Vancouver L^{ts} Puget Baker & Johnstone Mess^{rs} Orchard Stewart & Dobson went on Shore early in the morning mounted their Horses on the Beach & set out for S^{ta} Clara. The state of my health at this time forbade my undergoing much fatigue, otherwise I should willingly have accompanied them on this journey I was however not idle, I took a short walk on shore in the middle of the day & strolled towards the Point from whence the Guns were fired as we were coming into the Port, & to my great surprize found on this formidable eminence which perfectly commanded the entrance of the Harbour only a single small piece of Artillery & that lash'd to a log of Wood. It was a Brass Cannon of two or three Pounders & I believe the only one which the whole Settlement could boast of.—In this walk I met with but few Plants in flower, but these were perfectly new to me, & made me more & more regret that it was not my lot to visit this Country at a more favorable Season for Botanical researches. On coming down to the Beach I met the Commandant who accompanied me on board to dine with us in the Gun-room, & next day we were favord with a visit from his Lady, together with thirteen other women from the Proesidio, who came on/board in the forenoon to satisfy their curiosity in seeing the Ship, & were afterwards prevaild upon to stay & dine with us, after which they went on shore in the evening, apparently well satisfied with their reception & the novelty of being on board an English Man of War.

On the afternoon of the 22^d the Chatham arrivd in the Port & anchor'd along side of us. She left Columbia River on the 10th of this Month after exploring it in the Boats upwards of a hundred Miles in a South East direction from its entrance, & in the greatest part of their way they found the Water perfectly fresh in a strong & constant drain against them of never less than six fathoms deep, nor was the River in any part as far as they went, less than a quarter of a mile wide environ'd on both sides by low land coverd with Pines &c.—This examination was made by Mr. Broughton himself with two Boats manned & armed, who were absent from the Vessel ten days & were obligd to return for want of provision without being able to reach the source of the River nor the appearance of its termination; hence it is

very probable that it may penetrate a considerable way inland beyond of their examination. Tho the weather was pretty favorable for their Boat excursion inland, yet from the prevalence of stormy weather on the Coast, it appears that they could not come out of the River sooner if they wishd it, for Mr. Baker in the Jenny Schooner who lay in a Bay near the entrance, daily watchd for an opportunity to run out but/ could not effect it till the same day they did, the whole entrance all this time continued one will [wild] reef of foaming breakers across, & in coming out even when they did, both Vessels ran no little risk from their having but a light breeze of wind & a high swell on the Bar. The Chatham left both her Boats out in order that they might be ready to give immediate assistance in case of any danger or difficulty, & as they were coming over the Bar a heavy swell filled & broke adrift their Long Boat with one of the Men in her, but such was their situation at this time that they could not afford him the least assistance till they got on the outside when they brought to & instantly dispatchd the other Boat to his relief, it was found that he had providentially saved himself by keeping a fast hold of the Boat which drifted out through the Surf by the strength of the Tide.

In the evening the party returned from S^{ta} Clara much fatigued with their journey for they found the distance to be nearly eighteen leagues instead of eighteen miles as formerly interpreted, & to L^t Johnstone I am chiefly indebted for the following particulars of their journey.

After setting out from the Ship they called at the Proesidio, where they receivd an escort of a Serjeant & four Soldiers to guard guide & attend them with about forty horses that were drove after them to change or relieve them that might be tired. The Commandant & his family were extremely anxious that they should be well provided with every accommodation, & gave particular injunctions to/their guards to pay every attention to their convenience on way, which they faithfully obeyd throughout the whole journey, & seemd to take great pleasure in fulfilling the good wishes of their worthy Commander.

Being thus attended & equipped with every necessary for their journey, they left the Proesidio & about nine made a short stop at the Mission of San Francisco to pay their duty & respect & receive the benediction of the Fathers. From thence they set off a full gallop & continued galloping & cantering on through a fine Country for upwards of twenty Miles before they halted, which was a little past noon on a verdant plain skirted with some rising ground & beautifully diversified with groves of Trees through which a limpid stream of fresh water meanderd in its course & gave a novelty to the prospect, which

from the aridity of the Country was but seldom met with; in short a spot more delightfull they all agreed could hardly be met with on the whole globe. By dismounting all were tired, some sore, but good humour prevaild in the highest degree, those who limpd the most laughd at their own pains & gave mirth to the rest. The refreshments they brought with them were spread out upon the Lawn & all partook of it with a keen appetite. In the mean time the Soldiers caught & saddled fresh Horses from the drove & in an hour after every one was Mounted & off again at a gallop, tho from the stiffness & attitudes of some of the Riders it was evident that their bodies wishd for a more moderate pace, but this could not be allowd, for they were yet scarcely half way, & excepting a few Indian huts there was no other house or shelter between/them & S^{ta} Clara. They had got on but a few leagues when some complaind of their Horses, this occasiond a short halt, till a fresh accommodation took place, which was managd in the usual way by the Soldiers riding amongst the drove & dextrously throwing a noose on the horses neck they wanted, who then stood quite docile to be saddled: And having adjusted every complaint they again continued their journey at a rate so quick as to leave little time for either Man or Horse to contemplate on each others inclinations. The road they pursued was plain & level as a bowling green without even a stone to impede their progress, as they advancd they passed through Forests/of fine Oaks,⁸ the greatest part of which they left on their right hand, these Oaks were scatterd so far apart, that instead of incommoding or obstructing their way, they contributed much to render it more delightfull by the various scenes & Vistos which were every moment opening to their view.—A ridge of hills to the Southward seemingly clothed with Pines ran between them to the Sea Coast, & on their North Side a range of Mountains ran parallel to it, at the foot of which a branch of the Port of San Francisco ran towards S^{ta} Clara, so that their path ran through a fertile Valley, which for pleasing prospects & richness of soil could no where be excelled. About four in the afternoon their guides informd them that they were still about four leagues from S^{ta} Clara, but the distance was not all they had to encounter, for they soon after came to low swampy ground, which the late Rains had coverd with Water about a foot/deep, through this they could only walk their horses in the cool of the evening, so that after riding so hard all day, they soon became cold stiff & fatigued. In this condition they arrivd at the Mission of S^{ta} Clara a little after sun-set, where they were greeted with a most cordial reception by the two venerable

⁸ *Quercus lobata* Néé.

Fathers, who took the greatest pains in contributing every means in their power to comfort & entertain them, & could the pain & fatigue brought on by the journey be at once releivd, no strangers ever had greater reason to be satisfied with their situation, but Mr. Baker & Mr. Johnstone were so ill that they were immediately obligd to go to bed, the rest of the party were able to set up till they partook of a good supper of Fish Fruits & Sweatmeats, enlivend by the facetious & pleasing conversation of the Senior Father, who was named Father Thomas, & who with the most watchfull eagerness was every moment anticipating & releiving their little wants, with a degree of pleasure which no enjoyment could surpass: He was a very corpulent man, far advanced in Years & of a most venerable appearance, yet he trudgd about in the most lively manner to administer every comfort to his guests.

The night's repose contributed much to disperse the pain & fatigue occasioned by the long ride of the preceeding day, & after a hearty breakfast the Fathers continued every means they could think of to amuse them; they first led them to see the Church, which is much larger better finishd & more abundantly supplied with ornaments than that of San Francisco. They/then shewd them the æconomy & general arrangement of the Mission, which is built in a square form similar to that of San Francisco, one side of which is occupied by young Indians who are educated in the Christian Faith, & brought up to different occupations usefull to the Settlement. Another side is set apart for manufacturing grey cloth for the Fathers, & a kind of coarse cloth & blankets for clothing the Indians belonging to the Mission, & in this Manufactory Women are chiefly employd. The third side is a large Granary well stored; & the fourth side is occupied by the Fathers themselves; but they have other Spacious Granaries apart from these Buildings in order to secure by this means a certain resource in case of any accident happening to either by Fire or otherwise. These Granaries are two stories high & kept in the very best order, they are well stored with every kind of grain excepting Barley & Oats which they do not cultivate in this Country. Their Pease & Wheat are of an excellent quality, the latter is a fine full bodied Grain & generally rewards their labour with a return of five & twenty or sometimes even thirty fold. They have large Gardens well supplied with every kind of usefull Vegetables & even most of the European Fruit Trees, such as Apricots Peaches Pears Vines Currants Goosberries &c. These Fruits succeeded better here than at any other of their Northern Settlements in this Country, on account as was supposed of its inland situation. They also rear hemp, which flourishes well & is of a good strong quality.

/They saw a crowded Indian Village close to the Mission, composed of mean huts or wigwams similar in form & materials to those we have already described at the Mission of San Francisco & containing about the same number of Natives converted to the Christian Religion by the indefatigable & persuasive endeavours of these worthy Fathers. These Natives are usefully employed in the various occupations necessary for the support of the Settlement & their own subsistence. They were at this time building for themselves under the direction of the Fathers a long row of Houses similar to those of the Spaniards, with two snug Apartments in each, & when they once experience the comforts & conveniences of these dwellings, there is no doubt but they will be induced to continue a plan so laudable & which cannot fail to contribute greatly to their general welfare & happiness. There were a number of other houses adjacent to the Mission for Artificers, & twelve or fifteen Soldiers with their Families under the Command of an Alferes or Ensign & a Corporal, which are deem'd necessary for the protection of the Mission, but it is further protected by its vicinity to the Town of St Joseph which is but a short distance to the Southward & Eastward of it, & contains about four hundred Spaniards, chiefly old Soldiers & their Families, who after a certain number of years servitude in the Garrison in the Country, are allowed to retire, with certain privileges & a portion of land for their future support.

Having thus viewed the Mission & its dependencies, the party in the forenoon mounted their/Horses & took a short ride in the Neighbourhood accompanied by the Commandant & an escort of Soldiers, who at a little distance from the Mission surrounded a large herd of black Cattle & began to catch them. This was done by riding in amongst the Herd & singling out the one they wished to take, which was instantly pursued by two Soldiers on Horseback at full speed, till each threw a Noose made on the end of a long leathern thong over its Neck or Horns, & which they generally effected in a short chace with great dexterity & then were able to manage the wildest of them & keep a due distance between the two Horses, without suffering it to hurt either. In this manner they caught about twenty & led them to the Mission where they were slaughtered & seventeen of them were divided amongst the Indians to make it a day of festivity in compliment of the visit of the English Officers to the Mission. They generally killed about the same number weekly for the subsistence of the Settlement, & this they could easily afford from the numerous Herds which were seen grazing every where over the Country, but what was matter of great surprize was their rapid & enormous encrease, for they were told that when these Northern Missions were first settled about twenty Years ago

there were but fifteen head of Cattle to begin with, & now the Country every where swarmed with them.

These Missions make no return whatever to Government, the Grain & Stock they rear are solely for their own subsistence, & from/ the few Luxuries or even Conveniencies observd amongst them it was evident that they receivd little or nothing from the Mother Country, so that they are obliged to subsist entirely on their own industry.

An Arm of the Sea from the Port of San Francisco ends close to the Mission, which supplies them with abundance of Fish of every kind & contributes to the beauty as well as the conveniency of the situation.

Notwithstanding many preasing invitations from the worthy Fathers to prolong their stay, the party set out on their return to the Ship the following day at sun-rise, after taking an affectionate leave of the Fathers with a promise that one of them should visit the Vessel before her departure, that they might have an opportunity of making some returns for the civilities & attention so liberally bestowed on the whole party. The Commandant of the Settlement accompanied them to take his passage on board the Discovery to Monterrey. They were also attended by the same escort of Soldiers & the same drove of Horses to releive those that might be tired & as they were favord with a fine day, & knew the length of their ride, they performd the journey with more ease & moderation & arrived on board about six in the evening.

In the forenoon of the 23^d Mr. Broughton & a small party rode out to visit the Mission of San Francisco & returnd on board the Discovery accompanied by the Commandant to dinner.

And next day we had a visit of Father Thomas from S^{ta} Clara, who was deservedly caressed by the whole party that visited that Mission, for their hospitable reception, & as it was observd that these Missions were but ill provided with implements of Husbandry & Culinary Utensils, Captain Vancouver made a selection from among the trade with which we were abundantly supplied by Government & presented the Proesidio & the two Missions with a number of usefull articles for these purposes, as well as a variety of Trinkets & Ornaments to disperse among the Indians & a quantity of Spirits for their own consumption. These were gratefully accepted of, but when he offerd to settle with them for the refreshments we were supplied with during our stay, they would accept of no pecuniary consideration, saying that they had S^r Quadra's express orders not to take a farthing from us for any thing we stood in need of that the Settlement could afford, & they further sent us this day four Bullocks & a number of Sheep Poultry & Vegetables to serve us on the passage to Monterrey, & for the whole the Commandant

meerly took a receipt to satisfy his Superiors that he had done what he conceivd to be only his duty.

The Port of San Francisco is of easy/access & very spacious, interspersed with a number of Islands, & divided into several Arms that penetrate the Country in different directions, the extent of some of them particularly those going to the North East ward has not yet been sufficiently ascertained, which induced Captain Vancouver to express his wish of exploring them to their termination, & the Commandant readily acquiesced, & offerd any assistance that might be necessary from the Settlement to accomplish it; but on mentioning this business to Sr Quadra after we arrived at Monterrey, that Gentleman said that he had no other objection than the trouble it would give without any utility, as their extent had been already ascertained in a journey by land, by a party who rode round the head of them a little above where they terminate on Mr Dalrymple's plan of the Harbour, which we found to be a very exact representation as far as we had occasion to consult it.

Latitude of our Anchorage in Port San Francisco $37^{\circ} 48'$.

/In the forenoon of the 25th we took leave of these generous people to whose hospitality & kindness we were so deeply indebted, & the Spanish Officer who was to accompany us to Monterrey being on board, we both weighd Anchor & with a strong Tide in our favor we workd against a North West wind out of the Harbour, & in the passage out we never had less than three & twenty fathoms, but on the outside of the entrance we passed over a Bank on which we had less than seven fathoms with a rough sea & very irregular Soundings, & it is not improbable that this Bank may extend across the entrance as we passed over it on the North Side going in. At noon we were on the outside about two leagues from the entrance in Latitude $37^{\circ} 42'$ North the Mouth of the Harbour between N 10° E & N 28° E & the two extremes of the land from NW to S 38° E. With these bearings we had eleven fathoms & immediately after no Soundings in steering a southerly course.

In the afternoon we coasted along shore to the Southward with a fresh breeze, the land appearing much the same as to the Northward of Port San Francisco naked & hilly, with here & there perpendicular cliffs of a whitish appearance facing the Sea. At night we hauld off & continued making short tacks /till day light to be able to survey every part of the Coast as we went along.

Early on the morning of the 26th we pursued our examination again to the South ward, & at noon we were about two leagues from the Shore in Latitude $36^{\circ} 53'$ N. & Longitude $238^{\circ} 14'$ E. The land opposite to us was of a rugged hilly & parchd appearance but of a

moderate height near the Shore. As we were unacquainted with the situation of the Port of Monterrey to which we were now approaching, we in the afternoon stood into the Bay (which is very large) with moderate wind & clear weather, & as we advanced we fired some Guns at intervals in expectation of being answered by the Fort, that we might thereby be directed to the most contiguous Anchorage, but we heard of no returns made to our signals till about five in the evening, & in about an hour after we had the satisfaction of seeing Mr. Whidbey come off in our own large Cutter to meet us; On his coming on board he took the direction of the Ship & carried her into the proper Anchorage where we came to in eleven fathoms soft muddy bottom within a quarter of a mile of the Shore & immediately moored, the Proesidio bearing S b E near a mile off.—Soon after we came to a Spanish Boat came off to us, to request Cap^t Vancouver's company on shore at the Proesidio, which he obeyed, & spent the evening there with the Governor & S^r Quadra.

[MONTEREY]

The Doedalus Store Ship had arrived here/three days before us, after they examined Grays Harbour according to directions, it seems they were detained from coming out of it by boisterous Weather, till the same day that the Chatham left Columbia River, & then they ran a good deal of risque in coming over a Bar of very shallow water at the entrance of it, where the surges rolled over in a heavy swell.

Besides the Activa Brig we found here the Aranzaza Frigate Commanded by our friend L^t Comano & a Schooner Packet which lately came from S^t Blas.

On the morning of the 27th we saluted the Garrison with thirteen Guns, which compliment was returned with an equal number, & immediately after we loosed the top sails & hoisted them, & then saluted S^r Quadra as Commander of the Spanish Squadron on this Coast with thirteen Guns, which number was returned from the Activa Brig.

At nine the Spanish Governor & S^r Quadra accompanied by several of their Officers visited the Discovery, the former was saluted on his coming on board & on his going away with thirteen Guns each time. His name was Don Joseph Arguello, a Lieutenant in the Spanish service, who lately succeeded to the Command here by the death of an Officer of high rank, it being a Post generally filled by a Lieutenant Colonel, who resides here as Governor General of the whole Province of California, & one of that rank was at this/time soon expected to arrive from Mexico.

The Markee Tents & Observatory were this day sent on shore

together with the Astronomical Instruments & were erected on a delightful spot opposite to the Vessels on the western side of the Bay.

My late indisposition rendered me so exceedingly weak that I was not able to go on shore for some days, & when I did go my excursions were very limited, indeed the Country in general was at this time so exceedingly dry & parched that there were but few Plants to be met with in a state for investigation.

The Proesidio appeared to be nearly a Mile from our Anchorage in a Southerly direction, & scarcely presented any thing else to our view than a dead wall, but the land about it & on the western side of the Bay under which we were sheltered, presented beautiful Lawns & rising eminences of clear pasturage diversified with Clumps of Trees & scattering Pines, & enlivened with Horses & Cattle grazing in numerous Herds. Behind the Proesidio the land rose into a naked hilly ridge of a moderate height, which gradually diminished as it ran round the western side of the Bay between us & the Ocean towards the outer Point, where it was covered with a Forest of Pines, from which it had obtained the name of *Punta de Pinos*. This Point is low & rocky & was about three miles to the North West ward of our Anchorage & the whole intervening shore is very rocky & indented with scarcely a place for landing from a boat except in very fine weather & smooth sea.

By previous agreement saddled Horses were sent down to the Beach early on the 2^d of Dec^r & Captain Vancouver Mr. Broughton & a large party of the Officers from both Vessels together with the two Sandwich Island Women mounted them & joining Sr Quadra & several Spanish Officers together with the Governor & his Lady at the Proesidio, the whole formed a large Cavalcade which was escorted by a guard of Soldiers to the Mission of *Carmillo* situated in a small Bay on the Sea Coast about four Miles to the South West of the Proesidio. Our ride was through a pleasing hilly Country interspersed with Pines thinly scattered, Coppices of stiff scrubby brush wood & extensive spots of clear pasturage swarming with Horses & Cattle feeding in Herds. When we arrived at the Mission, the venerable Fathers received us with a hearty welcome at the head of a numerous Tribe of Indians of both sexes converted to Christianity, kept in good order & decently clad by the indefatigable attention of these worthy Fathers, who provided a sumptuous dinner for the whole party under an Arbour in an adjacent Garden & employed every other means in their power for our entertainment with a liberality that was highly pleasing to us & creditable to themselves. They showed us their Church which was small & neatly ornamented, but they were at this time employed in building another upon a much larger scale. Their Grain & other Stores were here kept

in scatterd Houses not so compactly built as those Missions we have already describd.—Close by we saw a large Village of Huts containing about seven hundred Indians converted to the Christian Religion, who are employd in the various occupations necessary for the support of the Settlement. Before dinner a party of us took a short ride up a most fertile Valley behind the Mission, which we found divided into fields well-cultivated on both sides of a large Rivulet that empties itself into the Bay & is called the River of Carmillo, tho it certainly does not deserve the name of a River. On the South side of this Valley Mount St Lucia rises with a steep ascent & overtops the neighbouring hill, & had a Cross erected on its Summit in sight of the Mission. After dinner some of the Natives dressed themselves out like Deers, & saunterd through the Garden to shew us their manner of decoying that Animal & killing it with Bow & Arrow. In this they chiefly imitated its gait & manner of browsing among the Bushes till they got sufficiently near to take aim at a vulnerable part.

We returnd in the evening to the Proesidio where we were invited to a dance at the Governor's house, it was to begin at seven, but the Ladies had such unusual preparations to make that they could not be got together till near ten, & as they enterd they seated themselves on Cushions placed on a Carpet spread out at one end of the room: They were variously dressed, but most of them had their Hair in long queues reaching down to their waist, with a tassel of ribands appendant to its extremity: They danced/some Country dances, but even in this remote region they seemd most attachd to the Spanish exhilarating dance the *Fandango*, a performance which requires no little elasticity of limbs as well as nimbleness of capers & gestures. It is performd by two persons of different sex who dance either to the Guittar alone or accompanied with the voice; they traverse the room with such nimble evolutions, wheeling about, changing sides & smacking with their fingers at every motion; sometimes they dance close to each other, then retire, then approach again, with such wanton attitudes & motions, such leering looks, sparkling eyes & trembling limbs, as would decompose the gravity of a Stoic.

The two Sandwish Island Women at the request of Captain Vancouver exhibited their manner of singing & dancing, which did not appear to afford much entertainment to the Spanish Ladies, indeed I believe they thought this crude performance was introduc'd by way of ridiculing their favourite dance the *Fandango*, as they soon after departed.

Next day Cap^t Vancouver gave an entertainment to the Governor, St Quadra & several of the Spanish Officers on board the *Discovery* to

which a number of the Ladies of the Garrison were invited, but after they came on board they found the motion of the Ship so unpleasant to them that they were soon oblig'd to return on shore again, by which we were depriv'd of the pleasure of their company.

The Proesidio is in the form of a large/square, surrounded by a Wall of twelve or fourteen feet high, with a row of Houses one story high all round the inside for the purpose of Dwellings & Store Houses for the Governor Officers & Soldiers, together with a neat decent Church in the middle of the side facing the entrance, so that a large clear Area is left in the middle for parading & exercising the Men. It containd at this time between sixty & seventy Soldiers with their Families under the command of the Governor who was a Lieutenant in the Army, & a Serjeaunt with one or two Corporals, but its Military establishment is I believe considerably larger, as we were informd that a number were necessarily dispersed to guard the Missions & Out-posts, to keep the Indians in awe & take care of the Cattle, on which their subsistence greatly depend. Six nine pounders & three smaller ones were mounted on Carriages before the entrance, & we saw four nine pounders without Carriages laying on logs of Wood on a small eminence abreast of the Anchorage, & these we beleivd were all the Artillery which the Settlement at this time could boast of.

It is pleasantly situated on a low Plain & just before it between it & the Anchorage there is a Salt Water Lagoon which at this time swarm'd with a great verietiy of wild aquatic fowls that afforded much diversion to our Sportsmen. This Lagoon was only filled at Spring Tides, & near it in going to the Proesidio we passed over some low moist or Marshy ground where good Water/may be got by digging Wells, at any season, & it is only in this manner that the Garrison is supplied with this necessary article, for there is no constant Spring or good run of water within some Miles of it.

As S^r Quadra livd on shore at the Proesidio, the Governor & him kept an open table for the Officers of the Shipping in the Bay, at which large parties of us din'd almost daily, & partook of the indulgence of their hospitality without reserve, & it is but justice to add that they were equally ready to contribute to our amusements, by providing horses & guides in the most liberal manner for those who chose to take the recreation of riding through the Country; & those who were fond of shooting & sporting were sufferd to indulge in their favourite pursuits without the least restraint, so that parties were out daily traversing the Country in almost every direction for ten or twelve miles round.

On the fifth I went on shore with Mr. Broughton & Mr. Puget. We strolld towards *Punta de Pinos* by a pleasant walk along the sea

side, sometimes passing through Woods, the Trees of which were chiefly Pines & a species I had not met before on the Coast the *Pinus Toeda*;⁹ these were so far apart on the lower ground as not to obstruct our penetrating the Wood in every direction, but higher up the ridge they appeared to be closer set & a continued Forest. Here & there we met clear spots of Pasture & Thickets of Brush-wood, consisting of various Shrubs/many of which were new to me, & which I much lamented were not in a condition to be ascertained. Amongst them I observed the common Southern wood & several other species of the Genus *Artemisia*.¹⁰ These with a number of others diffused in this dry Country an aromatic fragrance which was exceeding pleasant. The Thickets every where were inhabited by great variety of the feathered Tribe, many of which were also new, among these was a species of Quail of a dark lead colour beautifully speckled with black white & ferrugeneous colours with a Crest of reverted black feathers on the crown of its head, these were also met with at Port San Francisco & are common over this Country, they are equal to the common Partridge in delicacy of flavour & afforded a pleasing variety to the other luxuries with which at this time our Table abounded.

We found the Land about the Point low & bleak with a number of white sand hills, particularly on the western side where it is exposed to the Oceanic gales. We returned through the Wood by a different path & shot a number of small Birds, a new species of Hawk & several Quails, but the Country was so exceeding dry & parched that we found but few plants in Flower in our whole excursion. The Cattle were supplied with Water from standing pools that remained here & there in hollows, or in places dug on purpose for them by the Inhabitants, for we did not meet with a spring or constant run of Water in our whole circuit.

The two following days I remained on board examining drawing & describing my little collection & such other objects of natural/history as were brought me by the different parties who traversed the Country, & who were in general extremely liberal in presenting me with every thing rare or curious they met with. The sporting parties were particularly successful in killing a vast variety of Game with which the Country abounded & which were now in full perfection. On the latter day a number of Officers who dined at the Proesidio were entertained in the evening with a Ball at the Governor's House said to be given by Sr Quadra's Steward.

⁹ *Pinus radiata* Don.

¹⁰ *Artemisia californica* Less. *Artemisia heterophylla* Nutt.

I accompanied a sporting party that took horse at the Proesidio on the morning of the 8th & rode along shore to the Eastward for about four or five Miles to visit some Lagoons that lay in that direction that swarmed with Geese Ducks & other Aquatic Fowls, but from our being on Horseback we were not very successful & returned in the evening not much burthend with Game. The day being fine we however enjoyed our ride as a pleasant recreation & din'd on what provision we had carried with us at a small House near a Garden about a league to the Eastward of the Proesidio. This we were told was the only Garden belonging to the Garrison, it was not well stockd with Vegetables, & if it had, it was scarcely of a size to supply one fourth of the Inhabitants; Nothing more conspicuously shewd the indolence of the Spaniards, than their not rearing in a country like this where the Soil is so very productive, a sufficient quantity of Vegetables for their own consumption, one would have supposed that a small Garden would afford to the Soldiers when off duty a most pleasant amusement & recreation, setting aside the advantages it would yield to his Family, but they live entirely on Garrison provision, & indulge in their native indolence.

A large high Bank of loose land ran along shore reared by stormy weather, as far as we went, & the Country behind it is low with Clumps of Trees thinly scatterd of the Holly-leavd Oak *Quercus*¹¹ *Coccifera*, & extensive fields of Pasture, but the greatest part of the Country here was coverd with stiff low Shrubs, many of them Evergreens & entirely new to me, but I was this day equally unfortunate in finding but very few plants in flower, many of these shrubby Plants appeard to be of the Class *Lyngenesia* & were of a fragrant quality.

On the ninth in the forenoon Captain Vancouver Mr. Broughton & a large party of Officers from both Vessels, joined the former party of Spaniards at the Proesidio & having mounted horses rode out to the Eastward & din'd under an Arbour erected for the purpose in the Garden we had seen on the preceeding day. While the dinner was getting ready the Governor set off with a party to amuse themselves with *Bear hunting*, but after traversing a good deal of ground where they were expected to be met with they returned without having started any. Foxes Hares & Rabbits were frequently seen/in these excursions & a large variegated Squirrel which burrowd in dry sandy grounds were very abundant particularly about the Proesidio.

Whenever we went out in this manner Sr Quadra's Plate & Cooking Equipage &c travelld along with us, so that we had always the luxury

¹¹ *Quercus agrifolia* Neé.

of dining in those retreats off Silver, & on the best of every thing he could afford.

Next day Captain Vancouver gave an entertainment to the Spaniards & a large party of Officers & Gentlemen from both Vessels, & as the motion of the Vessel was so very unpleasant to the Ladies of the Garrison at the former Entertainment, to accommodate them in particular on this occasion it was given on shore in a large Tent, where upwards of forty din'd at a long Table, amongst whom was the Governess & a numerous party of Ladies who favord us with their company till pretty late in the evening.

After dark, a selection of Fireworks were exhibited with which the whole Company particularly the Spaniards were highly delighted, for many of them we believd had never seen any thing of the kind before, & on that account their admiration was more excessive. Most of the sky rockets went off well & were much admird, but the Water Rockets being exceeding good, never faild of exciting most wonder & applause from the gazing multitude. The evening was spent/with hilarity mirth & mutual good humour between us & the Spaniards, with whom we parted at a late hour; but some little altercations took place amongst ourselves which was not so pleasant, & certainly shewd the Spaniards the characteristic of English Sailors, who on these occasions are apt to quarrel with their best friends.

The following morning we had some Rain & hazy weather for the first time since we came to Monterrey. James Baily one of the Seamen who assisted at the regalement on shore on the preceeding, was found to be missing, & a diligent search was made for him every where without success, he was observd to be much in liquor in the course of the evening, & it was supposd that he had hid himself or absconded when he became sober in order to escape punishment.

The 13th was consecrated to devotional exercise & kept as a holiday at the Proesidio, it was usherd in by firing of Guns & Volleys of small Arms which was continued at intervals throughout the day in commemoration we were told of the Lady of Lorette the Patroness of New Spain, a Saint highly esteemd & reverd throughout this Country.

I this day traversd the woods & hilly ridge on the Western side of the Bay in Botanical researches & returnd in the evening with several Plants & Birds I had not before/seen, which occupied my time in examining & describing for the two following days.

At this time Captain Vancouver made a selection of such articles of the Trade we had on Board, as he thought would be usefull to the Settlement & sent them on shore to the Governor, to be divided between the Garrison & the surrounding Missions in whatever manner he

thought it might be most beneficial to the Country in general. But on the 16th we found that his manner of sharing out these donations had excited a good deal of discontent. The Fathers in particular complained of their not having received so liberal a share as those at San Francisco & Sta Clara. At the same time the Soldiers were entitled to every liberal return we could make to them for the great trouble they were at in traversing the Country & hunting down Cattle for our daily consumption, & Horses for our common amusement, in short for their cheerful & ready compliance with whatever could contribute to our accommodation.

I went on shore on the 18th & ranged the Country to the Eastward of the Proesidio for Plants. In the sandy Soil near the sea side I found a procumbent plant in flower which I considered as a new genus of the Class Pentandria Monogynia & which on my return to England I found to be described as such by *Jussieu* in his/Genera of Plants under the name of [blank]¹² I also found in the same place a new *Epilabium*,¹³ a new shrubby species of *Solidago*¹⁴ & another of *Polygonum*¹⁵ in flower; And in the Pastures the *Ranunculus*¹⁶ *repens*, a small species of *Oxalis*,¹⁷ with a beautiful new shrubby species of *Mimulus*¹⁸ & a new *Verbena*¹⁹ were in flower & pretty common.

We this day learned that James Baily the man who absconded about a week before had travelled out to the Mission of Carmillo, & having got within that Sanctuary, claimed the protection of the Reverend Fathers, which he so far obtained, that they waited on Captain Vancouver to intercede for his pardon, but finding that would not be granted, the only mitigation they procured was a promise that he should not be punished whilst the Ship remained at Monterrey, & next day a Serjeant with a party of Marines went out privately to the Mission where he was given up to them & brought on board as a prisoner. He remained in irons till we went to sea & was the punished at two different times with six dozen of lashes each time, tho we cannot help thinking that a mitigation of this severe punishment at the instigation of the Worthy Fathers would have been equally efficacious & a more creditable

¹² *Abronia arenaria* Menzies Hook. Exotic Fl. t. 193 (1827) = *Abronia latifolia* Esch. Mem. Acad. Petersb. x. 281 (1825).

¹² *Abronia glauca* Menzies Hook. Exotic Fl. t. 194 (1827) = *Abronia umbellata* Lam. Ill. 1. 469, t. 105 (1792).

¹³ *Epilobium franciscanum* Barbey.

¹⁴ *Solidago spathulata* DC.

¹⁵ *Polygonum paronychia* C. & S.

¹⁶ *Ranunculus californicus* Benth.

¹⁷ *Zanthoxalis californica* Abrams = *Oxalis*.

¹⁸ *Minulus glutinosus* Wend. = *Diplacus glutinosus* Nutt.

¹⁹ *Verbena prostrata* R. Br.

procedure, especially as we did not find that the severity of treatment in this case had prevented others from deserting before our departure.

/As the Doedalus was going to New South Wales it was deemed a good opportunity to send in her from this Country some live Cattle & Sheep for the new Settlement at Port Jackson, for which purpose the Carpenters were now employd on board her putting up partitions between Decks for their accommodation, & as there was no Hay to be procurd in this Country for feeding them on the passage, parties were employd on shore from each Vessel in cutting Grass for that purpose, but it was so dry & shrivelld by long exposure to the weather, that it was not at all likely to afford sufficient nourishment for their support, & this was found to be fatally verified by most of them dying on the passage.

On the 21st the Spaniards began to/prepare for their departure by bending Sails. I went with Mr. Broughton to the Proesidio where we din'd & afterwards mounted Horses, & ascended to the summit of the ridge to the Westward of it, where we had a most extensive & satisfactory view of the Country round the bottom of the Bay for a considerable distance inland, but its rugged hilly appearance at this time much parchd up by droughy Weather did not impress us with a very favorable idea of its fertility. On the summit of this ridge I found several of the more Northern plants, such as are commonly/met with about Nootka & in New Georgia. Of these the following three beautiful Evergreens were here in abundance *Gualtheria*²⁰ *fruticosa*, *Arbutus*²¹ *glauca*, *Vaccinium*²² *lucidum*, which are all new & peculiar as far as I know of to this side of America.

We here saw a number of Pine Trees torn up by the Roots, with their tops laying to the North West, which circumstance afforded a strong proof that South East gales are the most tempestuous & prevalent storms that visit this Country.

The Carpenters having finishd the fitting out of the Doedalus Store Ship for the reception of the live stock that were to be carried to Port Jackson, the Boats were employd on the 23^d in getting them on board, they consisted of twelve Cows with six Bulls & the same number of breeding Sheep. The Weather was now cold & gloomy with a good deal of rain.

On the following evening the small sloop which S^r Quadra had brought from Mr. Gray to the Northward arrivd in the Bay, she had been sent from here to Nootka with dispatches near two months before

²⁰ *Gaultheria shallon* Pursh.

²¹ *Arctostaphylos tomentosa* Pursh.

²² *Vaccinium ovatum* Pursh.

& experienced very stormy & boisterous weather, they were thirty one days on their passage to Nootka, but returnd from thence in seventeen days after a stay there of ten days.

On the 26th the small Schooner returnd which had been sent a few days before by S^r Quadra across to the North East Side of the Bay on our account, to collect sea stock for us /such as Poultry Vegetables &c at the Mission of S^{ta} Cruz. They brought about a hundred fowls & a quantity of Vegetables that were shard between the two Vessels, & a large quantity of Indian Corn for feeding them & the live Cattle & Sheep on board the Doedalus & likewise for some live Cattle & Sheep which we were to carry with us for to stock the Sandwich Islands with these usefull Animals, as the opportunity we now had for procuring them was so favorable.

From our having come round the Cape of Good Hope we diffred in our reckoning of time a day from the Spaniards. This being their Christmas Day we kept it as such in compliment to them, & a large party of us din'd on board the Chatham to celebrate it with festivity, most of whom found it necessary to shake off the effect of debauch next day by a long ride, after which they met to dinner at the Proesidio & were afterwards entertaind with a Bull-fight in the Area within the Garrison.

The Doedalus Store Ship saild for Port Jackson New South Wales on the 30th but three of her men deserted a day or two before & found means to elude the most diligent search made after them. There were strong suspicions that they were encouragd in this step by the Spaniards, & that some of the Soldiers supported them in some hidden Cavern in the Mountains by carrying food to them in the night time until our departure.

Next day the small Spanish schooner saild for S^t Blas & for the four following days nothing happend worthy of particularizing, Our/ people were chiefly employd in getting on board fire wood & water & providing stuff for Brooms. The water was rather a scarce article in the vicinity of our Anchorage, we however at this time met with very good Springs of it by digging in the hollow places on the hilly ascent abreast of the Vessels.

We receivd on board the Discovery on the 5th of Jan^y 1793 four young Cows two Bulls & ten breeding Sheep for to carry with us to the Sandwich Islands, & every preparation was now forwarding for our departure. On the 7th we had the wind fresh & squally from the Southward accompanied with Rain this & the following days.

James Etchison Armorer & James London Marine both belonging to the Chatham Brig, took an opportunity while attending some work

on shore to desert, & though parties were in search of them for several days they could neither find or gain any intelligence of them so that we were obligd to go to sea without them. It was suspected that the Armorer being a handy & ingenious workman was enticed away by the Spaniards promising him great encouragement & leading him on with the idea of his being able to gain a great deal of Money by his handicraft, but what could induce the Marine to accompany him we could not comprehend, as he could work at no Trade we knew of, & consequently could be nothing else in a Country like this but a common Soldier.

On the 10th S^r Quadra removd from the Proesidio & took up his abode on board the/Activa Brig to be ready to depart with the first favorable Wind, & as he was going directly to San Blas it was deemd a good opportunity to send an Officer home by the way of Mexico with the Duplicates of the Dispatches that were sent from Nootka, more especially as the proposal met with S^r Quadra's friendly concurrence, who promis'd in the most handsome manner to provide for his passage to San Blas & exert his utmost influence to forward his journey across the Continent by a liberal supply of every accommodation which the Country could afford. In consequence of which Mr. Broughton Commander of the Chatham was now preparing to undertake this arduous & interesting route to England.

And on the 13th he embarkd on board the Activa Brig with the dispatches for our Government & as he was so good as promise to take charge of a box of Seeds for his Majesty's Garden, I at the same time deliverd it to him accompanied with a letter both adressd to Sir Joseph Banks Bar^t.

In the evening S^r Quadra came on board the Discovery to take leave of us, & after experiencing so long the munificence of his hospitality & kindness, we could not but be impressed with the sincerest gratitude towards him & the deepest regret at parting, As he never faild to exert his friendly influence in our behalf when any occasion requird it, we therefore considerd ourselves as in a great measure indebted to him for almost every comfort & amusement we enjoyd during our stay, & as a further proof of the public & noble principles with/ which he was actuated, when Captain Vancouver offerd to pay for the abundant supplies of refreshments which the Vessels under his command had receivd at this Settlement, he would suffer no other acknowledgment to be made, than merely leaving a receipt for what we had, to shew that as far as the Country could afford it, they had faithfully dischargd the duty of hospitality & friendly intercourse towards us.

We had but few interruptions of exceeding pleasant Weather dur-

ing our stay in this Bay. The wind generally blew a gentle breeze from the North West quarter in the day time & from the Eastward off the Land at night attended often with a heavy fall of Dew, which rendered the temperature of the air at times cold & chilly & liable to sudden & great changes, for in the day time the heat of the Sun reflected from the parchd soil of the Country was so very powerfull that the Mercury in the Thermometer exposd in a shaded place on shore rose sometimes at noon so high as 90 degrees of Fahrenheit's Scale, & at night fell so low again as 30 degrees, the ground being then evidently coverd with hoar frost. These great & sudden changes in the temperature of the Air affected every one more or less with rheumatic pains & catarrhus complaints, particularly the Spaniards who were accusomd to tropical regions, but none sufferd more from it than the Indians that happend to be brought from other places on board the Shipping in the Bay, whose constitutions were not habituated to such changes. An Indian Boy/whom the Spaniards brought from Charlotte Island in the Ship Aranzaza, though from a much colder climate died here after a short & severe illness.

The Sandwich Islanders were likewise all very ill with Colds, particularly the two Women, whose complaints were the severest & most tedious & remaind long in a doubtfull state of recovery, yet they bore their ailments with a degree of patience & resignation that would reflect honor on a more enlightend tribe. They were seizd soon after our arrival with a severe cold, which afterwards turnd to a slow putrid Fever that had nearly carried them both off, nor did they recover the effects of it till they got to the Islands, when their native climate & former mode of living soon brought about their usual strength & vigour.

Straggling parties of the Natives frequently visited our neighbourhood but not in any great number, They are of a dark copper colour rather of a low stature & ill formed, their Hair is naturally straight & black but generally cropt. The Men wear long beards & go entirely naked in the day time basking themselves in the Sun, & the Women content themselves by wearing a dressed Deer Skin wrapped round their middle, sometimes made into the form of an Apron reaching from their Waist to their knees & decorated with tassels & other ornaments. When they set down they gather this Apron in between the Thighs & are regardless at exposing every other part of the Body; they have no delicacy of features or forms to distinguish them/from the other sex & are equally masculine in appearance. Their food at this time was chiefly shell fish, which the Women collected along shore, while the Men loungd about the Country with their Bows & Arrows,

killing Rabbits & Quails, which they generally brought to us to barter for beads & other trinkets.

These wandering parties made no kind of Huts or shelter to screen themselves from the inclemency of the Weather, but generally kindled a fire in the open air near to where they collected their food & huddled together round it at night, covering themselves with Deer Skins & the Pelts of other Animals.

The only Weapons we saw them have were Bows & Arrows, the former were from three to four feet long, well made & covered along the back with sinews glewd on, which give them a much greater degree of strength & elasticity; The Arrows are about the length of the Bows, headed by a sharp pointed Flint with two ragged edges & fastend by hardened Rosin from the Pine Trees.—With these when roused by necessity they were extremely expert in killing the different Games of the Country, by being very indefatigable in crouching near them with great cunningness, they seldom missed their aim, when they saw us therefore miss a shot with our Fowling Pieces at a Bird flying, they would then often exult in the superiority of their own mode & weapons by shewing us their dexterity.

In the interior parts of the Country we were told that the Natives were very numerous, but the Spaniards never suffer large parties of them to collect about the Settlement, except such as are peaceably inclin'd & suffer themselves to be under the tuition of the Fathers at the Mission; to guard themselves therefore from any sudden alarm they have Outposts a few leagues off, where soldiers are stationd at the different passes to watch their motions & give timely intimation to the Garrison in case of any hostile appearances. One of these Outposts about five leagues to the Eastward of Monterrey frequently terminated our ride, it was guarded by six or seven Soldiers & situated by a large rivulet that emptied itself into the bottom of the Bay, & on the skirts of a fine plain about two leagues wide & of such an extent inland in a South East direction that its termination still remaind unknown to the Spaniards.—This caution was extremely necessary as there did not appear to be above three hundred soldiers for the defence of two Garrisons & four adjacent Missions.

But these Soldiers are generally stout Men capable of bearing great fatigue, & without any exaggeration the most dextrous & nimble Horsemen we ever saw; They are allowd a relief of five or six horses each by Government, & when Mounted they carry a Target with which they parry off the missile Weapons of the Indians; Their Body is defended by a quilted buff coat of several folds of leather without sleeves, which is impenetrable to Arrows; They have a kind of Apron of thick

leather fastend to the pummel of the Saddle & falling back on each side covers the Legs & Thighs/& affords considerable defence either in passing through thorny brush woods with which the Country abounds, or from such Weapons as the Indians generally make use of. Their offensive Weapons are a Musket, a broad sword & a pair of large Pistols all of which are generally carried in leather cases securd to the Saddle; they also carry a Lance in their hand which they manage with great dexterity. Thus equippd & with a large Cloak thrown over his Shoulders to keep himself & his accoutrements dry, a Californian Soldier makes a formidable & curious appearance. His Spurs are very large & clumsy, weighing I dare say upwards of a pound weight, & his Stirrups are formd of heavy pieces of wood, with a cavity dug out of each to admit the Toes, & seem a good contrivance to defend them in riding through Brush Wood &c.

They have no Lime here but what they make from Shells, consequently their Houses are built with Stone & Mortar or with Sods & plaisterd with Mortar & afterwards White Washd; they are only one story high & generally divided into two apartments, in one of which a small place near the Wall is elevated about a foot higher than the rest of the floor on which a Mat is spread, & sometimes Cushions for the Women to sit down on, & if they take their seats before a stranger arrives, they never stir to pay the least homage to him.

This Bay was first discoverd by General Sebastian Vizcaino about one hundred/& ninety years ago; He was sent out by Count de Monterrey who was then Viceroy of Mexico, with a Squadron to this Coast on Discoveries, by order of Philip the Third, in consequence of which the place was namd *Puerto de Monterrey* in honor of the Viceroy, but it was not settled till about the Year 1770, & considering there were only fifteen head of Cattle then brought to stock these Northern Settlements their increase since that time must have been very rapid, as we were told that upon the most moderate calculation there could not at this time be less than 30,000 head of Cattle belonging to the two Settlements of Monterrey & San Francisco & the adjacent Mission, besides great abundance of Horses & vast flocks of Sheep & Goats, notwithstanding the great consumption of late years for the sustenance of the Garrisons & Missions &c which cannot be estimated at less than three thousand head of Cattle annually.

The Missions are always a little removd from the Garrisons & are generally situated in commodious fertile spots, within fifteen or twenty leagues of one another, & round them the whole Agriculture of the Country is carried on under the care & management of the sagacious Fathers, who have their Ploughs Harrows & Teams with Oxen industri-

ously employd, & who regulate the rural œconomy of the Farms in all their various branches & dependencies, as well as the more solemn duties of their avocations.

The painfull constancy with which these abstemeous Fathers maintain the religious observances of the Church of Rome in this distant region is a great proof of their indefatigable zeal & uncommon fortitude, for notwithstanding the inconveniencies & sufferings to which they are here daily exposed, yet they go patiently on encountering every difficulty with a manly perseverance & overcoming every obstacle by a noble principle of enthusiastic zeal & inward conviction of the importance of the object they pursue, in converting these poor Savages from that pagan state of darkness in which they have hitherto roamd at large in the Forests, to the enlightend paths of the Christian Religion & the practical knowledge of usefull Arts.

Surely a system of civilization conducted upon such humane & exemplary principles can never fail of attaining its end, even in a political view, by securing to the state in process of time a number of valuable & industrious subjects, reard up in the paths of virtue & morality under the mild auspices of those worthy Fathers, whose religious austerities must daily impress on their minds a lasting conviction of the exalted objects they pursue & whose little plans of industry so easy & natural, renders their manner of living less precarious & consequently more comfortable & happy than in their roving state. Thus influencd, these Proselytes act the part of gratefull & affectionate Children & gradually become usefull members of the Community, so that we cannot sufficiently applaud the persevering zeal of their humane conductors thro a process so tedious & difficult.

Being prepard for Sea & having a light breeze off the Land with clear Weather on the forenoon of the 14th Jan^y 1793 we weighd Anchor & made Sail out of the Bay of Monterrey. [From Monterey Vancouver went to the Hawaiian Islands and returned, arriving at Port Trinidad May 2.]

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[PORT TRINIDAD]

The forenoon of the 2^d of May was mostly calm & the Sky clearing to the Westward we had some hopes it would be succeeded by a change of wind, but in this we were disappointed, for in the afternoon a light breeze came on again from the Northward & finding our progress was so slow, we stood in towards the Land & a little before sun set anchord within some Rocks in eight fathoms over a bottom of blackish loose sand in what the Spaniards have called the *Port of Trinidad*.

While we were Mooring a Canoe came along side in which there were two men & on giving them some pieces of Iron & a few Nails they paddled hastily to the shore again to a small Village which we observed on the north side of the Bay.

After dark another Canoe came off with a fire kindled in it, but they kept hovering at a little distance & would not venture near us till we shewd them a light, when they came along side under the gangway & the/whole Crew consisting of four men stood up & gave us a song accompanied with a dance, if bending their bodies forward & moving them to & fro with the most ludicrous gestures without changing their situation in the Canoe could be called such, They kept beating time with their paddles on the sides of the Canoe seemingly in perfect unison with their song which was a kind of solemn air not destitute of harmony & ended in a loud shriek in which they all joind rising up their heads at the same time, one of them also broke off at intervals during the Song with a kind of shrill noise in imitation of some wild Animal. All of them had dresses of Deer Skin wrapped round their Waist & the two foremost had their heads ornamented with white feathers: After repeating their Song three times, two of them venturd on board, but no entreaties could get them below into the Cabin or between Decks & they were so timorous that they could hardly stand upright upon Deck, so they made but a short stay when they returnd again into their Canoe & giving us another Song went off ashore; Their bodies & arms were markd with slight lineal scars seemingly made by cutting the Skin in various directions with some sharp instrument for ornament.

On the morning of the 3^d all the Boats were hoisted out & the empty Casks sent on shore with a party to fill Water & another to cut down firewood under the direction of an Officer Mr. Swaine accompanied by six Marines as a guard.

Being detaind on the preceeding evening as already mentioned we on the morning of the 5th weighd Anchor & made sail out of the Bay with a light breeze from N N W which as the day advancd augmented in strength accompanied with fine pleasant Weather that in the forenoon afforded an opportunity of taking some lunar observations at a little distance from the land which gave the Longitude of the Port with great precision.

On the 6th & two following days we had a fresh breeze from the Northward & North West quarter with which we kept standing on to the Westward in expectation as we stretchd out from the Coast the Wind might become more favorable. The Weather was sometimes cloudy & hazy with small rain at night The ship still continued leaky

& troublesome to the people from the Water rushing for the most part forward in the Coalhole notwithstanding scuttles had been cut in the bulk head between it & the forehold, They were found of little use on account of the Coals choaking them up so that the people were almost constantly kept employd in emptying out the Water with Buckets; One day we were a little alarmd at a report of three feet of Water in the hold which soon being over come by the pumps we ascribd it to its coming suddenly in from forewards.

On the Morning of the 9th a species of Sand piper (*Tringa*) settled in the main Chains, though we were then about 120 leagues out from the Coast, The upper part of its body was of a dark lead colour, the breast & under parts were whitish speckled with the same colour as the upper part of the body, its bill was long & black, its legs were of a dirty orange colour & claws black, its Orbits were white.

This & the following day we had a moderate breeze of wind with cloudy weather from the North East quarter by which we were enabled to make a good stretch to the North West ward, but the Leak seemd to encrease, as we found it sometimes making 18 inches of water an hour & so choakd up the Coal hole notwithstanding the people were kept constantly employd in scooping it out, that we were at last obligd to scuttle the main deck over it & get a pump down into it, We hove to, & every means was tryd to stop the Leak, such as lightening the Ship forwards &c in order to lessen the fatiguing exercise of the Men at the Pumps &c.

The 11th & following day we had a moderate breeze of Wind from the northward with cloudy weather but fair, two Ducks or Birds very like that tribe were seen flying about the Ship by those on deck.

On the 13th & the two succeeding days the weather was cloudy & sometimes hazy with intervals of calm & light fluctuating airs but as these were mostly in our favor we kept advancing slowly to the Northward, On the 14th we saw a solitary sea Otter gamboling about the Ship & we were not less than 65 leagues from the land being at noon in latitude $45^{\circ} 5''$ North & Longitude $231^{\circ} 43'$ E^l.

The wind was for the most part light & fluctuating with some intervening calms on the 16th & 17th & the Weather was at times foggy with small rain, On the latter day we saw several Whales & had a heavy swell from the South West.

Early on the morning of the 18th we made the Land a little to the Westward of Barcaley's Sound & the Wind being now from the North West ward along the direction of the Coast, we had still to work against it, which we did by plying in short tacks along shore till on the following evening we reachd near the eastern point of Nootka Sound,

here we stood well in with the shore into nine fathoms Water at the entrance of an opening which appeared to form a clear & eligible harbour a little to the eastward of point Breakers. The land on each side of it is low & flat & wooded with pines for some miles back which may render it more favorable for a place of Settlement than Nootka Sound, & it being in a central situation between the *Nootka tribe* & those of *Cloiquat* & *Wakananis* may also be much in its favor.

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[VOYAGE TO SAN FRANCISCO]

The Chatham having finish'd her new main Boom & other repairs, & both Vessels having compleated their supply of Wood & Water, we unmoor'd early on the morning of the 8th warped out of the Cove & in the forenoon made sail out of the Sound with a moderate breeze from the northward & fair pleasant weather, We passed a Brig standing in for the Sound, & in the evening took our departure from Point Breakers, after which we continued standing to the Southward without meeting any particular occurrence for the following week during which the wind was light & variable but mostly favorable & the weather was generally fair & pleasant though sometimes thick & foggy.

About noon on the 14th we approach'd the Coast near Cape Gregory when our observed Latitude was $43^{\circ} 30'$ North & being within a few miles of the land bore up along shore with a steady breeze from the Northward. Cape Gregory is a bluff headland of a moderate height with low naked Beach projecting a little from it; the South side of it is a light brown steep cliff, but the shore running from it to the northward is low & strait & is render'd remarkable by white sandy beaches which in some places appear to have blown a little inland & is seen in white patches amongst the trees. Between this Cape & Cape Perpetua we formerly it seems passed the entrance of a River unperceiv'd about the Latitude of $43^{\circ} 50'$ North, in which the Jenny & trading Vessel commanded by Mr. Draper anchor'd last summer, but was oblig'd to leave the place abruptly on account of the turbulency of the Natives, with/whom Mr. Baker had a little skirmish that prevented his exploring the River. This is probably the River which Martin d'Aquilar discover'd on this part of the Coast near 200 years ago, though it has escap'd the notice of both us & Captain Cook.

About six in the evening we passed *Cape Blanco* discover'd in 1603 by Martin d'Aquilar but lately nam'd Cape Orford by Cap^t Vancouver; it is the most projecting land on this part of the Coast, & in making it from the northward or southward it forms a conspicuous hammoc of

an insulated appearance from the land within it falling lower; the South side of it like the last Cape is compos'd of steep whitish Cliffs which probably gave rise to the name *Blanco*; it is further rendered remarkable by a cluster of picked conic rocks laying off it to the South westward 3 or 4 miles, these would indicate a near approach to this headland dangerous.

Between Cape Blanco & Cape Perpetual is a long tract of low level country extending inland without interruption as far as the eye could reach, cloath'd every where with a dense forest of Pinery, the apparent luxuriancy of which, would indicate the fertility of the Soil, the Shore likewise in this space is for the most part low & presents fine sandy beaches.

The breeze being favorable during the night we continued our progress to the Southward with a press of Sail.

And next morning we were not so far out from the Coast as to prevent our having a good view of the Land opposite to us, which as far as we could see to the northward & southward form'd an extended ridge of a very moderate height in comparison to other parts of the Coast; its summit form'd an horizontal line excepting in one place about the Latitude of/forty two degrees North where it appear'd a little uneven & rugged. During the preceeding night several large fires were observ'd on shore, some of them pretty high up the mountains.

We had intimation from some of the Traders that we formerly passed an opening near Point S^t George & the muddy water which we had observ'd on that part of the Coast in our progress to the northward render'd this very probable, as it appear'd to be disembogued from a considerable river, but as we then hauled out from the land to pass on the outside of the elevated rocks extending about two leagues from the Point, our distance from it was too/great for particular examination—the Weather was now however very favorable to determine this point more satisfactorily had we been so inclin'd.

Having smooth sea & little wind, in the forenoon Mr. Puget came on board the Discovery & receiv'd orders to make the best of his way with the Chatham to examine an Inlet called by the Spaniards Port *Bodega* a little to the northward of Porta de los Reyes, whilst the Discovery was to proceed to Port San Francisco & wait there or at Monterrey for her arrival. As this was likely to afford a good opportunity of landing on that part of California, & Mr. Puget being so obliging as to offer me accommodations on board his Vessel I readily accompanied him in order to examine that part of the Coast for Plants; As soon as we got on board Sail was made a head of the Discovery but the wind dying away towards evening we made but little progress

to the Southward during the night. This separation took place in Latitude $41^{\circ} 7'$ North * * * leagues from the Coast.

Next morning we found ourselves a considerable way out from the land with light fluctuating wind most/part of the day & somewhat hazy weather, but in the night time a fresh steady breeze from the north west quarter enabled us to pursue our course.

On the 17th the Wind continued favorable & being a good way out from the land we stood in towards it nearly about the place where we first made the Coast last year. In the forenoon the Discovery was in sight a few leagues astern; As we bore up along the Coast the shore rose steep to a moderate height & the country assumed a pleasant appearance, presenting extensive pasture grounds interspersd with clumps of trees & diversified with small hills & valleys. About three in the afternoon we passed P^{ta} de Arena in the Latitude $38^{\circ} 58'$ North, it forms a low jutting point rising very gradually & destitute of trees for some way back; the Shore from it to the South east presents steep white sandy cliffs which probably gave rise to the name of the Point. We continued coasting along shore till the evening when it fell calm & remaind so all night & most part of the following day accompanied with so thick a fog that though we were but a short distance from the land we could not get sight of it.

By the 19th we got to within a few leagues of our intended Port & stood for it to the South east ward with a light breeze & fair weather but rather hazy; the land abreast of us was hilly but of a very moderate height & presented the appearance of a fine pasturage Country checker'd with Pine forests. In one place we saw a fire fresh kindled making great smoke, which no doubt was intended as a signal to allure us nearer the Coast, but no Natives came off to us; it was so late in the evening when we reachd the entrance of the Port that we could/not venture to run in, we therefore stood off & on all night.

[BODEGA AND TOMALES BAYS]

And early next morning it was foggy but as soon as we could distinctly see the land we stood in through a narrow passage about half a mile wide with a steep rocky bluff on our left hand & a small rocky Island on our right which was named Gibson's²³ Island in honor of the Master of a small English trading Vessel who anchor'd here some years ago on his way to the northward from San Blas & describd the place with tolerable precision. Before the entrance our Soundings were ten fathoms which gradually decreas'd in the passage to four fathoms,

²³ Hog Island.

with this depth we stood some way into the Bay & anchord in six fathoms over a sandy bottom about a mile & a quarter from Gibson's Island which bore S 30° W by compass.

²⁴The Bay was open to the Southward for a considerable space but the oceanic swell was very much broke off by a reef which extended some way across from the South end of Gibson's Island; The North side presented a sandy beach with low land, over which they could see from the mast head a considerable extent of inland water & a small Channel leading into it from the North West corner of the Bay near the bluff head land we passed coming in. Soon after we anchord the Cutter was hoisted out in which Mr. Johnstone was sent to examine this place, particularly the passage & depth of Water leading into it, in this he was accompanied by some of the Officers & myself; The Soundings were found to decrease very gradually as we neard the northern shore & the Channel leading into this back water which might with more propriety be termed a lagoon than a harbour was only about 8 feet deep even at high water & that too very narrow scarcely half a Cable's length across & winding round a low sandy point; it deepend a little/as we enterd the lagoon, but it was not thought worth while to examine it farther.

We landed on the west side & ascended the high ground which formed the bluff headland/in expectation of a fine prospect which was however very limited from a thick fog that envelopped the inland country; Here we found a cross that did not appear to be long erected, it was formed of a piece of the stave of a Cask fastend to a pole by a rope yarn; the grass & brush wood on this headland had been lately burnd down so that I had little opportunity here to augment my botanical collection, the few plants I saw were not different from those I had before met with at San Francisco & Monterrey excepting a new species of *Sisyrinchium*²⁵ with yellow flowers of which I brought on board live plants for the garden.

As we walkd towards the Channel going into the Lagoon where the boat was waiting for us, we came suddenly on a small hut & at a little distance saw some Natives who on observing us immediately sat down & as we approachd them they kept calling out the word *Amico* signifying friend which we had no doubt they learnd from the Spaniards, as we afterwards found that they spoke many words of the language of that Nation. This party consisted of one man who was quite naked with five women & some Children, Most of the women had no other cloathing than a dressed Deer skin wrapped round their middle

²⁴ Tomales Bay.

²⁵ *Sisyrinchium californicum* Ker.

& reaching down to their knees, some had indeed a small garment thrown over their shoulders made of pelts cut up into small thongs with the fur on & wove together like a Mat into a square form. They shew'd no kind of fear or alarm at our approach, one of the women had some fish in a small basket which she frankly offerd us under the name of *Piscau*; Mr. Johnstone distributed some Beads & small Trinkets amongst the Women & Children, after which we crossed over to the low sand point where we found three men setting whom we supposd belongd to the same/party, these men were likewise perfectly naked & each of them was armd with a Bow & a Quiver full of Arrows of the same shape & make with those we saw at Port Trinidad but they readily parted with them for any little trinkets that were offerd them in the way of barter.

We strolled about on the low land between the Bay & the Lagoon which was composd of sandy banks & small hillocks on which we shot several Plovers & other small birds. We saw on the Lagoon large flocks of Pelicans & vast flights of common Curlews flying about, but both were so shy that we could not get near enough to have a shot at them.

The Lagoon was observd winded round to the North west ward environ'd by low land so that we did not see its termination; The East side of the Bay rose gradually to a moderate height & was apparently at this time coverd only with shrivell'd grass without trees or bushes of any kind, but our prospect was very confin'd on account of the fog.

As we were about embarking in the Cutter about a dozen & half more Natives came down from the Country & joind those on the Point, consisting nearly of equal number of Men & Women, the former like the others were quite naked & the latter were as scantily dressed as those women already mentioned; They shewd no kind of fear or distrust in our mixing amongst them, from which it would seem that they were not unaccusomd to such Visitants, particularly as they did not appear the least alarmd or surprizd at our using & handling our fire arms.

These Natives were stouter & better made than those we saw about the Missions to the Southward, they had broad flat visages, high cheek bones & depressed Noses, as if the bridge of it had been a little flattend in by art, they had strong streight black hair tied by some on the crown of the head & by others/behind; We observd no ornaments about them except that most of them were tatoood with a streak falling from each shoulder across the breast like a crescent.—In their manners they seemd to be remarkably friendly & docile readily parting with

any thing they had which they thought would be any wise acceptable to us: If we understood them right by their frequently pointing up the Lagoon & repeating the word Spaniard, they either signified that some of that Nation were then residing in that direction or had lately been exploring the Lagoon; & as we observd in our walk the dung & tracks of horses & black cattle it is very probable that these have been brought here by the Spaniards for the purpose of establishing a settlement in this place, for we can hardly suppose that these Animals have strayed so far from the settlement of San Francisco.

The soil here in general was a loose sandy compost pretty deep & of a dark brown colour, but more inland I should suppose it would be more compact & from the similarity in the general appearance of the country, much the same as at San Francisco & Monterrey. We saw no fresh water & the arid aspect of the Country would indicate its being a scarce article if at all procurable at least on the western side of the Lagoon.

After taking leave of these peaceable Indians we returnd a little past noon to the Vessel on board of which they had made the Latitude by Observation $38^{\circ} 19'-30''$ North. Soon after we weighd Anchor & made Sail to the South east ward, for the fog had continued so thick that we had scarcely seen any thing of the land in that direction; We had scarcely gone above four Miles when we passed the entrance of an opening of nearly a mile wide leading apparently in a south east direction, this we supposd to be *Port Bodega* & though we were not above a mile & a half from it yet the fog was so exceeding thick that we got but a/very limited & indistinct glimpse of the land, on which account it was not thought prudent to run for an uncertainty & entangle ourselves with a lee-shore in such thick & dark Weather, we therefore steerd to the Southward for *Pta de los Reyes* which we passed about six in the evening within two miles of it, & from thence directed our course for Port San Francisco till about two next morning when we ran nearly the distance of it, & seeing land ahead we hauld off till day light, in hopes of being able then to make out the passage leading in more distinctly.

On the morning of the 21st we had thick fog but fair Weather, & as we conceivd ourselves to the Northward of our intended Port we stood to the South east ward with a light breeze close along shore, which is here much broken with low sandy bays & intervening steep rocky cliffs & it being so very dark these bays made like openings & we edged pretty close in to two of them before the mistake could be detected: About 8 in the forenoon we open'd the Port of San Francisco & though the wind was rather against us, yet having the advantage of

a strong flood tide in our favor we got in about ten & anchored close to the Discovery which we found moored in her old birth.

[SAN FRANCISCO]

As soon as I joined my old ship mates on board the Discovery I was struck with the utmost astonishment when they informed me of the various restrictions which we were now put under in a Port where we had received such friendly & hospitable treatment on the preceding season, & that too by the same Commandant, who now pleaded as an excuse for his conduct that he had received counter orders for which no reasons whatever were assigned.

As the Discovery was coming in here late on the evening of the 19th they were hailed from the Beach desiring to know what Nation they belonged to & requesting that a Boat might be sent on shore, which was replied to & a Boat immediately sent in which Sr Sal the Commandant came on board attended by some armed Soldiers, & after welcoming the Captain & Officers with his usual cordiality & staying with them part of the evening he returned again on shore, & next morning he sent two letters on board to Capt Vancouver, one demanding his reasons for entering the Port, & the other desiring that no individual should land from the Vessel except the Commander who might be attended by an Officer & a Midshipman, & would be permitted to go as far as the *Presidio* where he would be received as last year, but if wood & water was wanted parties might also be landed on these duties in the day time under the immediate inspection of a Spanish guard, but no Tents or places of shelter would be allowed to be erected. Under these restrictions parties were landed on these necessary duties, & the Captain went on shore attended by his limited retinue to pay his respects to the Commandant at the *Presidio*, of whom he solicited leave for three more of the Officers to be permitted on shore to take a short ride with him, which was allowed & they were suffered to ride about two Miles beyond the Garrison attended by a Soldier, but were positively refused leave to go as far as the Mission.

Sr Sal & his Lady afterwards accompanied them on board to dinner & as they came down to the Beach for this purpose, the Commandant was ordering his guards into the Boat as on the preceding evening, when Capt Vancouver informed him that no foreign Guards whatever could be admitted on board an English Ship of War, but if he was desirous of being attended by these Men, they might go on board as Visitors & being military men would be allowed to wear their side Arms, to which he acceded & made them leave their Muskets on the beach till they landed again.

As the Commandant had come on board on the preceeding evening in the dark his Guards followd him without being much noticed, & it would have then been a very uncivil thing to check the first congratulatory effusion of a Man to whose hospitality & liberal behaviour every/one on board were so much indebted, that they were then more ready to testify their gratitude for past favors than check his admission into the Ship by punctilios, more especially as his visit at so late an hour did not appear to be any wise ceremonious on the contrary it was frank & friendly in him to take so early an opportunity in paying his respects & renew his friendship, for he did not then give the least hint of the restrictions that were to take place but appeared equally solicitous as ever to supply the general wants, hence the degree of surprise his epistolary correspondence producd the morning following may be easily conceivd.

It was asserted last year that our handsome reception here & at Monterrey arose from general orders to that effect throughout the country in our favor, which seemd to be very probable from the tenor of the Viceroy of Mexico's letter to Cap^t Vancouver at Nootka wherein he expresses himself to the following purport "that the people of California had done no more than their duty in contributing whatever they could to our happiness & welfare" What new motives could now have given rise to orders so very strange—to restrictions so illiberal & to a conduct so widely different was a difficult matter to determine & we forbear any suggestions on the subject till we come to Monterrey where we are told the Governor General of California now resides, & as they gave him a good character, we trust that he will settle this business in a way more honorable to himself & his Country & more condusive to our pleasure & recreation during our short stay amongst them.

We were informd that the Activa Brig & the small Sloop purchasd last year from Mr. Gray, saild from here a few days before our arrival after a stay of some weeks, these Vessels had brought some reinforcements to the Settlement together with a supply of warlike/Stores & some Ordnance, for eight long brass four pounders were now laying on the Beach at the landing place & a considerable quantity of Shot of different sizes, so that if we might judge from appearances & the great preparations now going forward, they seem to have taken some alarm at the defenceless state of this Settlement, for in our former visit we only observd one Cannon in the whole place & that simply lashd to a log of wood, but we now observd a number of people employd on the eminence on the South side of the entrance clearing away the ground for the purpose of erecting a Battery for the defence of the

Harbour, & a more suitable situation could not be fixd on, as it perfectly commanded the entrance.

We now learned for the first time the melancholy fate of the King of France.

As Cap^t Vancouver had already obtaind leave for some of the Officers to go on shore on pleasure & even exceed the limits of the restrictions, I was in hopes he would be equally inclind to favor my pursuits, & therefore ask'd his leave to go on shore on the morning of the 22^d if I should only have the scope of the parties who were daily landed & employd on the ship's duty, which he refus'd, consequently I had no opportunity while we remaind here of collecting either plants or seeds for his Majesty's Gardens, which I the more regretted as my state of health when here last year precluded me in a great measure from extending my excursions or examining the shores of this Harbour with that minuteness I could wish.

The two principal fathers of the Missions of San Francisco & Sta Clara came on board this forenoon to pay their respects & condole with us on our restraints, they lamented with a degree of sincerity which did credit to their feelings, that the orders/which were issued deprivd them of the pleasure of seeing us as usual at the Missions, but that their good wishes towards us still remaind unalterable, which they were anxious to testify by sending us whatever they could spare that was likely to be most acceptable; When Poultry & other articles of Sea Stock were mentiond, they said, that the Spanish Vessels who had lately gone out of the Harbour, had greatly exhausted the Settlement of those articles, yet they would exert themselves to collect for us whatever they could. Such generosity & attention on the part of these worthy fathers was at this time highly gratifying to us, & to make return for their civility Cap^t Vancouver mentiond the different articles of trade of English Manufactory we had on board & out of them requested them to make choice of whatever was likely to be most usefull to them, when they said they gave the preference to Iron, Mechanical Tools & culinary utensils, an assortment of each of these was orderd to be got at hand & laid out for them.

These fathers declar'd themselves equally ignorant with us of the cause of the singular restraints under which we sufferd, & further added, that independant of our being King's Vessels, our general conduct at these Settlements last year was such as deservd a more friendly reception on our return again.

This day we finishd watering which this year was filld from a place further inland than formerly, where it was found very good, with the trouble only of making a small path-way across a narrow swamp by

overlaying it with pieces of wood & branches of trees for rolling the Casks to & from the Beach.

In the afternoon our old friend the Serjeant paid us a visit & brought such articles of refreshment as he thought might be most acceptable for sea-stock, the produce of his own industry; The friendly attention which this honest man paid to all of us during our short stay here was still fresh in our Minds, & this instance of his kindness shewd how much he was attachd to our interest & welfare.

Being now ready to leave the place Cap^t Vancouver went on shore on the forenoon of the 23^d to get every thing on board he had bespoke, settle with the Commandant for the refreshments & take his leave; for this year he had to pay for every thing, although formerly they would not take even a receipt or the least acknowledgment for any thing we had from the Settlement.

We carried with us some Sheep & live Cattle, the latter were small but cost only four Dollars a head, which did not amount on an average to three farthings a pound of beef, but the sheep were two Dollars & half each which averagd about four pence a pound & was but very indifferent Mutton. S^r Sal & one of the Fathers accompanied Cap^t Vancouver on board to dinner after which the different articles that had been promis'd them were landed, amongst which was about a Ton of Iron besides an assortment of such Tools & Utensils of our Manufactory as they had made choice of from the trading Articles we had found.

The Fathers sent on board a supply of Vegetables such as Greens Radishes Pumpkins Water Melons & a parcel of hazle nuts, together with a basket of pears & peaches of the produce of S^{ta} Clara, the latter were very indifferent fruit, but the Pears were pretty good.

In the afternoon we unmoord & in the evening the tide running out very strong against a fresh South West breeze, the two Vessels sheered on board of each other by which accident the Chatham carried away her Jib boom & sprit sail yard, & we had one of our fore shrouds broke, but while the two Vessels were thus grappled together & every one assiduously engagd clearing them, S^r Sal embracd the opportunity of stepping on board the Chatham to see some of his friends, & finding the Vessels were separated a little sooner than he expected, the old Castilian lookd a little foolish to see himself thus carried away before he had finishd his dinner, so that a Boat was obligd to/be sent for him in which he soon came back to join the party.

During our short stay in this port we had dry misty Weather & for the most part a strong fiery breeze from the South West in the day time & light airs from the North East quarter in the night time.

Next morning the tide of ebb serving a little before day light we both weighd & workd out of the Port against a moderate breeze from the South West, which on the outside we found very scanty with intervals of calm & dark foggy weather so that our progress to the Southward was very trifling.

The following morning a Vessel was seen indistinctly in the haze to the north west ward of us, when we immediately both bore up to make out what Vessel she was, & found her to be the *Doedalus* Store ship commanded by Lieu^t Hanson from Port Jackson which was very pleasing intelligence to all of us, as we were now enabled again to resume our full allowance of provisions, both Vessels having been put upon short allowance on our leaving the Port of Nootka in consequence of our not meeting with her there according to expectations.

About noon Lieu^t Hanson came on board the *Discovery* & informd us that after his departure from Monterrey on the 30th of Dec^r last, he directed is course for Hergist's Islands situated a little to the Northward & Westward of the Marquesas, where he arrivd the beginning of February, & having only spent two days amongst them, he went from thence to the Island of Otaheite where he remaind a fortnight to refresh his people & procure a stock of Hogs to carry to the Settlement in New South Wales. At Otaheite he was told that Cap^t Bligh of his Majesty's Ship *Providence* had taken away 15 of the *Matilda's* Crew & 7 more were still found on the Island, who all but one that enterd/on board the *Doedalus* preferd' it seems to remain amongst the Natives for the purpose they said of collecting Pearls. Three of this unfortunate Ship's crew who had the temerity of setting off from Otaheite in a Whale boat for New Holland were not afterwards heard of, so that it is uncertain whether they succeeded in their desperate attempt or not.

Mr. Hanson had not the pleasure of seeing Pomarre during his stay, but found all his wants liberally supplied & perfect harmony preservd by the friendly aid & indefatigable attention of his brother *Reepaia*, for Pomarre himself was then it appears engagd in a War against the people of Tairaboo who it seems had revolted & refusd to acknowledge his second son as their King. Young Otoo frequently went alongside of the *Doedalus* in his Canoe, but no entreaties could enduce him to go on board, & on shore he was still carried about every where as usual on a Man's shoulders. The fertile plains of Matavai presented he said a picture of desolation & ruin, partly from the visitation of a late Hurricane, & partly from that internal commotion which took place between the Natives of that district & those of Opare on account of the treatment of the former to the *Matilda's* Crew when they arrivd

there after suffering shipwreck as has been already mentioned in Captain Weatherhead's account of it.

The Doedalus left Otaheite about the beginning of March passed the Island of *Mangeea* in ten days after, from whence they were visited by some of the Natives in their Canoes but had little other intercourse with them,—they reachd the North end of New Zealand about the beginning of April where they ply'd off & on for a few days till they got two of the Natives on board to accompany them to Port Jackson where they arrivd/on the 20th of the same month.—These two New Zealanders were immediately sent from thence to Norfolk Island, to point out to the Settlers there the mode of rearing & manufacturing the New Zealand Flax which is found in great abundance on that Island.

Of 21 head of horned Cattle & 24 Sheep which the Doedalus carried from California only one Calf one Ram & three Ewes reachd Port Jackson, about one half of the Stock died even before they reachd Otaheite, & the rest surviv'd but a short time after they left that place, The coarse shrivell'd grass that had been cut down for them was so scorcht up & dried of its proper juices that it seems it did not afford sufficient nourishment for their support, & the Plantain Stocks which was procurd for them at the Islands they touchd at brought on a looseness which in their debilitated state soon carried them off. Mr. Hanson thinks that the tops of Sugar Canes are preferable to Plantain Stocks for Cattle in that situation.—They were however more successful with regard to Hogs, & landed at the new Settlement upwards of seventy which they carried from Otaheite.

The Doedalus left Port Jackson about the beginning of July on her return thither & after touching at the Sandwich Islands to procure some refreshments she arriv'd at Nootka the day we left it, where she staid five days & then followd us to California.

Although Monterrey was about 23 leagues to the South eastward of where we fell in with the Doedalus, yet it took us the following six days to reach it, during which we had either perverse winds with showers of rain or light fluctuating airs & long intervals of calm, accompanied for the most part with dark hazy weather, sometimes so very thick & foggy that we could see but a short distance round us, this occasiond the Chatham's separating from us on the 28th in spite of every precaution to keep together by signals, & they venturing to steer with her direct into the Bay of Monterrey in such dark & thick weather, she got there two days before us.

[MONTEREY]

Early on the morning of the 1st of Nov^r we made P^{ta} Pinos which was imperfectly seen through the haze & we stood in for it accompanied by the Doedalus with a fresh westerly breeze & as we got round it we saw the Chatham at Anchor in the Bay of Monterrey where we soon after came to in our old birth & moored close by her. An Officer was immediately sent on shore to wait on the Governor, who on landing was detain'd on the Beach till the return of a Messenger from the Presidio, when he was suffer'd to go on without any further hindrance, & on his return on board the Garrison was saluted with 13 Guns which compliment was return'd with an equal number from a few Guns that appear'd to have been recently placed on the summit of a small eminence close by us to the Westward of the Anchorage; the number of Guns on this New Fort appear'd to be about ten or a dozen, & from their reports they seem'd to be of different sizes; All their Salutes were return'd last year from five or six Guns that stood before the gate of the Presidio, but as these were not to be seen there now, it is probable that they form'd a part of the number on this commanding eminence which was to guard the anchorage.

Captain Vancouver went on shore soon after accompanied by L^t Puget Commander of the Chatham & L^t Hanson of the Doedalus, on their entering the Presidio a Guard was turn'd out to receive them & the Governor Dⁿ Jose Joaquin de Arrillago who bore the rank of a Captain in their Army came out himself dress'd in a rich uniform to meet them, & Mr. Puget inform'd me that after the first complimentary ceremonies were over Cap^t Vancouver mention'd to him his intention of going to San Diego in order to wait there agreeable to his arrangements last year for the return of dispatches which he expected from England & to make the necessary/repairs in the Vessels to enable them to withstand the ensuing summer's campaign to the northward, & what was not less needfull to refresh & strengthen the Crews after so many months laborious & fatiguing exercise on the common sea diet; The Governor replied that he might go but that his orders with respect to any communication with the shore were equally strict there as he found them at San Francisco, & as for any letters or dispatches that might arrive from England, they would be immediately forwarded to him here as Governor of the Province, besides he intimated that it would not be pleasing either to the Court of Spain or the Viceroy of Mexico that we should visit the Port of San Diego at all, & he further added, that whatever our wants were that could be granted would be equally supplied here as any where else in the Province. Cap^t Vancouver

then observd the necessity there would be of erecting our Tents & Observatory on Shore to carry on our various operations, to which he answerd that he had no objection to our erecting them close to the landing place provided we took them on board again when we went away.

After this the Governor declin'd any further conversation on business observing that it would be much better to do it in writing & that he intended to trouble Cap^t Vancouver with some written communication on the subject very soon.—This being the case nothing further passed between them on business Captain Vancouver with the Officers that attended him came on board to dinner & in the evening our old friend *S^t Aquilla* came off with two letters to him which being translated on the following day their purport was found to be nearly the same as those that had been receivd from the Commandant at San Francisco laying us under similar restrictions with respect to visiting the shore.

Cap^t Vancouver sent a reply to the Governor/& at the same time remonstrated on the illiberality of these restrictions particularly in our situation who were King's Vessels & employ'd on a public service, of which the Spaniards by their being put in posession of all our Surveys & discoveries on the Coast had an opportunity to reap the earliest advantage he therefore demanded such mitigations of these restraints as would enable us to carry on our operations in refitting the Vessels in this Port; but after a correspondence of some days on this subject nothing satisfactory could be obtaind—all communication with the shore was therefore abruptly broke off & on the morning of the 5th the signal was made to prepare for Sea.

The present Governor we understood was an intruder that came from a neighbouring Province on the other side of the Gulph of California & took upon himself the command of this Province, which being vacant he claimd as his right by seniority & that even contrary to the wishes of the Viceroy of Mexico who it seems would not confirm him in the Appointment but referd his claim to the Spanish Court at home, on this account he acts at present as he himself says without any instructions whatever, which may explain in some measure the unpleasant change that has taken place in the police of the Country since our last visit, but can no wise exculpate his conduct towards us, which was conceivd highly blameable even by his own Countrymen, for laying duty aside, had he not been callous to every feeling of humanity, our situation had certainly a just claim to every indulgence & attention he could bestow upon us during our short stay, as the intricate & laborious service we had been engagd upon for so many months to the Northward

in dreary rugged & gloomy regions mostly on common sea victualling had not a little exhausted our strength both of body & mind, but for repairing these, we fondly lookd forward under every hardship & difficulty to the enjoyment of those recreations & refreshments, which/ from our former reception we had every reason to expect this country would liberally afford, judge then of our disappointment, & judge of our feelings & just indignation against the author on our leaving the Port of Monterrey under these impressions.

[VOYAGE SOUTH]

Having got under way late on the preceeding evening with light southerly airs which were so scanty during the night that we made but slow progress & were not able to get out of the Bay of Monterrey till about 9 of the morning of the 6th of Nov^r when we went round P^{ta} Pinos & stood to the Southward along shore to carry on the survey of the Coast: In the forenoon we passed the entrance of Carmilo River where a rocky bay is form'd before the Mission of St Carolus, between this Bay & P^{ta} Pinos the land is of a very moderate height & mostly coverd with wood, the shore is rocky with white patches here & there formd by sandy inundations, but to the Southward of Carmilo Bay the Country assumes a more bleak & hilly appearance & rises suddenly from the shore to form a naked rugged ridge which begins with Mount St Lucia close to the Mission of San Carlos & runs to the South east ward along the trending of the shore, On the lower parts of this ridge there appeard to be some scorch'd verdure & a few stunted or scrubby bushes were sparingly scatterd here & there in the little Valleys & towards the summit of the ridge but no trees of any kind were to be seen.

We were told that St Malaspini when he was on this coast a few years ago had mistaken Carmillo Bay for that of Monterrey & ran into it to the no small risque of his Vessel, but the least attention to the great difference in the size of the two Bays & the appearance of the land about them will undoubtedly/prevent any mistake of this kind in future. The South point of the Bay of Carmilo is a rocky prominent bluff & the land immediately behind it rises steep to a high naked hill called Mount St Lucia, but P^{ta} Pinos the South point of Monterrey Bay is low with a few detachd rocks off it, over which the sea frequently breaks in heavy surges, & from it the land rises very gradually & is coverd with trees.

After running about 40 miles along shore with a fine favorable breeze we in the evening hauled off to spend the time till day light, during which we had but little wind & the weather became hazy.

The morning of the 7th was very unfavorable to carry on the Survey on account of frequent intervals of very thick fog, we however stood in towards the land with a light breeze & about noon it cleared up so far as to give us a pretty distinct view of that abreast of us where the naked hilly ridge was observed to preserve still its former height & course along shore but the remote extremes of the land were obscure. At noon the Latitude observed was $35^{\circ} 53'$ North within two leagues of the shore. In the afternoon it came on again so foggy that the land was entirely obscure & we were obliged to haul off to spend the night on different tacks & preserve our station till the Weather became more favorable for tracing the Coast.

Next morning being clear & a fresh breeze from the North West we got in with the land pretty early about the Latitude of $35^{\circ} 40'$ where it appeared to form a low rounding point rendered conspicuous by an elevated whitish rock detached a little of it, We bore up within a league of the shore to continue our examination of it to the South east ward & in the forenoon we observed three Natives coming off to us in a Canoe, but as the breeze was fresh they were unable to join us; The land we passed contiguous to the shore was of a very moderate height & of a naked arid appearance excepting in one place where there was some Pine Trees thinly scattered, but a little way back the same rugged ridge of hills that began at Carmelo still continued to terminate & confine our prospect inland, though considerably diminished in height, & indeed about the Latitude of 35 degrees & half North it seemed to dwindle away into a broken hilly country of a very moderate height.—A little past noon we passed a deep Bay of about four leagues wide, & in two or three places observed the appearance of Rivulets emptying into it & in the middle of it there is a small conic Island lying a little off shore. In this very Bay there is marked in the Spanish Charts the entrance of a large River, but we observed nothing like it. The South point of this Bay is a hilly bluff lined with a number of detached rocks, after passing which we opened another deep Bay & continued tracing it till near dark, when about the middle of it we hauled off on a wind to spend the night upon short tacks during which it blew pretty fresh from the North West.—This day we had traced near 20 leagues of the Coast.

On the morning of the 9th we stood into the Bay & bore up along shore to the south ward to continue our examination of the Coast, after passing the southern extreme of this Bay we opened a third Bay which appeared pretty extensive but not so deep as either of the two last Bays: To the eastward of it the Country appeared arid naked & level for a considerable extent checkered here & there with white

sandy patches & destitute of any trees or bushes that we could discern; In the South side of the Bay we saw an opening which we took to be the entrance of Rio de S. Verardo & as we had a fresh breeze from north west we soon after passed P^{ta} de Pedernales/the southern extreme of the Bay which is in Latitude $34^{\circ} 40'$ north & Longitude $239^{\circ} 42'$ East. At noon we entered the Canal de S^{ta} Barbara when we obtained a meridian altitude within two miles of Porta de la Conception it bearing N 4° E of us from which its Latitude is deduc'd $34^{\circ} 32'$ North & its Longitude by the time keeps $239^{\circ} 55'$ East; It forms a small conspicuous Hammoc with a steep clifty shore & falls back into low land which at a little distance swells again into a hilly ridge of a moderate height that ranges parallel with the shore which we now pursued in an easterly direction; The Canal is here about eight or nine leagues wide & is found on the south side by a range of Islands which were now in sight; After running about eight leagues along the northern shore of the Canal from P^{ta} de la Conception, finding the wind die away, we anchored for the night over a sandy bottom.

In this run we passed several small Villages which from their appearance were aptly compar'd to groups of bee-hives, from these we were visited by some of the Natives in wooden Canoes that were from 14 to 18 foot long & in the middle about four feet wide & tapering to both extremities, They were made of different pieces of wood curiously sew'd together, their Paddle was about half the length of the Canoe & bladed at at each end so as to be held by the middle & used alternately on each side; These Natives appear'd to be of a middling stature with mild features thin lips & in general were more delicately formed than those we saw about the Settlements to the northward; Their hair was long & black & most of them wore it in a bunch gather'd on the Crown of their head: Several of them were quite naked & had their faces painted with Ochre; some had short fur jackets without sleeves covering their bodies close/round from the neck to the waist, They understood the Spanish language & some of them spoke it pretty well; They told us that there was a Mission a little way to the Eastward of us, on which Cap^t Vancouver sent a letter by one of them adress'd to the fathers of the Mission to make known to them who we were.

The morning of the 10th was calm & serene which afforded an opportunity for the Natives to visit us again pretty early in several Canoes, They brought a good supply of fish, chiefly Boneto & a kind of Herring which were purchas'd for Beads & small trinkets; They had also some curious wrought baskets which were much admir'd & eagerly purchas'd as articles of curiosity.

[SANTA BARBARA]

In the forenoon we weighd & made Sail with a light breeze from South West; In standing along shore to the eastward we passed about three in the afternoon a small Bay round which we observd some Indian Villages & soon after we saw some horses & cattle feeding on the Pastures, which was a pretty sure indication of our being near the Spanish Settlement, though we could see nothing of it till towards evening, when we hauled into a Bay followd by the Chatham & Doedalus & anchor'd before the Presidio & Mission of S^{ta} Barbara in a moderate depth of Water over a sandy bottom. An Officer was immediately sent on shore to wait on the Commandant, who on his return gave a very favorable account of the place & his reception; When he informd the Commandant with the objects for which we had put into the Bay, that Gentleman frankly declar'd that he should feel the greatest pleasure in supplying the Vessels during their stay with every assistance & refreshment which the Country afforded, & his conduct afterwards fully evincd the sincerity of his intentions, & though it was late at night the fathers sent a letter on board to compliment us/on our arrival, in which they were equally liberal in their proferd friendship & promis'd that one of them would come on board early the next morning to pay his respects.—The Mercury in the Thermometer was at noon at 65 degrees.

In the morning of the 11th the Commanders of the three Vessels went on shore to pay their respects to the Commandant whose name was Don Felipe Goyoshea a Lieutenant in the Army, by whom they were receivd with great cordiality & every mark of profferd friendship.—On their return one of the fathers & a Serjeant accompanied them & dind on board the Discovery.

Parties were now landed from each Vessel on the duties of wooding & watering, the former was easily procurd at no great distance from the beach as there were some large trees of a kind of ever green Oak,²⁶ which they were sufferd to cut down for the purpose, but good water was not to be procurd at this time without going some distance for it, ours was mostly filled from standing Pools on the road side between the beach & the Presidio which was of a very indifferent quality, having an unpleasant taste.—In the evening the Officers of both Vessels went on shore & were introduc'd to the Commandant at the Presidio & afterwards to the Padris at the Mission by their respective commanders.

²⁶ *Quercus agrifolia* Neé.

Having previously obtained the Commandant's leave I set out pretty early on the morning of the 12th & ascended the hills to the eastward of the Presidio for the purpose of collecting Plants & examining the natural produce of the Country; the day was very favorable for my pursuit, but the season of the year & the arid state of the Country was much against it, for though I was surrounded by new & rare objects in almost every/step of my journey, yet finding very few of them either in flower or seed I was able to receive but little pleasure or advantage from my excursion; I went through beautiful groves of the Ever green²⁷ Oak which here grew to pretty large trees, though at San Francico & Monterrey the same plant seldom exceeded 15 feet high & grew in crabbed bushes, but here they had clear stems of nearly that height & no wise crowd'd but scatter'd about to beautify the lawns & rich pastures with their shady & spreading branches, so that it was a delightful recreation to saunter through them; The thickets swarm'd with squirrels & quails & a variety of other birds which afforded some amusement in shooting them as I went along.—I observ'd that a number of the Natives chiefly old women were at this time employ'd in collecting acorns amongst these Groves for the purpose of food for themselves.

Beyond these Groves the side of the ridge became very rugged with rocky cliffs chasms & deep gulleys & cover'd with scrubby brush wood which made the ascent very difficult, & as there was no great inducement at this time to go on, I did not persevere to gain the summit of the ridge but return'd on board in the afternoon with what collection I was able to make of Plants & Birds.

Amongst the Officers & Gentlemen I found that different parties had been this day on shore, some shooting others riding & enjoying the bent of their inclinations in various amusements without the least check or restraint; The Commandant himself & the two Padris of the Mission had dind on board the Discovery & seem'd to participate in the cheerfull gaiety which every one on board now assum'd in consequence of the liberties allow'd them.

On the 13th I landed with Cap^t Vancouver & some of the Officers to take a short ride, we found/horses ready saddled for us on the Beach & after mounting them we pursued a road that led to the Westward of the Presidio & having passed through a Wood compos'd chiefly of Ever green Oaks we open'd an extensive track of Arable land to the Westward of it, on entring this naked track we found the Sun's heat so powerfull that we did not find it pleasant to continue our ride far in

²⁷ *Quercus agrifolia* Neé.

the middle of the day but returnd back by the Mission where we found the worthy fathers assiduously engag'd in carrying on the various occupations of industry & rural œconomy in & about their Settlement which is so necessary for the prosecution & maintenance of their laudable plan of civilization. In the arrangement & form of this Mission it differd little or nothing from those we have already describd to the Northward. The Granaries Storehouses Workhouses & dwellings together with a large Church enclosd very snugly a square space, within which the various mechanical occupations for the support of the Settlement were separately carried on, & adjoining to it was a crouded Village containing about 5 or 600 Indians converts Christianity, who still liv'd in conical huts thatch'd with bulrushes like the other Natives of the Country, but were cloathed & maintained by the Fathers.—From the Mission we went to the Presidio & every way we turnd we met other parties of the English Gentlemen riding about & traversing the Country in every direction & enjoying the recreation & liberty which was here allowd them, with gratefull ardor—We dismounted at the Presidio to pay our respects to the Commandant & were sorry to find him indisposd, the motion which the Ship had while he was on board yesterday had so affected him that he was unable to accompany us on board the Chatham where he had an invitation to dine this day with a large party of Officers; he shewd us his different store-houses containing various articles/of Merchandize & cloathing which are annually sent from Mexico by Government for the use of the Garrison & sold out to the Soldiers & their families as they may want them at an exorbitant price which is charged against their Wages,—Of this Merchandize he has the disposal & sole charge & is allowd so much per Centage for his trouble.

Next day the Commandant provided an elegant entertainment for all the English Officers that could be spard from the duty of the Vessels, on which a large party of them dind with him at the Presidio & spent the afternoon with the greatest conviviality much enliven'd by the facetious conversation of the venerable fathers who were of the party.—We were not a little surprizd to observe in this remote corner of the globe that most of the plates & dishes on which dinner was servd up were English Manufactory, & though they were but common stone ware yet the Commandant plac'd great value on them & assurd us he was proud in being possess'd of them.

In the forenoon of the 15th in order to extend our excursion & see a little more of the Country I rode with a party of the Officers about 7 or 8 miles to the Westward till we reachd the Bay we mentiond having passed the afternoon we came to an anchor; from the view we

obtained of this Bay it appeared to be very shallow water & incapable of admitting Vessels of any burthen, it branch'd back into the Country among extensive salt Water Marshes on which grew vast quantities of Samphire (*Salicornia*²⁸ herbacca): round the bottom of it we found three different Villages of upwards of 30 conical huts in each, we visited two of them & saw but few Natives & these chiefly old men & old decrepp'd women, some of them the most miserable looking objects we had yet beheld in our Voyage; The guide which the Commandant was so attentive & obliging as to send with us to conduct us where-ever we pleas'd inform'd us that most of the Natives were at this time up the Country in a Wood at a little distance collecting Acorns which he assur'd us they stord up in considerable quantities as an article of food on which they greatly depended for maintenance, & when we beheld that the country we travers'd in this days ride was mostly arable land, & the soil in many places deep & rich which we were confident would with a little industry yield in this climate productive Crops of Grain, we could not help lamenting the blind ignorance of these poor Natives in depending still on such miserable resource for support after the example which has been set before them by the Spaniards of cultivating the Soil & rearing esculent roots & grains more congenial to nourish & subsist them, but it may be the interest of the Spaniards in their plan of civilization to keep those Natives poor & ignorant who have not yet embrac'd their tenets to induce them to yield the more readily to the persuasion of the fathers, else we cannot account for these Natives who appear tractable & possess'd of a considerable share of ingenuity still persisting in their former precarious mode of living.

We did not perceive the herds of Cattle about this Settlement near so numerous as at Monterrey, the reason of which was not the want of pasture but its being later settled so that they had not yet time to increase & swarm the country with their number.

About two in the afternoon we return'd to the Mission by previous invitation where we met the Commandant & a large party of the English Officers & where an elegant & sumptuous dinner was provided for us by the venerable fathers, who receiv'd their guests with a hearty welcome & exerted their utmost powers to entertain them & indeed with much success for we spent the afternoon in the most social & convivial manner & return'd on board/in the evening impress'd with a gratefull sense of the hospitality & kindness of these worthy fathers.

As Mr. Manley Master of the Chatham was this day beating up the thickets for Game a small rattle snake made a dart at him but he

²⁸ *Salicornia pacifica* Standley.

had the dexterity & presence of mind to level his piece & shot it dead in the act & brought it on board for my inspection; these reptiles were however not very common here as they were very seldom seen in our excursions on shore, in not above two or three instances during our stay.

There was a Village of Indians close to the place where we daily landed from the Vessels to whose industrious inhabitants we were greatly indebted for a regular supply of fish; they were always seen out by the dawn of day either examining their fish pots in the Bay or fishing in the middle of the Channel where they never failed to catch a plentiful supply of fish of different kinds particularly Boneto²⁹ & a kind of Herring³⁰ with a yellow tail, & in the forenoon they always came along side of the Vessels & for a few beads supplied each with whatever quantity was wanted for all hands.

I devoted the 16th to a solitary botanical excursion & landed early in the morning at the Indian Village near which I observed a number of long Poles stuck in the ground & on examining the spot I found it to be their burying ground, where the principal graves were thus pointed out. I afterward proceeded to the Westward by a fertile Valley where I met with extensive cultivated fields & a large Garden belonging to the Garrison which however was not at this time very plentifully supplied with Vegetables. In these fields it was pleasing to observe the Indians reared up in the Mission employed in the rural occupations of husbandry, their Plough/was of the most simple kind & drawn by a couple of Oxen they did not turn over the soil regularly with their Plough as we do, but merely stirred up the ground & cut it through in various directions which I suppose answers their purpose in this productive climate where they rear wheat maize pease & beans in sufficient quantity for their own consumption & with very little trouble or expence.—In the woody clumps to the Westward of the Presidio there are some Poplar³¹ & American³² Plane Trees but they are mostly composed of the ever green oak already mentioned which grow to pretty large trees though not handsome in appearance, they might however answer for Timber in building small Vessels as the wood of this Oak was found on trial pretty good, our Carpenters having worked up some of it for the ship's use. I was equally unfortunate this day in meeting but with few plants in flower, amongst these there was a beautiful

²⁹ *Sarda chilensis* Cuv. & Val. California Bonito. A member of the Mackerel family Scombridae. (Identification by Barton Warren Evermann.)

³⁰ *Seriola dorsalis* (Gill), Yellowtail. A member of the Carangidae.

³¹ *Populus trichocarpa* T. & G.

³² *Platanus racemosa* Nutt.

new species of *Mimulus*³³ of which I preservd plants & seeds as I had not before seen it any where.

On my return on board in the evening I learnd that the Commandant, two of the fathers, Captain Vancouver & a large party of the Officers din'd on board the *Doedalus* with Lt Hanson, one of these fathers who was called *Padri Vincenti* had arrivd this forenoon from the Mission of Buena Ventura situated about seven leagues to the south east ward of this Settlement; This worthy father was much afraid that we should pass his Mission without his having the satisfaction of seeing us or contributing to our comforts, & he therefore brought with him nine Mules loaded with various articles for us, such as sweet & common Potatoes, Onions, Maize, Wheat, some Baskets of Figs & what are called prickly pears &c.

This evening a young Stallion & a Mare in foal which had been bought from one of the Soldiers/were brought on board the *Discovery* to carry with us to the Sandwich Islands, but Captain Vancouver being informd that they were contraband articles sent them on shore again early in the morning with a suitable apology to the Commandant for the mistake.

In the forenoon of the 17th the Commandant was on board with two of the fathers, & Cap^t Vancouver took the opportunity of shewing them several of the trading Articles of English Manufactory we had on board, & such of them as they made choice of or were likely to be usefull to them were sent on shore as a small acknowledgment for the great civility & kind attention we receivd from them—They afterwards din'd with the Officers in the Gun room together with a large party from the other Vessels.

As we were now getting ready to sail with the first favorable breeze, Cap^t Vancouver offerd *Padri Vincenti* a passage in the Ship to Buena Ventura which he cheerfully accepted of, & promis'd he would be off very early next morning for that purpose, after he had dispatchd a Messenger to acquaint his colleague of our intended visit, that he might be providing in the mean time a plentiful supply of whatever refreshments the Mission could afford for the Vessels.

This venerable man though advanced beyond the prime of life was still vigorous active & intelligent, & we were not long in his company when we had the pleasure to find that he could lay aside the austerity of the Priest & the gravity of the Sage to become at once the affable & social companion who in his facetious & communicative conversation was equally amusing & interesting, & who in his eagerness

³³ *Mimulus longiflorus* Grant = *Diplacus longiflorus* Nutt.

& anxiety to serve us soon gaind our good opinion in his favor & impressd us with a gratefull sense of his benevolent disposition.

During our short stay here the Weather was serene & pleasant, a light South West breeze generally/set in towards noon daily & died away at sun set, the Nights & Mornings were either calm or light airs off the land & the mean temperature was about 62 degrees.

We here had excellent refreshments of every kind, far preferable to what we got at any other Settlement in California, Beef, Mutton, Poultry & a variety of fish & Vegetables were in great abundance & procurd at an easy rate, Black Cattle were about five dollars a head & the reason of their being a little dearer than to the Northward was that the Settlement was not yet so plentifully stockd with them, Sheep were about two dollars each & far preferable in point of goodness to those we got at the northern Settlements, but both Cattle & Sheep could be procurd much cheaper in the way of barter from the Soldiers, for instance an Ox could be got for three Axes & a Sheep for small culinary utensils or trading articles of little value, & as for Poultry I dare say there were near 30 dozen of good fowls procurd by the three Vessels during our stay from among the soldiers families for Beads & small trinkets: Maize Wheat Pease Beans & other Vegetables were got from the Commandant & the fathers, & a plentiful supply of fish of different kinds were procurd for Beads daily from the Indians. We killd & carried away with us between the three Vessels 18 head of Cattle & about two dozen of Sheep & yet when the whole came to be settled for the Commandant positively refus'd to make any charges whatever, generously saying that he was infinitely more happy in commanding a place of his Catholic Majesty's that could afford those refreshments we stood in need of, than any consideration of their value, & in supplying our wants he was only performing a duty & seconding he was sure the wishes of his royal Master—How different the conduct of this generous Spaniard to that of the Governor General's at Monterrey, for we owed not only a plentiful refreshment to the liberality and candour of Don Felipe Goyoshea but he was on every occasion equally attentive in contributing to our recreations & amusements; Horses were daily in/readiness at the Presidio or at the Water side for any of the Officers or Midshipmen that chose to use them; parties rode about & traversd the country in pursuit of various pleasures without either hindrance or restraint; but these parties from being very cautious of not giving offence seldom penetrated far, which observing he frequently expressd his surprize at our not extending our rides farther into the Country.

The Presidio & Mission of S^{ta} Barbara was built about seven

years ago, but the place has been settled & the Mission of Buena Ventura establish about 11 years—each of these Missions are conducted by the two Fathers of the Franciscan order, who have been wonderfully successfull in their laudable & humane endeavours not only in converting a considerable number of poor Indians from their pagan state of darkness to a due observance of religious duties, but also in teaching them usefull arts & occupations & infusing a spirit of industry & subordination amongst them that makes them now extremely usefull in carrying on the various duties for the support of the Settlement.

The Presidio forms a large square space surrounded by a range of Barracks & Store houses which are occupied by the Commandant two Serjeants & between 60 & 70 Soldiers with their families, who are securely walled in, in the same manner as we have already describd at Monterrey; It is situated a little way back from the sea side, on a delightfull plain backd by the hilly ridge already mentiond, & the Mission is on a small eminence at the foot of the ridge a little to the North west ward of it, from whence the Fathers have a commanding prospect of the Country the Sea & adjacent Islands before them & what they may probably consider of more advantage they have also under their eye the different parties employ'd in cultivating the field before the Mission.

/We were told that a thousand dollars was the usual allowance for establishing any of these Missions at first set out, & that each of the Fathers receivd 400 dollars a year for its support & to procure them necessaries; that the Governor General of California was allowd a Salary of 4000 dollars a year, & that the Commandant of any of the Garrisons, if a Captain, had a thousand dollars, if a Lieutenant his salary was 600 dollars a year & so on.

The Commandant informd us that about 14 years ago a Presidio & Mission they had establishd near the head of the Gulph of California was cut off by the Natives who are very savage in that part of the Country & that the Fathers Officers & Soldiers were all put to death on the spot, but that, the Soldiers Wives women & children were spard & taken into captivity & that when the Spaniards afterwards sent a force against them to revenge this cruel & horrid massacre, the women & children were honorably deliverd up, One of the former was at this time in the Presidio of St^a Barbara, notwithstanding which the Spanish party gave no quarter to any but put to death vast numbers of them.

The Peninsula of California is very numerously inhabited by Indian Tribes, who it would seem have little connection or inter-

course with one another from the great variety of languages which are used amongst them, for the Fathers assur'd us that there were upwards of 70 different languages which had not the least affinity to one another spoken between this place & the southern extremity of California, & that this circumstance occasion'd no little difficulty & embarrassment to their endeavours in converting & civilizing the Natives, as it was not uncommon they said to have two or three distinct tribes within the precincts of a Mission whose/different languages they had not only to acquire a sufficient knowledge of, but likewise to settle their feuds & quarrels & reconcile them to live in amity & peace with one another.

When we reflect on the ferocious dispositions & tumultuous passions of Savages & the great hazards & difficulties to be encountered in subduing & correcting them, we cannot sufficiently admire the courage patience & persevering zeal with which these worthy Fathers pursue so difficult & tedious a task, & that too with such wonderfull success, for at every Mission we visited we beheld numerous proselytes whose mild decorous & contented behaviour bespoke the bland persuasive tuition they receiv'd, & whose exemplary conduct diffus'd a spirit of subordination & a disposition more peaceable & settled amongst the surrounding tribes.

The Indians who liv'd here in the vicinity of the Presidio & Mission were remarkable gentle & placid in their behaviour & in appearance far more comely & less ferocious than any Natives we had yet seen any where on the Coast; though they sometimes paint their faces yet they are in general cleanly, in mild weather the men go entirely naked but in cold weather they put on a kind of garment made of fox or raccoon Skins with the fur side out that fits close round the body from the neck to the waist leaving their thighs legs & arms quite naked, & they wear their hair gather'd up in a bunch on the crown of their head & fasten'd there by running a skewer of wood or bone through it.

The women are always cover'd from the waist to the knees with a dress'd Deer Skin wrapped round the middle which they gather in between their thighs when they squat or sit down & feel no emotion at exposing any other part of their bodies; in cold weather they throw a loose robe over their shoulders & round their bodies made of rough Skins in the form of a blanket; Their hair is jet black & flowing down their necks & shoulders to a considerable length, & as it is in general kept very clean, it gives a peculiar grace to their persons: They sometimes wear on their heads little Osier baskets which fit close & are finely wove & they generally have beads or other ornaments appending from their ears: In their demeanour they appear'd shy &

bashfull & are not we beleive naturally given to meretricious practices, though we have observd some of them act the arts of coquettes with considerable address.

These Natives live in Villages of from 20 to 40 huts each which are crowd together & much larger than any we saw about the Settlements to the Northward; They are of a hemispherical form, thatched all over with bulrushes, & each seem to contain several families; The fire is generally made in the middle of the hut & a hole is left open in the top of it as a Chimney vent for the smoke; They usually sleep on platforms which are raisd 4 or 5 feet from the floor, coverd over with a mat of bulrushes & decently railed round.

At each Village we observd a sweating place made by digging a deep pit or cavity of from ten to 15 feet square in a bank near the water side & covering it all over with Spars & earth so as to be scarcely distinguishable from the other parts of the Bank, excepting by a small hole left open at the top for an entrance through which only one person could descend at a time by means of a post notchd with steps; We were at first puzzled to know the use of these places, till one evening at the Village near the landing place we observd them make a large fire with dried faggots in the middle of this subterraneous oven & when it was sufficiently heated & the smoke subsided a number of the Natives went down in order to be sweated, by the time they were in a state of profuse perspiration they came up again one by one & instantly plungd themselves over head into the sea, this sudden operation seemd to enfeeble them a good deal at first but they soon recoverd from it & appeard to acquire/fresh strength & vigor & went about afterwards quite naked as if nothing had happend; Those we saw submit themselves to this singular operation did not appear to labor under any acute disorder at the time, they had recourse to it probably from custom from some slight pains or from fatigue; what ailments this mode is applicable to with them we had no opportunity during our short stay to learn.

Near each Village was seen their burying places which are markd out by long naked poles & boards erected over the graves & variegated with red colord paint.

We have already remarkd that the Natives were at this time busily occupied in collecting Acorns & storing them up for food, these they shell toast & dry as we do Coffee & afterwards pound them in a Mortar to coarse flower which they make into bread & eat with their fish; The Mortars used for this purpose are generally of wood though we saw some made of Stone & pretty well finishd.

The only Weapons we saw amongst them were Bows & Arrows

of the same shape & make as those about Monterrey & to the Northward & with these they were very dextrous Marksmen.

The make & formation of their Canoe shewd no small degree of ingenuity as it is regularly built of different pieces of boards of various sizes & figures & neatly fastend together with Thongs & Sinews & glewd so close as to be quite water tight & preserves its shape as well as if it had been made of one piece, without any other Timber to strengthen it but one small thort in the middle, from thence it rises gradually & tapers to both extremities, where it is double pointed by a small notch at each end—These Canoes are from 12 to 18 feet in length & in the middle about 4 feet wide, they are large enough to carry about half a dozen of the Natives in smooth water & are extremely serviceable to them/for the purpose of fishing in the channel as we had the pleasure to experience during our stay by the plentiful supply of Fish they daily brought us—Canoes made in this manner are to be met with no where else in California, & the inducement to form them of such scanty materials might probably originate in a desire of visiting & keeping up an intercourse with the adjacent Islands which as the sea is smooth & the climate serene is frequently effected without danger.—Their paddle we have already observd is about half the length of the Canoe, bladed at both ends & used alternately on each side.

But the most curious article we observd amongst these Natives were their Baskets which are of various shapes & sizes & so closely workd as to hold/water, but by means of tinging the Materials of various colours they work in them figures & ornaments of the most complicated kind; We have seen the representations of different animals, the Arms of Spain, & long inscriptions workd in these Baskets by these illiterate people with a degree of exactness that was really astonishing & this we believe is chiefly performd by the Women.

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Every thing being now off from the shore that we wanted at this place & a light breeze having set in from the Westward about noon on the 18th we weighd Anchor & took leave of our generous friends: Father Miguel who was the principal Father of the Mission & Don Felipe Goyoshea staid on board to the very last moment & we both parted with as much sincere reluctance as if we had been much longer acquainted, for our little social & convivial parties together, had from our recluse situation for many months as well as theirs for many years soon opened our susceptible hearts & rivetted a degree of mutual friendship that could not brook separation without regret especially when connected with the idea that we should in all probability never

meet again.—Their open & friendly manner of receiving us, their readiness on all occasions to second our wishes & operations & their continued acts of hospitality & kindness claimd on our part the most gratefull acknowledgment which was all that we could give & was more than they requir'd.

After making Sail we steerd along shore to the South east ward with our friend Padri Vincenti on board, & after running about 5 leagues we came to an anchor again about five in the evening in eleven fathoms within a league of the Mission of Buena Ventura which bore N 62° E by compass.—During the night we had little or no wind & after we had gone to bed some of the Natives belonging to the Mission came along side in a Canoe & anxiously enquired after our guest.

[SAN BUENAVENTURA]

Next morning Cap^t Vancouver went with Padri Vincenti in the Pinnacle to see him safe landed, but when they reachd near the shore they found the Surf ran so very high that it could not be accomplishd after waiting patiently & anxiously for six hours off the Beach. While they were in this disagreeable situation, the other/father on shore was very busily occupied in sending down to the water side vast quantities of Vegetables Poultry & other articles of refreshment, which observing, Cap^t Vancouver sent a Message by a Canoe for a Boat to be sent from each Vessel which he thought might be loaded at the back of the Surf by the Natives in their Canoes, but it was found so difficult & hazardous that they got but very little in either of the Boats, & even the bringing off of what they got was attended with considerable loss, for out of six dozen of Fowls that were coming off in one Canoe, upwards of one half of them were drown'd in the Surf.—This extraordinary high Surf was suppos'd to be occasion'd by southerly wind which might have blown much fresher on the outside of the Islands than we experienc'd it in the Channel, for Father Vincenti reckon'd the landing here in general as safe & accessible as at St^a Barbara where we always got on shore from the Boats pretty easy by using a grapnell to steady them.

Father Vincenti return'd again on board the Discovery to wait for a more favorable opportunity for landing—The weather continued very hazy all day with a light southerly breeze.

Early on the morning of the 20th the Boats were again dispatch'd to the shore where they found the Surf had greatly subsided so that they were enabled to land our much esteem'd friend Father Vincenti in safety to the no small satisfaction of his faithfull adherents a numerous tribe of Converts who flock'd round him kiss'd his robes &

expressd their joy on his arrival with every mark of veneration & grateful affection, nor was the venerable father less wanting in testifying his regard & receivd the caresses of his flock with tears in his eyes: Those who saw this meeting describd it as a very affecting one & they reported the Mission to be delightfully situated & in a higher state of improvement than any they/had yet seen in the Country, particularly with respect to Horticulture, as they saw Vines, Fig Trees, & a variety of fruit trees in great perfection, which from the temperature of the Climate & the favorable aspect produc'd in general productive Crops.

The Boats came off loaded with an additional supply of Corn Potatoes Beef Mutton Poultry & a variety of Vegetables.—Having this day a light Westerly breeze the haze dispers'd & at night we had it nearly calm.

On the 21st having a light westerly breeze the signal was made to get under way pretty early, but in attempting to weigh our anchor, they hove so great a strain that the Cable parted in the Clinch, we immediately brought up with the other bower anchor that we might try if possible to recover the anchor we parted from as a buoy watchd over it, they soon were enabled to sweep it in the bight of a five inch Hawser, but in attempting to weigh the anchor both Hawser & Buoy rope parted, it was however again hookd by the Stream cable & fortunately weighd, as we could but very ill bear the loss of it—the difficulty arose entirely from the tenacious quality of the ground over which we lay. Our latitude here was found to be $34^{\circ} 17' N$ & our Longitude was about $241^{\circ} E$. Our Sailing this day was unavoidably put off in recovering the Anchor.

Next morning however having a land breeze from North East we got under way though not without some difficulty in weighing our Anchors from the stiff & cohesive quality of the bottom. We made Sail to the south east ward abreast of a low naked sandy plain which commencd at the Mission of Buena Ventura & extended a considerable distance to the south eastward of it; behind this track our view was terminated by rugged mountains of a moderate height. As the day advancd we lost/the land wind & about noon had light baffling airs & calms alternately, but in the afternoon a more steady westerly breeze set in when we steer'd E S E along the low sandy shore which here formd a rounding point at the termination of the Canal de S^a Barbara, for we now passed on the South side of us a group of small elevated rocky Islands which are the easternmost of the range that forms the South side of the Canal & are not above four leagues removd from the shore, so that the Canal is here considerably contracted in its width;

We kept about three or four miles from the shore & had Soundings from 10 to 18 fathoms, towards evening we came to the termination of the low land & found a high rugged ridge commence which rose abruptly from the Water side, but the low naked track of land seemd to extend further to the eastward behind this ridge—About 7 in the evening we shortend Sail & hauld off the land to spend the night which was mostly calm.

On the 23^d we had light variable airs & calms alternately especially in the forenoon with dark hazy weather, so that our progress along shore which now trended to the Eastward was very inconsiderable. Towards noon the fog so far dispersd that our Latitude was determin'd by a meridian altitude $34^{\circ} 1'$ North when we were within three miles of the shore & but a little way to the eastward of where we hauled off on the preceeding evening.—In the afternoon we had sight of the Island of S^{ta} Catalonia to the South East of us 12 or 14 leagues off. Towards evening we had a moderate favorable breeze with which we ran on to the Eastward along a rocky shore that rose suddenly to form a high naked rugged ridge till it was dark when we shortend Sail & haul'd off/for the night which was mostly calm & thick fog. We had no ground off this part of the Coast with a hundred & ten fathoms of line.

Next morning we found ourselves abreast of a large Bay the bottom of which was skirted with low land & back'd by the hilly ridge already mentiond, the Western point of it is formd by a hillock with steep cliffs & shoots out but a little way from the hilly ridge immediately behind—The eastern point of this Bay projects considerably & at some distance has the appearance of an Island as the land within it falls very low & joins the low land which skirts the bottom of the Bay. - Most part of the forenoon was calm, so that we remaind nearly stationary, the weather was serene & pleasant—We still had sight of the high land of the Island of S^{ta} Crux opposite to the Presidio of S^{ta} Barbara bearing nearly West of us by Compass distance about 20 leagues. At noon our Latitude was $33^{\circ} 54'$ North & our Longitude $241^{\circ} 48'$ East. At this time a remarkable rocky islet which was in sight all day bore to the South westward of us about nine leagues, it is calld Isle of S^{ta} Barbara & is about seven leagues to the Westward of the Island of S^{ta} Catalina.—In the afternoon we were favord with a light steady breeze from the South West with which we steerd to the South Eastward & at sun set reachd the Eastern point of the Bay & passd within a mile & half of it through the passage between it & the Island of S^{ta} Catalina which is about six leagues wide; as the wind fell away & changd to light airs off the land, our progress

during the night time was very slow—The temperature at noon was 63 degrees.

On the morning of the 25th we opened another Bay going off to the Northward or rather North Westerly which appeared to be pretty deep but not so extensive/as the one we passed on the preceding day, from which it is only separated by a narrow neck of land that is of a moderate height naked & faced with steep Cliffs at the point, but falls back very low round the bottom of each Bay. We think the Bay now abreast of us is the Bay of St Pedro, but the Spanish Charts are so inaccurate in this part of the Coast that it is difficult to say which of them they mean under that appellation, for the Island of St^a Catalina in place of being about six leagues from the point of the Bay, is in their Chart removed to about 16 leagues from it & at least double the distance from the shore abreast of it to what it ought to be.

Most part of the day we were plying across the entrance of this Bay against a light breeze off the land; our Latitude at noon was 33° 36' North & our Longitude 242° 20' East, at which time there seemed to be an opening or harbour about three leagues to the North East of us & a peaked high Mountain a few leagues inland nearly in the same direction, The Island of St^a Catalina was about five leagues to the S W of us & the Bay of St Pedro went in a N W direction.—The afternoon was cloudy with very little wind, towards evening we had an imperfect glimpse of the Island of St Clement which is situated to the Southward of the Island of St^a Catalina, it appeared to be low land, & as we had no other sight of it, its true proportion could not be settled. In the night time our progress was very trifling, we frequently sounded but had no ground with upwards of 100 fathoms.

We stood to the Eastward in for the Land with a moderate westerly breeze on the morning of the 26th & about ten being within three miles of it, we bore up along shore which trended to the South east ward & soon passed a Mission situated in a delightful Valley surrounding a small Bay which was interspersed with clumps of trees & a vast number of Cattle & Horses, this we were afterwards informed is named the Mission of St Juan; the Bay before it is much exposed & surrounded by a stoney beach & though we passed within two miles of it we saw nobody attempt to come off either in Boat or Canoe.—A Meridian Altitude was obtained within two leagues of this Mission which determines its Latitude in 33° 28' North & its Longitude is about 242° 50' East.—Here the hilly ridge began to lose its height, & soon dwindled into a low naked broken Country that extended from the Water side to a considerable distance inland & to the Southward as far as St Diego, affording a more extensive prospect of the Country than

we had for some time.—In the afternoon the Westerly breeze freshend with which we continued running to the South eastward at the distance of 4 or 5 miles from the shore till towards evening when it fell nearly calm & remaind so all night with a very disagreeable short swell from the westward which drove us a little in shore about the entrance of False Bay where we had very irregular Soundings—This Bay is about two leagues to the Northward of S^t Diego.

[SAN DIEGO]

On the morning of the 27th we made the Promont of S^t. Diego which is called Point Limos & is a very remarkable head land forming at the point a steep redish sandy Cliff or precipice of considerable height, with an abrupt & rugged shore on both sides: A reef runs near two miles out from this point covered with beds of Sea Weed mostly the *Fucus pyrifera* Lin:³⁴—On the outside of this reef we went over beds of this plant growing in 30 fathoms of water & as the stems had at this time a considerable slanting direction occasiond by the influence of the tide or current & eight or ten fathoms of the tops lay trailing on the surface, I am confident that many of these plants could not be far short of/fifty fathoms in length & yet its stem is not much thicken than a mans finger & towards the top it is beset with large leaves undulated on both surfaces & mechanically buoyd up by an air bladder in the foot stalk of each, so that the floating tops of these plants streaming on the surface of the water with the tide made a very beautifull appearance: In going round this reef we went over extensive patches of these weeds in six & seven fathoms.—In standing to the Northward for the entrance of the Harbour we kept close to the edge of this reef, & point Limos to shun a Shoal calld the Zuniga shoal which is laid down nearly in mid-channel & appeard at this time very evident by the water breaking over it we had no less than three fathoms & half & we deepend to four & sometimes to five fathoms according as we edgd out from the shore We stood on to the Northward along the eastern shore of the Promont for about two Miles when we enterd the Harbour by a narrow pass between two low points where we had twelve fathoms. The point on the West side is a narrow beach bankd up by the Surf & making a snug Cove & secure Anchorage behind it, that on the East side is a flat sandy peninsula of considerable extent formd between the Harbour & the Bay: We stood on for about a mile above the entrance followd by the Chatham & Doedalus & came to an Anchor about two in the afternoon in ten fathoms about a Cable's length from the

³⁴ *Macrocystis pyrifera* (L.) Ag. Common long kelp. W. A. Setchell.

Western shore, well shelterd on that side by a narrow ridge of land running from Point Limos to the Northward. The Presidio of S^t Diego was seen on the declivity of a small eminence bearing N 20° E about the distance of a league, an Officer was immediately sent on shore to wait on the Governor/of the Settlement, but before he landed at the Presidio, four Soldiers came opposite to the Ship on horseback & waivd for a Boat, which being sent to them, a Serjeant came off with a letter to Cap^t Vancouver of nearly the same import with those that were receivd at the Ports to the Northward.

In the evening the Officer returned after a civil & favorable reception & with an invitation from the Commandant stating that he would be happy to see Captain Vancouver & his Officers at the Presidio on the following day. The dispatches that were expected to be waiting here for us from England had not yet arrivd, which occasioned no small disappointment as it was urg'd as a principal reason for our coming into the Port.

Next day about nine in the forenoon Captain Vancouver & L^t Puget went on shore to pay their respects to the Commandant; they landed opposite to the Vessels, where Horses ready saddled were waiting for them, & when they reachd the Presidio they found a Guard mounted to receive them.—From Mr. Dobson who landed with them as Interpreter & Mr. Puget I learnd the following particulars; that they were receivd with every mark of cordiality by the Commandant Don Antonio Gregara & his predecessor Jose Zuniga, the former bore the rank of a Lieutenant in the Army & had but very lately arrivd from Mexico to take the Command & supersede the latter, who was at the same time promoted to the rank of Captain & appointed to command the Settlement which the present Governor of Monterrey had quitted & which was far inland beyond the Gulph of California in the northern parts of Mexico, & by the route he would be obligd to take in going to it, he had to perform a journey of five hundred leagues: He told them that he had put/off his journey in expectation of our arrival, as they all knew that we were going to spend part of the Winter in this Port to refit, till about 4 or 5 days ago when a Messenger arrivd from Monterrey who brought the orders that were sent on board respecting us & greatly astonishd them when he informd them of the whole business between us & the Governor General of the Province: They further said that there were several private letters came by the same conveyance from our friends at Monterrey who regretted the treatment we receivd & blamd the Governor much for his conduct towards us.

The Commandant told them that S^r Quadra when he knew of his

appointment to this Settlement had particularly desired him to supply our wants & entertain us to the utmost of his power & that he would disburse whatever expences were incurred, an instance of our worthy friends munificence that deserves to be recorded as it in a particular manner points out the goodness of his heart & shews the kind attention & particular interest he took in our welfare.

Our two Commanders din'd at the Presidio with these Officers & were highly pleas'd with their conversation & hospitality; When they came on board in the evening Captain Vancouver acquainted me that I might pursue my Botanical researches as far as the Presidio but not to go beyond it without particular leave for that purpose, for though I was not suffer'd to go on shore myself this day, the Officers & Boats Crew who went at different times brought me off Plants & branches of the produce of the Shore that greatly excited my curiosity.

I went on shore in company with L^t Johnstone & others pretty early on the morning of the 29th in order to examine the narrow ridge of land to the Westward of us; Mr. Johnstone's object was to ascertain by angular/bearings from the summit of Point Limos the trending of the shore to the northward & southward; the respective bearings of the Islands on the outside & of the Presidio & different parts of the Harbour on the inside.

We landed on the low point at the entrance & from thence ascended to the summit of the ridge, which we pursued to the outer point directly over the high precipice where Mr. Johnstone made his observations & where we had an extensive view of the Coast to the northward & southward, a very satisfactory one of the Islands on the outside & a very pleasant prospect of the Harbour underneath with its Creeks & windings, where we could plainly distinguish the extent of the Channel & the shallow Banks on both sides of it.—Beyond the Harbour we had a very extensive view inland; To the north ward & north east of us a wide extent of Country stretch'd out low & naked with few eminences to be seen as far as the eye could reach, but to the eastward & south east the Country appear'd more broken & hilly & our prospect terminated at no great distance in mountainous rugged ridges that were of considerable elevation—The whole presented a naked dreary arid prospect in which there was not a tree to be seen in any direction within our view.

The soil on this ridge was sandy & exceeding dry & scorched, yet it was mostly cover'd with shrubbery & brushwood, amongst which I saw a vast variety of Plants that were entirely new to me, but to my no small mortification I met with only two plants in flower & very few in Seed during the whole excursion, there were a new species of

*Euphorbia*³⁵ & another of *Colutea*³⁶—I also saw the *Mesembryanthemum*³⁷ edulis & five or six species of the Genus *Cactus*³⁸ & I dare say/a number of herbaceous plants which now lay dormant in the ground would adorn the Cliffs of this ridge in the spring of the year.

We returnd to the Vessels early in the afternoon to dine with the Spanish Officers on board the *Discovery*, both the Commandant & Captain Zuniga accompanied by one of the Fathers of the Mission of San Diego came on board in the forenoon when the former was complimented with the usual salute—The Father returnd home again soon after dinner but the two Officers staid till late in the evening which we spent agreeably together.

In the forenoon of the next day I accompanied Lieutenants Puget & Johnstone in a ride up to the Presidio which is about a league off. We landed opposite to the Vessels where we found horses ready saddled in waiting for us & after mounting them we pursued a pleasant path along the north side of the Harbour & crossed a little before we came to the Presidio a Plain which we were told by our Guides was overflown in the rainy seasons, joining as it were the Harbour & False Bay to the Northward of it in one sheet of Water.

When we arrivd at the Presidio we were met on the outside of the gate by the Commandant & Cap^t Zuniga & the Guard was under Arms to receive L^t Puget as Commander of the *Chatham*, We were conducted to the Commandant's house which is in the upper side of the Area facing the Gate & we must do him credit to say that it is on the whole a much neater dwelling than any we saw at the northern settlements, but the Soldiers Barracks which are arrangd contiguous to the wall/round the Square are wretched Hovels, The Church is in the middle of one side of the Square & though but small is neatly finishd & kept exceeding clean & in good order, but the Presidio in general we conceivd inferior much inferior in point of situation regularity & cleanliness to that of S^{ta} Barbara though the latter is a more infant settlement, This is situated on the western declivity of a rugged eminence & guarded only by three Guns mounted on Carriages before the entrance.

Though S^r Sal at San Francisco positively denied their having

³⁵ *Euphorbia misera* Benth.

³⁶ *Astragalus leucopsis* Torr.

³⁷ *Mesembryanthemum æquilaterale* Haw.

³⁸ *Echinocactus viridescens* Nutt.

Cereus Emoryi Engelm.

Mamillaria Goodridgii Scheer.

Opuntia Engelmanni littoralis Engelm.

Opuntia serpentina Engelm.

Opuntia prolifera Engelm.

any Settlement to the Northward of that place, yet we were now informd by the Commandant that he had been in the course of last summer with a party establishing a Settlement in that opening about six leagues to the Northward of Point de los Rayes, which the Chatham was prevented from exploring by the fogginess of the weather on the 20th of last month: From the Plan which he shewd us of this opening it appears to be a very snug & secure harbour, the entrance of it is narrow & the best Channel near the southern shore where there is three fathoms & half, but after getting in the water deepens to 8 & 10 fathoms: The same plan likewise included a sketch of that Lagoon or Harbour if it can be calld so which we visited in the Chatham's Boat & which they have nam'd Port Bodega, & the other to the Southward of it which goes to the South East they calld Port Juan Francisco.

Parties of the Gentlemen were permitted to land & take the recreation of the shore daily, & as there had been no restrictions mentiond against their visiting the Presidio curiosity always led them thither to see the place & to procure horses from the Soldiers for the purpose of riding through the Country within the prescribd limits, but the Commandant now/took the opportunity on seeing a number of them come to the Presidio of saying to Mr. Puget that he would wish them to take their walk any other way as it was against his orders to admit so many into the Presidio, this was made known to Captain Vancouver & none afterwards except the Officers were permitted to go so far.

After staying a few hours agreeably entertaind by these Gentlemen we again mounted our horses & returnd to the Vessels, we found a number of Mules at the waterside who had come down from the Mission of San Diego loaded with Vegetables & different kinds of grain for the Vessels.

Early next morning the Commandant & Cap^t Zuniga came down & breakfasted with L^t Puget on board the Chatham, when the former was saluted with the usual compliment of Guns on his going on board & leaving the Vessel.

In the forenoon I accompanied Mr. Whidby to the low sandy place to the Southward of us near the entrance of the Harbour, where he was directed to look for Water, as we were told that the Crews of the Spanish Vessels who touchd at this Port found good Water there by digging Pits in the Sand: As the part on which we landed was made up of little hillocks formd by drifting Sand, it was not an easy matter to find out the particular place, & when we did, it was only two small Pits contiguous to one another in which we found brakish Water, but on emptying it all out & deepening those Pits, the water which oozd fresh up was deemd so far usefull that it would answer for

washing cloaths, boiling meat & other culinary purposes, therefore each of the Vessels took some of it on board, Indeed the Commandant informd us that good water was not to be got any where/near the Harbour especially in the dry seasons, that their own Vessels usd formerly to procure it at great labour & expence from a brook beyond the Presidio by employing the people & Mules belonging to the place to fetch it, which greatly interferd with their common duty, this being represented to the Government at Mexico, particular orders are now issued to each Vessel destind to this Country before she leaves San Blas requesting her to Water at some of the Ports to the Northward before she touches at *San Diego*.

Fire wood was here equally scanty & difficult to procure, what we laid in was got from some scrubby brushwood on the side of the ridge to the westward of where we lay & as it was hard it answerd tolerably well with Coals.

On the Sandy Beach near the low point at the entrance of the Harbour I found a new plant in flower which I namd *Morinda*³⁹ *glauca*, its trailing branches with glaucous leaves contrasted with globular heads of light blue flowers were extremely ornamental to such a barren situation where a plant could hardly be expected to vegetate; I found nothing else in this excursion that I could ascertain what they were.

The following day I accompanied a party of the Officers to the Peninsula between the Harbour & the Bay, where we traversd over an extensive plain beating up the thickets in quest of game & though a number of hares rabbits & quails were seen, yet being the heat of the day, they lurkd so close in amongst the brush wood that we had but very indifferent success, nor did we meet with any better success by going round the head of a Creek of the Harbour that was separated from the sea only by a narrow beach.

/The Soil here was loose & sandy & the grass that coverd which was at this time shrivelld had very thin bottom, but it was a fine arable plain that would I have no doubt yield good Crops of Grain in wet Seasons.—Different species of wormwood were met with here along shore & other aromatic shrubs with some Evergreens composd the thickets of brush-wood & impregnated the air with a refreshing fragrance.

In the forenoon of the 4th I rode to the Presidio with Cap^t Vancouver & others, where we din'd & spent a pleasant day with Cap^t Zuniga & the Commandant.—From the top of an eminence behind the Presidio they shewd us the Mission of San Diego about 3 or 4 miles

³⁹ *Heliotropium Curassavicum* L.

further inland, situated at the end of a narrow Valley which ran towards it from the Presidio, & seemingly surrounded by a very fertile country, different in its appearance from that which presents itself to our view along the sea coast.—The bottom of this Valley was markd with the bed of a considerable stream or torrent which was now quite dry'd up, but which in the rainy Season overflowd the plain below the garrison as we have already noticd.

These Gentleman informd us that there are two Missions on the Coast between this place & S^t Buena Ventura, though we saw only one, the other is called S^t Gabriel & is situated in the Bay of S^t Pedro. The Mission of S^t Ian they said was in a very fertile situation & yielded abundant crops of every kind of Vegetables & Grains which the Peninsula afforded, that it was well stockd with Cattle Horses & Animals of every kind, that in exuberance of produce it far exceeded the Mission of San Diego & it was inferior to few on the northern parts of the Coast, in short they describ'd it as a very flourishing & productive Settlement. Besides these Missions there is a Settlement somewhere inland between them occupied by Spaniards who having servd a certain term of years as Soldiers in the Province are granted their discharge with a portion of land & leave to retire with certain priviledges.

The weather being remarkably clear in the afternoon we were not a little surprizd to see an Island laying off the Coast in a westerly direction from the Presidio nearly over the entrance of False Bay; We at first supposd it might be the Island of S^t Clemente, as we had had only one bearing to that Island we were unable to settle its true position, & consequently did not know the direction in which it lay from this place, but the Spanish Officers assurd us to the contrary, that it was a new Island not yet laid down in their general Charts, situated to the Southward of the Island of S^t Clemente & about eight leagues out from the shore though we saw nothing of it as we were coming along that part of the Coast.

Captain Zuniga & the Commandant came down in the forenoon of the 5th & visited the Doedalus, they afterwards din'd on board the Discovery with Cap^t Vancouver & a large party of Officers, they were both remarkably pleasant & intelligent men & seemd very partial to our little convivial parties, They often regretted with much sincerity the ridiculous & unmerited restrictions we lay under, whch dampd all their profferd friendship & hospitality towards us, & which they were confident was contrary to the wishes of the Viceroy & the Spanish Court, & on that account it was the intention they said of the different Commandants to represent the conduct of the Governor General to-

wards [us] in a Memorial to the Viceroy at Mexico, as our behaviour they added at the different Settlements we had visited in this Country merited from him a very different treatment.

Our friend the Father who visited us the other day from the Mission & to whose kind attention we were already much indebted for several articles of sea store, came again this forenoon with a further supply & to take his leave of us, when he was presented like the other Missionaries with such of the trading articles we had on board as were likely to be most usefull to him in forwarding his laudable design, as a small return for his civility & kindness.

This father sent me on board the preceeding evening a branch in bloom of the Cassia⁴⁰ · * which I conceivd had been originally brought here from Mexico as I believe all the genus are tropical plants, He sent me also a quantity of fruit⁴¹ in Kernels which he said were the natural produce of this Country, they were about the size of small kidney beans & in their taste somewhat like bitter Almonds; to these he ascribd many virtues by taking them internally or by an external application in the form of cataplasms, but what was most pleasant to me, he sent along with them some of the Plants that produced them, which were immediately planted in the frame on the quarter deck & I have the pleasure to add were brought alive to England & placd in his Majesty's Royal Garden at Kew, & as there were many other Plants growing on shore near the landing which appeard new & ornamental, I employd two men this & the following day in digging them up & planting them in the same frame, till all the vacant space was filld up with such plants as were likely to be a valuable acquisition to the same royal collection.

The principal reason for our staying here a few days was for getting ready a Copy of the Charts made in the course of last summer, with a short account of our transactions for the last twelve months, in order/to be transmitted from hence to our Government, These being now nearly finishd, preparations were making for our departure & in the evening some of the Officers of both the Discovery & Chatham went up to the Presidio to take their leave of the Commandant & Captain Zuniga.

On the 7th our worthy & most reverend friend the Padri Presidente who had arrivd from a long journey at San Diego on the preceeding evening, hearing of our being on the eve of our departure hastend down on board the Discovery this day to pay his respects & take his leave of us, This venerable father though upwards of sixty years of age,

⁴⁰ Parkinsonia aculeata L.

⁴¹ Simmondsia californica Nutt.

in executing the duties of his calling, is exposd in his journeys from Mission to Mission to great fatigue & frequent hardships—he is sometimes obligd to sleep out in the open air in the Valleys or Mountains wherever night overtakes him & that too in the most inclement seasons, & he runs no little risque of being attackd & cut off in his route by Savage tribes, yet this duty he chearfully performs with a degree of zeal & perseverance that excites admiration & that too at a time of life when his age & constitution more justly claim the comfort & care of retirement.—He was in this visit accompanied by another father the Alferres of the Presidio of San Diego who had escorted him from some Mission to the Northward, To the latter our dispatches for England were now deliverd, together with a Copy of such of our Charts & Discoveries as had not been before communicated to S^r Quadra, with a request that they would be forwarded to Mexico by the first favorable conveyance.

Captain Vancouver presented the Padri Presidente at parting with a small Organ he had in the Cabin, set to a miscellaneous collection of about thirty different tunes/to the music of which he seemd very partial in his different visits on board last year, This present he said he would carry with him to the seat of Government at Monterrey & there deposit it in the Church where it would be carefully preservd as a memento of our visit to this Country.

In the evening Captain Vancouver rode up to the Presidio & took his leave of the Fathers the Commandant & Captain Zuniga.

Next day we remaind in a state of suspence having but light airs from the Southward with dark gloomy weather which prevented our sailing, however we had the less reason to regret this delay as it enabled us to get on board in the forenoon a Cow & two young Bulls to carry with us to the Sandwich Islands for breeding, which we should have probably saild without had the wind been fair, as they were not drove down to the Water side so soon as expected.

As we were so unsuccessfull in carrying Bulls last year that none of them hardly survivd the Voyage to the Islands, these two were chosen very young & by the care & attention of the Sailors who made pets of them, they soon became very fine animals, & we conceive that taking them on board in a young state, by which they soon become inurd to the Vessel is the most likely way to succeed in transporting these Animals to distant regions.

We had little or no intercourse with the Natives whilst we lay here, a few of them came down once or twice nearly opposite to the Vessels, but none of them venturd on board or even along side of any of them, we conceivd it probable that this shyness might have arisen from some

injunction/laid on them by the Fathers.—They have no other Canoes than a few bundles of bulrushes fastend together like those we saw at San Francisco, with these we saw them sometimes fishing in the harbour, & we were told that they are in general very dextrous in procuring a plentiful supply of fish without going out of the harbour or using any other means of embarkation, Yet the Spaniards were so negligent as to profit very little by this wholesome article of food which surprizd us very much.

We had a succession of fair & pleasant Weather during our stay, in the night time we had generally a light land breeze from the eastward, the mornings & forenoons were calm & a moderate north west breeze set in about noon daily.

[From San Diego Vancouver sailed across the Pacific.]



PLATE I



PLATE II

TWO REMARKABLE CALIFORNIA BASKETS

The baskets which I herewith bring to the notice of the members of the California Historical Society are probably the most important and interesting specimens of native Californian basketry in existence, and certainly are over one hundred years old.

The first is a large, very fine, circular, flat, bowl-shaped basket, 24 inches in diameter, which displays the royal arms of Spain beautifully woven and repeated seven times around a central, somewhat obscure heraldic design in which, however, a crown and two small mission crosses are recognizable. (Plate I.) A Spanish inscription, woven in letters of different sizes, runs around the edge of the basket, forming a border. Translated it reads: "Worked by the neophyte Juana Basilia, desirous of contributing to the attentions paid by Governor Solá to the Field Marshal Señor Don José de la Cruz."

Before discussing the historical personages whose names are recorded on this basket a description must be given of the companion basket, which is smaller, of a deep bowl shape, but displays the identical royal arms of Spain as well as an inscription. This reads: "I was made by Ana Maria, a neophyte of the Mission of the Seraphic doctor Saint Buenaventura." (Plate II.)

The similarity of design and workmanship seems to establish proof that both baskets were made, at about the same time, by converted Indian women at Fray Junipero's favourite mission founded on Easter Sunday in 1782.

It will be shown later that both were brought to the City of Mexico, probably by the same person and at the same time.

To return to the historical names woven on the first of the two baskets.

Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá, the last of the Spanish governors, came to California in 1815 and left in November, 1822, when the Spanish rule terminated. It is obvious that the basket must have been made during the seven years of Solá's governorship. It will be shown that it was most probably woven in 1822.

According to the Mexican historian Carlos Maria de Bustamante* José de la Cruz arrived in Mexico from Spain, as adjutant of brigade, in 1810 and served under the Viceroys Venegas, Calleja and Apodaca for ten years as general in command of royalist troops.

A bitter opponent of the revolution, he played a prominent part

* Suplemento a la Historia de los tres Siglos de Mexico . . . por el Padre Andres Cavo, tomo IV. Mexico, 1838.

in fighting the Mexican leaders who united with other contemporaries in accusing him of monstrous cruelty, despotism, rapacity, dishonesty, treachery and cowardice. It is related, as a characteristic action of his, that, after having been entertained with his staff at an hacienda, he rewarded the hospitality of his host by carrying off all the silver which had been brought out and used for the festive occasion with a view of doing him honour.

In no historical work consulted have I found the title of Field Marshal, recorded on the basket, associated with José de la Cruz, who, throughout the history of the Mexican struggle for independence, is referred to as General Cruz. The only case I have come across of the use of this title in Mexico at that period is contained in the deed of abdication written by Viceroy Apodaca on July 5, 1822. Under compulsion he states that he "voluntarily delivers his authority to Field Marshal Francisco Novella," one of the military leaders of the mutiny of the royalist troops. As, previous to this date, Novella figures as a general in historical documents, it looks as though the title of Field Marshal was only assumed when he became the Viceroy's successor in authority. There is no evidence to show that José de la Cruz could have legitimately borne the title denoting a supreme command in Mexico of royalist forces. Knowing the character of General Cruz one cannot but suspect that he assumed it, for purposes of his own and in order to deceive Governor Solá.

Let us briefly review his movements during the years of 1821 and 1822 with a view of ascertaining the date of his visit to California, a hitherto unknown episode revealed by the inscription on Juana Basilia's basket.

According to Bustamante, General Cruz, "realizing in 1821 that it was impossible to hinder the independence of Mexico, joined General Revuelta and marched with him to Zacatecas, where they obtained reinforcements, and thence to Durango but not, as General Negrete reported to Iturbide, with empty hands but making a clean sweep of the public funds and thinking of their personal interests. The funds they robbed there and in other places by which they passed, where they were able to make seizures, amounted, according to estimate, to over a hundred thousand pesos." (Op. cit., p. 245, vol. IV.)

In June 1821 General Negrete set out in pursuit of General Cruz in order to punish him for his depredations, and after a successful siege of Durango, the capital of the state of the same name, forced General Cruz and his royalist troops to capitulate and occupied the city on September 6, 1821. I have not succeeded in finding any record throwing light on the movements of General Cruz after his defeat at Durango,

but Bustamante relates that seven months later, in April 1822 the detested "scourge of Jalisco" arrived in Mexico City where Iturbide was weak enough to receive him, but the first Mexican Congress decreed his expulsion from Mexico as a dangerous personality.

The mute testimony furnished by an Indian basket reveals to us that the loyal Spanish royalist Governor Solá had welcomed to California, entertained and showered with "attentions" José de la Cruz as "Field Marshal" of the royalist forces in Mexico.

The latter's record justifies the inference that after his defeat at Durango General Cruz and his Spanish followers systematically visited as many towns as possible on the Pacific Coast, assuming undue authority, seizing the public funds and plundering as in Durango.

Governor Solá seems to have entertained him for some time, for the basket woven by Juana Basilia could scarcely have been designed and finished in less than a month or two, the weaving of the royal arms (probably copied from a drawing furnished by the patriotic governor) being a complicated and difficult task, admirably executed and more successfully than the central design which was unavoidably distorted owing to the diminutive size of the central coils.

The basket with the inscription proving that it was made at the Mission of San Buenaventura, being of greater value for the study of Californian basketry, has been donated by the writer to the Museum of the University of California, to be incorporated in the collection formed by her beloved friend Mrs. Phoebe Hearst as a memorial of their almost life long friendship. The second basket, which is unique inasmuch as it furnishes historical evidence concerning the visit to California of the notorious José de la Cruz, is on its way to California where, in due course of time, it will be placed on exhibition in order to give all Californian basket collectors an opportunity of seeing the most important and venerable relic of Californian basketry, made one hundred and one years ago.

ZELIA NUTTALL.

EASTBOUND ROUTE OF JEDEDIAH S. SMITH

1827

If, as the records show, Jedediah Strong Smith was the first white man and American citizen to go overland from the valley of the Mississippi into California, and the first to travel east across the Sierra Nevadas and the deserts of the Great Basin to Great Salt Lake, it becomes of more than passing interest to definitely locate the routes both of his coming and his going.

In the October number of the California Historical Society Quarterly Dr. C. Hart Merriam has discussed the westbound route followed by Smith, and has pointed out certain inaccuracies in the descriptions of the route as set forth by previous writers. Particularly is this true of Smith's route from the valley of the Sevier to the Colorado. The natural supposition has been that Smith continued his journey up the Sevier, crossed the divide, and went down into the valley of the Virgin, and thence to the Colorado. Two statements by Smith could not be reconciled with this route: first, his visit to a salt cave now fully identified as lying several miles west of the Virgin and quite outside its valley, and, second, that his course was down a stream whose course was southeast, when the course of the Virgin is southwest. Dr. Merriam points out that Smith's route was southwest from the Sevier over into Meadow Valley Wash, down this Wash to the Muddy, and thence southeast to the Colorado. This route would coincide with Smith's statements in every particular, including the visit to the salt cave.

When it comes to locating Smith's eastbound route out of California to Great Salt Lake, as described in the Sierra Club Bulletin for 1923, Dr. Merriam's inferences are by no means so conclusive. Dr. H. C. Dale, in his *Ashley-Smith Explorations*, routes Smith over the Sierras by way of the Stanislaus with apparently good reasons; Dr. Merriam believes that Smith crossed the mountains 200 miles farther north by going up the ridges north of the American River. The known facts over which there is no controversy are as follows: After Smith's arrival in California late in 1826 the Mexican authorities ordered him out of the country over the route he had followed coming in. Time was given him to prepare for the journey. On January 27, 1827, he was "at an Ind. farm house 3 m. from San Burnandino" according to the journal of H. G. Rogers who was with Smith. Unfortunately the Rogers journal ends at that date for this portion of the journey. Smith's letter to General William Clark, written at Bear Lake, Utah, on July 12, 1827, gives a too brief account of the suc-

ceeding events. Concerning his expedition after leaving San Bernardino Smith writes:

"I then steered my course N.W. keeping from 150 to 200 miles from the sea coast. A very high range of mountains lay on the East. After travelling three hundred miles in that direction through a country somewhat fertile, etc. * * * On my arrival at the river which I named the Wim-mul-che (named after a tribe of Indians which resides on it, of that name) I found a few beaver, and elk, deer, and antelope in abundance. I here made a small hunt, and attempted to take my party across the (mountain) which I before mentioned, and which I called Mount Joseph, to come on and join my partners at Great Salt Lake. I found the snow so deep on Mount Joseph that I could not cross my horses, five of which starved to death; I was compelled therefore, to return to the valley *which I had left, and there leaving my party*, I started with two men, seven horses and two mules, which I loaded with hay for the horses and provisions for ourselves, and started on the 20th of May, and succeeded in crossing it in ten days, having lost two horses and one mule. * * * After travelling twenty days from the east side of Mount Joseph, I struck the S.W. corner of the Great Salt Lake, travelling over a country completely barren and destitute of game. We frequently travelled without water sometimes for two days over sandy deserts, where there was no sign of vegetation and when we found water in some of the rocky hills, we most generally found some Indians who appeared the most miserable of the human race having nothing to subsist on (nor any clothing) except grass seed and grass-hoppers."

On May 19, the day before Smith left on his second and successful trip across the mountains he wrote the following letter to Father Duran, President of the Alta California missions and in charge of the mission at San Jose:

"Reverend Father: I understand through the medium of one of your Christian Indians that you are anxious to know who we are, as some of the Indians have been at the mission and informed you that there were certain white people in the country. We are Americans, on our journey to the Columbia. We were in at the mission of San Gabriel, January last. I went to San Diego and saw the General and got a passport from him to pass on to that place. I have made several efforts to pass the mountains, but the snow being so deep, I could not succeed in getting over. *I returned to this place*, it being the only point to kill meat, to wait a few weeks until the snow melts so that I can go on. The Indians here also being friendly, I consider it the most safe point for me to remain until such time as I can cross the mountains

with my horses, having lost a great many in attempting to cross *ten or fifteen days since*. * * *

I am, Reverend Father, your strange but real friend and Christian,

J. S. Smith.

May 19, 1827."

For the rest of the story, from sources directly connected with Smith, we are indebted to a manuscript in the Kansas Historical Society's archives labelled "Brief Sketch of accidents, misfortunes, and depredations committed by Indians on the firm of Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, Indian traders on the east and west side of the Rocky Mountains, since July 1, 1826, to the present, 1829." From this source we learn that Smith soon after writing his letter to General Clark started out to rejoin his party in California, and that he followed in the main his westbound route of the year before, going south to the Colorado, and thence to the San Gabriel mission. While crossing the Colorado most of his companions were massacred by the Indians. Securing help at the mission he "pushed on northwardly, joined his party, but in a very unpleasant situation; their supplies were almost exhausted and he without any to assist them. * * * He remained with his party two days, procured two Indian guides and arrived at the mission of St. Joseph in three days. He then made known his situation and wants."

There followed the usual vexatious delays and troubles with the authorities, during which Smith was under arrest and part of the time imprisoned. Finally, on November 15, 1827, Smith signed a guarantee, under bond, that he would move out of the country within two months. (Bancroft, California, Vol. III, 159, footnote.) In the meantime orders had been issued by the Mexican governor in October to bring in the American trappers; and "Soto was sent out with 40 men to the Rio Estanislao, and brought in all the trappers to S. Francisco." (Bancroft, Idem, 158.) The "Brief Sketch" says: "The treaty was finally concluded, the party sent for and brought in. * * * Then Mr. Smith (who was in Monterey) went on to visit his party, found them in St. Francisco in a very deplorable state. * * * By very expeditious movements he had himself prepared at the appointed time and very near the boundary line; but on account of the lack of a boat to cross the Bonadventure (which is very large) and only one particular route destined for him to pass, so he took his own leave and left the province by another route, where he knew he could cross the river without assistance. * * * He moved on slowly up the Bonadventure which was generally N.N.W., and passing numerous tribes

of Indians, some of which were hostile, he continued on the route, still moving very slowly (and at the same time passing the winter) until the 13th of April, 1828, when, by examination and frequent trials he found it impossible to cross a range of mountains which lay to the East.

"We then struck off N.W., leaving the Bonadventure running N.E. and coming out of a large range of mountains impassable, until we came to the sea-coast."

The story from the sources noted is clear. The salient features analyzed disclose that Smith went north along the western slopes of the Sierras approximately 300 miles. This would take him into the country somewhere between the Merced and the Stanislaus Rivers. He then camped on a river which he called the Wim-mul-che. "I here made a small hunt and attempted to take my party across the (mountain). * * * I was compelled, therefore, to return to *the valley which I had left, and there leaving my party* I started with two men, etc.," on what proved to be a successful trip across the mountains.

Smith's positive statements that both of his attempts to cross the mountains were from the valley on the Wim-mul-che are as positively corroborated by his statements to Father Duran made on the day before his final attempt to cross. Alluding to his first attempt he says: "I could not succeed in getting over. *I returned to this place.* * * * I consider it the most safe point for me to remain until such time as I can cross the mountains with my horses, having lost a great many in attempting to cross *ten or fifteen days since.*"

Without the strongest kind of evidence to the contrary it is impossible to doubt that Smith's two attempts were from the same point on the Wim-mul-che. On what evidence does Dr. Merriam base his claim that Smith's second attempt was from the American River 200 miles north? Chiefly on Gallatin's statement and map of 1836, and Wilkes' map of 1841. He quotes Gallatin, "Synopsis of Indian Tribes," 1836, as follows: "J. S. Smith descended the Rio Colorado of California, in the year 1826, as far south as the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude. Proceeding thence westwardly, he reached the Spanish missions of San Pedro and San Diego near the Pacific. The ensuing year, he visited Monterey and St. Francisco; ascended the Bueneventura some distance, and recrossed the California chain of mountains, called there Mt. Joseph, *in about the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude.* He thence proceeded north of west and reached the southwestern extremity of Lake Timpanogo" (Great Salt Lake).

Gallatin's map identifies the Bueneventura with the Sacramento, and shows Smith's route as starting considerably north of the 39° of

north latitude. Wilkes' map follows Gallatin's and was in all probability based on it. The Gallatin map contains striking and well-nigh conclusive proof that Smith's route was from the vicinity of the Stanislaus. It shows two parallel and northerly flowing streams just east of the Sierras, with Smith's route running just south of the headwaters of the one and crossing the two southern forks of the other. These streams can be no other than the present Carson and Walker Rivers; and they represent quite closely their relative positions. There are no other corresponding streams east of the Sierras. In 1836 Gallatin could have secured information concerning these streams only from Smith's maps and notes. If Smith had gone up the American River he would have been at least one hundred miles too far north to discover any such relation between the Carson and the Walker, or even to discover these streams at all. Going over the mountains in the vicinity of the Sonora Pass, from the Stanislaus, he could have seen the north flowing Carson to his left, and he would have crossed the west and the east forks of the Walker. If we had only Gallatin's map for guidance we could not fail to locate Smith's route along the headwaters of the Carson and the Walker.

Gallatin's statements do not conflict with those of Smith except in one important particular. Gallatin says: "The ensuing year, he visited Monterey and St. Francisco; ascended the Bueneventura some distance, and recrossed the California chain of mountains" to Great Salt Lake. Smith and the "Brief Sketch" say the same only they say that he crossed the mountains to Great Salt Lake *before* he visited Monterey and St. Francisco and ascended the Bueneventura; and that from the latter river he went N.W. until he "came to the sea-coast," as in fact we know he did.

Dr. Merriam cites Guinn and Warner for proof that Smith left his party on the American River, but neither of these writers gives authority for his statements that should weigh against Smith's positive declarations that he left it on the Wim-mul-che. Unless the missing portions of Rogers' journal are happily found the Wim-mul-che will probably never be positively identified. Dr. Merriam claims that the Wim-mul-che Indians lived only on the *Kings* River. Possibly further investigation may disclose that they sometimes roamed as far north as the Stanislaus; possibly Smith got their name on *Kings* River and not observing any particular change in appearance or habits of the Indians farther north considered them all Wim-mul-ches, for he was accustomed to the Indians of the plains who roamed over wide stretches of territory. Possibly Smith crossed from *Kings* River, but there is the statement that the trappers were brought in from the *Estanislao*;

and the statement that Smith arrived in San Jose three days from his camp; possible from the Stanislaus, but not from the Kings.

In addition to the well-nigh conclusive evidence in Gallatin's map there are certain inherent evidences in Smith's narrative that his east-bound journey could not have been from a point so far north as the American River. Had he crossed the mountains from that stream he would have gone down into the Great Basin somewhere within the valley of the Humboldt and Carson sinks, in which case his natural course would have been up the Humboldt, an easy route offering plenty of water and forage. He certainly would not have turned south when his course was to the north, and when the natural advantages of the latter course would have been evident at any point he would have entered the interior valley from the American River, advantages that caused it to be selected by the emigrants twenty years later. He says, however, that he travelled "over a country completely barren, * * * without water sometimes for two days over sandy deserts, where there was no sign of vegetation, and when we found water in some of the rocky hills, etc." These would exactly describe the conditions he would find if he crossed from the Stanislaus, but not at all if he crossed from the American. And most assuredly if he had gone up the Humboldt, with all its advantages of direction, distance, and forage and water, he would have returned that way to his party, and would not have travelled the wholly unnecessary 300 miles south to the Colorado and 300 miles north to his camp on the Wim-mul-che, or 500 miles to the American.

Gallatin's map shows that Smith after crossing the west and east forks of the Walker did not turn north and go down the east fork but kept his course straight for Great Salt Lake; this would take him south of Walker Lake, which was his most probable route. From the lake he might well have followed the route, from water hole to water hole in the "rocky hills," which Fremont traversed in a reverse direction in 1845; a route that would completely meet the conditions of his description, and lead him to "the S.W. corner of the Great Salt Lake." From this point on the lake he would not, as the Richman map routes him, turn north along the barren western and northern shores with which he was thoroughly familiar both from observation and from the reports of Ashley's men who had sailed along them, but he would without question have pushed east across the few miles of desert at the southern end to the plentiful streams on which he had trapped and the bountiful forage of which he was in desperate need.

F. N. FLETCHER.

Reno, Nevada, Jan. 2, 1924.

DOCUMENTARY

(Continued from page 251.)

[Reprinted from Theodore H. Hittell's Memorial Address on George Bancroft, 1893.]

Washington, July 12th, 1846.

U. S. Navy Department,

Commodore John D. Sloat, Commanding U. S. Naval Forces
in the Pacific Ocean.

Commodore: Previous instructions have informed you of the intention of this Government, pending the war with Mexico, to take and hold possession of California. For this end a company of artillery, with cannon, mortars and munitions of war, is sent to you in the "Lexington" for the purpose of co-operating with you according to the best of your judgment, and of occupying under your direction such port or ports as you may deem expedient in the Bay of Monterey or in the Bay of San Francisco, or in both. In the absence of a military officer higher than Captain, the selection of the first American port or ports on the waters of the Pacific in California is left to your discretion.

The object of the United States is, under its rights as a belligerent nation, to possess itself entirely of Upper California. When San Francisco and Monterey are secured you will, if possible, send a small vessel of war to take and hold possession of the port of San Diego; and it would be well to ascertain the views of the inhabitants of Pueblo de Los Angeles, who, according to information received here, may be counted upon as desirous of coming under the jurisdiction of the United States. If you can take possession of it you should do so.

The object of the United States has reference to ultimate peace with Mexico; and if, at that peace, the basis of *uti possidetis* should be established, the Government expects, through your forces, to be found in actual possession of Upper California. This will bring with it the necessity of a civil administration. Such a government should be established under your protection; and in selecting persons to hold office due respect should be had to the wishes of the people of California as well as to the actual possessors of authority in that province. It may be proper to require an oath of allegiance to the United States from those who are entrusted with authority. You will also assure the people of California of the protection of the United States.

In reference to commercial regulations in the ports of which you are in actual possession, ships and produce of the United States should come and go free of duty. For your further instructions I enclose to

you a copy of confidential instructions from the War Department to Brigadier General S. W. Kearney, who is ordered overland to California. You will also communicate your instructions to him and inform him that have the sanction of the President.

The Government relies on the land and naval forces to co-operate with each other in the most friendly and effective manner.

After you shall have secured Upper California, if your force is sufficient, you will take possession and keep the harbors on the Gulf of California as far down at least as Guaymas. But this is not to interfere with the permanent occupation of Upper California.

A regiment of volunteers from the State of New York, to serve during the war, have been called for by the Government and are expected to sail from the first to the tenth of August. This regiment will in the first instance report to the naval commander on your station, but will ultimately be under the command of General Kearney, who is appointed to conduct the expedition by land.

The term of three years having nearly expired since you have been in command of the Pacific squadron, Commodore Shubrick will soon be sent out in the "Independence" to relieve you. The Department confidently hopes that all Upper California will be in our hands before the relief shall arrive.

Very respectfully,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

[From Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Original.]

U. S. Navy Department,
Washington, Aug. 13, 1846.

Commodore:

The Department has received your letter N^o. 51, of June 6, from which it appears that while you were aware of the existence of "actual war" between the United States and Mexico, you remained in a state of inactivity and did not carry out the instructions of June 24, 1845, framed to be executed even in the event of the mere declaration of war, much more in the event of actual hostilities. Those instructions you were ordered to carry out "at once."

In my letter of August 5, 1845, the receipt of which you acknowledged on the 28th of January 1846, referring to them, I said "In the event of war, you will obey the instructions recently addressed to you via Panama."

In my letter of October 17, 1845, of which you acknowledged the

receipt on the 17th March 1846, referring to these instructions once more, I said further "In the event of actual hostilities between the Mexican government and our own, you will so dispose of your whole force as to carry out most effectually the objects specified in the instructions forwarded to you from the Department in view of such a contingency." And surely there is no ambiguity in this language.

And in my letter of 23^d. February last, sent through Mexico, I remarked "This letter is sent to you over land, enclosed as you suggest, to Messrs Mott, Talbot & Co. Mazatlan, and you will readily understand the reserve with which it is written."

The Department on August 5, 1845, had also told you that "your force should not be weakened, while hostilities are threatened by Mexico." Your course was particularly approved in detaining the Frigate Constitution. The Department will hope that a more urgent necessity than as yet appears, existed for the otherwise premature return of that vessel.

The Department willingly believes in the purity of your intentions. But your anxiety not to do wrong, has led you into a most unfortunate and unwarranted inactivity.

Very respectfully

Yours

GEORGE BANCROFT.

Comm^o. John D. Sloat,
Com'g U. S. Naval Forces,
in the Pacific Ocean.

THE OCCUPATION

[From the Fort Sutter Papers now in the Huntington Library.]

[Original.]

To the Inhabitants of California.

The Central Government of Mexico, having commenced hostilities against the United States of America, by invading its territory, and attacking the troops of the United States on the North Side of the Rio Grande, with a force of seven thousand men under the command of General Ariste, which army was totally destroyed and all their artillery, baggage &c., &c., captured on the 8th and 9th of May last, by a force of two thousand three hundred men under the command of General Taylor, and the City of Matamoras taken and occupied by the forces of the United States. The two nations being actually at war by this

transaction, I shall hoist the standard of the United States at Monterey immediately, and shall carry it throughout California.

I declare to the inhabitants of California that although I come in arms with a powerful force, I do not come among them as an enemy to California, but on the contrary, I come as their best friend—as henceforth California will be a portion of the United States and its peaceable inhabitants will enjoy the same rights and privileges as the citizens of any other portion of that nation, with all the rights and privileges they now enjoy, together with the privileges of choosing their own Magistrates and other officers for the administration of Justice among themselves, and the same protection will be extended to them as to any other state of the Union. They will also enjoy a permanent Government under which life, property and the constitutional rights and lawful security, to worship the Creator in a way most congenial to each ones sense of duty will be secure, which unfortunately the Central Government of Mexico cannot afford them, destroyed as her resources are by internal factions and corrupt officers, who create constant revolutions to promote their own interests and oppress the people. Under the Flag of the United States California will be free from all such troubles and expense, consequently the country will rapidly advance and improve both in agriculture and commerce as of course the revenue laws will be the same in California as in all other parts of the United States, affording them all manufacturers and produce of the United States, free of any duty, (and all foreign goods at one quarter the duty) they now pay: a great increase in the value of real estate and the products of California. With the great interest and kind feelings I know the Government and people of the United States possess towards the Citizens of California, the Country cannot but improve more rapidly than any other on the continent of America.

Such of the inhabitants of California whether native or foreigners as may not be disposed to accept the high privileges of Citizenship and to live peaceably under the free Government of the United States, will be allowed time to dispose of their property and to remove out of the country if they choose without any restriction, or remain (in) it observing strict neutrality. With full confidence in the honor and integrity of the inhabitants of the Country I invite the Judge and, Alcades, and other civil officers to retain their offices and to execute their functions, as heretofore, that the Public tranquility may not be disturbed, at least until the Government of the Territory can be more definitely arranged.

All persons holding title to real estate, or in quiet possession of lands, under the color of right shall have those titles and rights guaran-

teed to them. All churches and the property they contain in possession of the Clergy of California, shall continue in the same rights and possession they now enjoy.

All provisions & supplies of every kind furnished by the inhabitants for the use of the United States, Ships and Soldiers will be paid for at fair rates, and no private property will be taken for public use without just compensation at the moment.

U. S. Ship Savannah

Harbour of Monterey
July 7th 1846.

(Signed) JOHN D. SLOAT
Commander in Chief
of the United States
Naval Forces in the
Pacific Ocean.

[Ex. Doc. No. 1. 30th Congress, 2d Session, Washington, 1848.]

U. S. Ship Savannah,

Sir:

Monterey, July 7, 1846.

The central government of Mexico having commenced hostilities against the United States of America, the two nations are now actually at war; in consequence, I call upon you in the name of the United States of America to surrender forthwith to the arms of that nation under my command, together with all the troops, arms, munitions of war, and public property of every description under your control and jurisdiction in California.

The immediate compliance with this summons will probably prevent the sacrifice of human life and the horrors of war, which I most anxiously desire to avoid.

I hereby invite you to meet me immediately in Monterey, to enter into articles of capitulation; that yourself, officers and soldiers, with the inhabitants of California, may receive assurances of perfect safety to themselves and property.

JOHN D. SLOAT,
Commander-in-chief of the United States
naval forces in the Pacific ocean.

To Don Jose Castro,
Commandant General, California.

[From Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Original.]

Comandancia General
del Departam^{to}. de Californias.
Sr.

Cuartel gral. en S^{na}.
Juan B^{ta}. Julio 9., de 1846.

Anoche recibí en Santa Clara la nota oficial de V. S. relativa al

estado de guerra en que se suponen la Nacion Mejicana y la de los Estados Unidos, y en consecuencia me manda V. S. como su subordinado le entregue los puntos Militares, tropas y propiedades publicas que están bajo mi mando; en contestacion digo a V. S. que para la resolucion de asuntos de tanta gravedad, debe ponerme de acuerdo con el E. S. Gobernador y Honorable Asamblea del Departam^{to}. como lejítimas autoridades que representan los Pueblos que lo componen; en concepto que deferiré con gusto a la opinion de aquellos funcionarios; mas me permitirá V. S. manifestarle, que pesando esclucivamente sobre mi responsabilidad la defenza de la integridad é independencia de este pais que hoy és á mi cargo, estoy resuelto como Gefe del Ejercito Mejicano á no omitir secrificio p^a. conservarlo, interin cuente con un solo hombre que me acampañe en esta causa tan justa como Nacional.

JOSÉ CASTRO

Sr. Dⁿ John D. Sloat Comand^{te}. en Gefe de las fuerzas Navales de los E. U. en el mar Pacifico, Monterey.

TRANSLATION

General Headquarters in
San Juan Bautista, July 9, 1846.

Sir:

Last night at Santa Clara I received the official note of your excellency relative to the state of war in which the Mexican nation and the United States are supposed to be, in consequence of which your excellency orders me as if I were a subordinate to deliver the military posts, troops and public property which are under my command. In answer I say to your excellency that for the resolution of affairs of such great gravity it is necessary for me to put myself in accord with his excellency the Governor and the Honorable Assembly of the Department as the legitimate authorities which represent the towns which compose it, in the understanding that I will defer with pleasure to the opinion of those officials. Besides your excellency will permit me to say to you that as the defence of the integrity and independence of this country which is under my charge rests exclusively on my responsibility, I am resolved as chief of the Mexican army to omit no sacrifice to preserve it while I can count on a single man who will accompany me in this cause which is as just as it is national.

[Signed] JOSÉ CASTRO.

Sr. John D. Sloat, Commander in Chief of the naval forces of the United States in the Pacific Ocean, Monterey.

[Ex. Doc. No. 1. 30th Congress, 2d Session, Washington, 1848.]

Flag-Ship Savannah,
Monterey, July 6, 1846.

Sir: Since I wrote you last evening, I have determined to hoist the flag of the United States at this place to-morrow, as I would prefer being sacrificed for doing too much than too little.

If you consider you have sufficient force, or if Frémont will join you, you will hoist the flag of the United States at Yerba Buena, or any other proper place, and take possession, in the name of the United States, of the fort and that portion of the country. I send you a copy of my summons to the military commandant of Monterey to surrender the place, and also my proclamation to the people of California, which you will have translated into Spanish, and promulgate many copies in both languages. I have sent a similar letter to General Castro, with an addition of an invitation for him to meet me at this place to enter into a capitulation.

I will send you a duplicate copy of these documents to-morrow by land, which I hope will reach you before the boat can get up. You will secure the bay of San Francisco as soon as possible, at all events. It is my intention to go up to San Francisco as soon as I can leave this, which I hope will not be many days.

Mr. Larkin advises that you should not send by courier anything that would do harm to make public; and should you have anything that you consider important for me to know, you can send the launch down again.

I am very anxious to know if Captain Frémont will co-operate with us. Mr. Larkin is writing to him by the launch, and you will please put him in possession of his letter as soon as possible.

I have not time to write more at present.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN D. SLOAT,
Commander-in-chief, &c.

To Commander J. B. Montgomery,
U. S. Ship Portsmouth, San Francisco.

[From a photograph of the original formerly in the possession of Mr. Patrick Healy.]

Sir

At ½ past seven oclock to morrow morning I propose landing a considerable body of men under arms, and to march them from the boats to the flag staff in Yerba Buena, upon which at 8 oclock I shall hoist the Flag of the U States under a salute of twenty one guns from

the Portsmouth, after which, the Proclamation of the Commander in Chief Commodore Sloat will be read in both languages for the enformation of all classes.

I will thank you therefore to have it translated and ready for that purpose at the appointed hour—and be pleased to present my compliments to the Alcaldy and say:—if agreeable to him I shall be gratified to see him pleasant on the occasion that I may, under the authority of the Proclamation, confirm him in his official position, until the pleasure of the [illegible word] in Chief shall be known.

Very Respectfully—

&c &c

JNO B. MONTGOMERY
Commander

To

Wilm. A Liedesdorff Esqr
Vice Consul of the U States
Yerba Buena

[From Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]
[Copy.]

ADDRESS AFTER HOISTING THE FLAG

Fellow Citizens

I address all classes whether Native or Foreign residents of California, who cordially assent to the transaction just witnessed: I have the pleasure to announce, that the Flag of the United States, was, on the 7th inst hoisted at Monterey, and will I expect this day, be substituted for the revolutionary flag recently hoisted at Sonoma.

The Proclamation of the U. States Naval Commander in Chief now at Monterey, which is about to be read to you, has already been widely circulated in the country; and the advantages which cannot fail to accrue to the population of this fine country as therein set forth; have, and will undoubtedly meet with a cordial reception by all classes of the people in California.

It is earnestly recommended to all, that they continue in the quiet pursuit of their proper occupations, in which under the shadow of that glorious banner, there can be no fear of oppressive or undue interruption. After leaving this place all persons who are disposed to unite in the formation of a Local Militia, to be held subject to drill, and such Military duty as the public security under the new order of things shall call for; are invited to attend at the house of W^m. A. Leidsdorff Esqr., where arrangements will be immediately entered into for such an organization.

PROCLAMATION

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Off Yerba Buena. July 9th 1846

Military possession having been this day taken of this place, & the Flag of the United States displayed, in obedience to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Squadron Jno D. Sloat Esq^r., now in possession of Monterey, I have the honor to call upon all the residents of this district agreeably to the Laws of the U. S. of America regulating the Militia, to enroll themselves into a Military company, appoint their own Officers & observe such rules & regulations as shall be issued for the maintainance of order; & for the protection of property, in Yerba-Buena and its immediate neighborhood.

A Military Guard has been stationed in possession of the Custom House, under Henry. B. Watson Esq^r. whom I have appointed the Military Commandant (pro tem) of all the Marines & Militia; to whom I require that reports shall be made, as soon as the Militia shall be organized—and whose call upon the Militia, I am confident will be promptly & honorably complied with.

In the event of an attack by Mexican or other forces upon Yerba Buena, all necessary assistance will be immediately landed from the U. S. Ship Portsmouth; and in the mean time, your country expects, & your best interests require, that every man will do his utmost to protect his home & defend the flag of the U. States

Signed JNO. B. MONTGOMERY
Commander of the U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Anchorage Yerba Buena.

[From Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy.]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena. July 9th 1846

Sir,

Last evening I was officially notified of the existence of War between the U. States, & the central government of Mexico; and have this morning taken formal possession of this place, & hoisted our Flag in the Town. Commodore Sloat who took possession of Monterey on the 7th inst, has directed me to notify you of this change in the political condition of California—and to request your presence at Monterey, with a view to future arrangements & co-operation—at as early a period as possible.

I forwarded at two o'clock this morning a despatch from Com-

modore Sloat, to the Commandant of Sonoma with an American Flag for their use should they stand in need of one.

Mr. Watmough who will hand you this, will give you all news.

Very Respectfully

I am Sir,

Your ob^t Serv^t

Signed JNO. B. MONTGOMERY

To

Cap^t J. C. Fremont
U. S. Top. Engineers
Santa Clara.

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Anchorage Yerba Buena. July 9th 1846

Sir/

You will proceed to Santa Clara, and to the Pueblo if necessary in order to intercept Cap^t J. C. Fremont, now on his march from the Sacramento, and on meeting with him, be pleased to hand him the accompanying communication; after which, you will return to this place without delay and report to me.

Resp^y

I am Sir,

Your ob^t. Serv^t

Signed JNO. B. MONTGOMERY

Commanding U. S. Ship Portsmouth

To

Purser J. T. H. Watmough
U. S. Ship Portsmouth
Yerba Buena
Bay of San Francisco

[From Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Original.]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth
At Anchorage off Yerba Buena
July 9th 1846.

Sir,

I have the honor to report that in obedience to your order, I proceeded to the Fort at the entrance of the Harbour, about four miles distant from the Town, accompanied by Purser Watmough, the late vice consul Leidesdorff, and several volunteers, & displayed the Flag

of the United States' upon it's ramparts—calling on our way at the Presidio, where I had understood that one or more cannon were mounted: No cannon however, were found there, and it is certain that they have been lately removed—nor were any of the usual residents there.

The Walls of the Fort are badly rent in several places, yet they are capable of sustaining & rendering good service. It would be an improvement to dig a ditch in the rear, & to build a wall connecting the two terminating ends of the work, but to render the Fort tenable, in case of approach to it by land, it is indispensable, that a work be thrown up on the eminence which commands it, about four or five hundred yards immediately in it's rear—other wise it is at the Mercy of an Enemy on the land side.

The platform is decayed, & should be renewed entirely.

The Barrack in the centre, is in a delapidated state.

There are three Brass Guns (12^s & 18^s) old Spanish pieces, made in 1623. 1628. & 1693, beside three long iron 42^s—& four smaller iron Guns—All of these Iron Guns have been lately spiked by Captain Fremont, except two unserviceable, & dismounted iron pieces. New vents may be drilled in the Brass pieces. The Gun-Carriages are partially decayed, & several of them are totally unserviceable but a portion of the iron work, might be applied to new carriages.

There is a quantity of round shot of different calibres in the Fort, but all are more or less injured by rust.

Our party was not molested on our route, nor did we see any other than a few inoffensive Indians.

Respectfully Sir

Your obd^t Servant

J. S. MISSROON

Lieut.

To Commander J. B. Montgomery
Commd^g. U. S. S. Portsmouth

[From Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy.]

Yerba Buena,
July 9th 1846.

Sir:

The Flag of the United States having been this day displayed in this place, and formal possession taken of it, so far as the guns of the Ship will range, you will remain in military possession, as the commander of the Marines and local Militia, subject to such orders from

me or your Superior officers, until such time, as the commander-in-chief shall either sanction this appointment, or annul it.

All the militia therefore, that are now, or may be organized for the protection of this place, will be required to repair to the appointed rendezvous upon such signal as you may designate, properly armed and equipped, and you will make requisition upon me for such arms and ammunition as may be required.

Should an attack be made upon this place, you will immediately, display a rocket and Blue light as a signal to the Ship, when reinforcements will be immediately despatched to your assistance; and in the mean time, you will maintain your position and defend it to the utmost extremity.

You are hereby furnished with a list of the effective Militia force, organized under their own proper officers, for the defence of this place, and for the maintenance of the Flag of the United States.

Respectfully

(Signed) J^{NO}. B. MONTGOMERY

Commander of the U. S. S. Portsmouth

To H. B. Watson

Military Commdt. of the Marines and Militia

Stationed at Yerba Buena.

[From Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Original.]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth

Anchorage Yerba Buena July 9th 1846

Sir/

I have the satisfaction to acknowledge the receipt of your Telegraphic Despatch with Proclamation and other documents sent me by Mr. Pitts—at 7 o'clock last evening, and have the honor to inform you, that having despatched Lieut Revere in one of the Ships Boats a few hours afterwards, with your Letter to the Commandant at Sonoma, carrying with him a Flag to be used there if necessary and another to be forwarded to Sutters Fort upon the Sacramento. I landed this morning with seventy men including marines, and at 8 AM. hoisted our flag in front of the Custom House in the public square—with a salute of Twenty-one guns from the Ship—followed by three hearty cheers on shore, and on board, in which the people, principally foreign residents seemed cordially to join. I then addressed a few words to the assembled people—after which your excellent proclamation was read in both languages, and posted upon the Flag Staff. The seamen with a small portion of the marines, were then returned to the

Ship, without a man having left the ranks; and Lieut Watson with the residue of his guard, were formally established as military occupants of the port. The male residents of Yerba-Buena capable of bearing arms were then called together and a volunteer guard, consisting of thirty two members at once enrolled—and electing their own officers, were fully organized under the direction of Lieut's Missroon & Watson—to hold themselves in readiness for any emergency which may arise, and before the arrival of M^r. Dix our second courier, at 1 o'clock P.M. Lieut Missroon with an armed party of the volunteer guard, were on their way to the Procedio & Fort, four or five miles distant; to ascertain and report to me their condition & take inventories of public property &c. The Fort is in a delapidated condition, but may be repaired & rendered serviceable. For particulars, I have respectfully to refer you to the accompanying report of Lieut Missroon N^o. 2. the sheet N^o. 1 contains documents used in the proceedings of the day; with a letter sent to Cap^t Fremont by Purser Watmough and the order to that Officer. There are two fine eighteen pounder brass pieces at Sonoma, which might be most advantageously planted upon an eminence for the defence of this harbour, and which can be of no manner of use where they now are. Field pieces of which there are six at Sonoma being all sufficient for the defence of an interior Town. I think it advisable therefore to remove the two eighteens, which can be done with my Launch in a very short time—and in the hope of receiving your order to that effect, I shall commence at once preparing a Gallery and Platform for their accommodation. I have been drawn into correspondence with the belligerent parties in this country—and with Cap^t. Fremont—which I will send you very soon. To the latter I have supplied Funds & Stores to the amount of \$2199, receiving his draft on the Toph^l. Bureau at Washington, in favor of Purser Watmough for the same, which I hope will meet with your approbation. My officers and crew are in excellent health—and good condition for service—but I regret to say, that I am twenty three men short of my complement, which I am very desirous to fill up as soon as it can be done.

I have the honor to be Sir,

Very Respectfully

Your ob^t. Serv^t.

To/

JN^o. B. MONTGOMERY

Commodore Jno. D. Sloat

Commander

Commanding Naval Forces of the

U. States, in the Pacific

at Monterey.

BOOK REVIEWS

Spanish Songs of Old California, collected and translated by Charles F. Lummis; pianoforte accompaniments by Arthur Farwell. (Published by Charles F. Lummis, 200 East Avenue 43, Los Angeles, California. Price \$1.50.)

This book is a collection of fourteen songs in both the original Spanish form and in an English version, with the accompanying music, and with introductions by Dr. Lummis and Mr. Farwell. Edward Berein has decorated the cover with a charming drawing executed in the spirit of the days when these songs were made.

Dr. Lummis, who has spent most of his later years in historical and archaeological researches in the Southwest, has done a great service in saving for our use and enjoyment these Spanish songs of Old California—these, and many more; for he has rescued from oblivion and recorded over four hundred and fifty which were sung in California in “the days before the Gringo came.” Some are folksongs, born of this new land; others were transplanted from Old and New Spain; but, whether native-born or of earlier origin, they were the songs of the people in the days when everybody sang and, as such, the natural expressions of emotion. In his preface Dr. Lummis says that he has “lent a friendly ear to the songs of a score of other nationalities,” but has not found elsewhere the music, rhythm and grace of these.

He has been collecting these songs for thirty-eight years, beginning long before there was a phonograph to help him. He was barely in time, for many singers of the older generation who taught him have passed away and few of their songs linger in the memory of their children. The English versions which he gives are idiomatic translations, and here Dr. Lummis had a difficult task: to preserve the sense in the variety of songs which range from Mother-Goose-like rhymes to haunting serenades and passionate love strains; at the same time to give us verses which would fit the original melodies; and to represent in English words the onomatopoeic quality of some of the Spanish refrains. He says: “If I have erred in these translations it has not been by being clever at the expense of the original. I can write better lyrics [and we who are familiar with the writings of Dr. Lummis know that this is so] but these are not my songs, I have no brotherhood with those who take other lands and other people merely as a blackboard across which to write their own smartness.”

Mr. Farwell says in his introductory note: “All of these songs rise to distinction of quality, in some instances to a degree which must

elevate them to the rank of classics of folksong." He has found "their power to animate and thrill the people in community singing remarkable." He adds: "I know of nothing to compare with these vital and colorful folk-expressions," and "as a new, characteristic and vivid contribution to the authentic literature of folksong, these songs will be loved wherever songs from the heart are sung and prized."

Valuable as is this new-old contribution to American song, it is as historical material that it makes its especial appeal to students of California history, and they owe a debt of eternal gratitude to Dr. Lummis for the salvage of what would otherwise have perished. He says that we can no more "decently dodge a certain trusteeship to save the Old Songs from oblivion than to save the Old Missions from ruin." We are thankful that he acted upon this sense of responsibility before it was everlastingly too late. These glimpses of the lighter side of California life in early days are illuminating to the student of the main course of events, and through this small group of songs some characteristics of early Californians are revealed. More may be disclosed by further publications. "First Book" upon the title page gives promise of later ones to come, which the merited success of this one should warrant.

HELEN THROOP PURDY.

**History of the Mission Presidio and Pueblo of Sonoma. By
Honorita Tuomey and Luisa Vallejo Emparan. [Sonoma:]
1923. Illustrated. 104 pp. 12°.**

This is a story of the beginnings of Sonoma and the country round about. Sonoma, where whites met whites for the first time in the encircling settlement of the globe, where Spanish colonists from the East stemmed the tide of Russian movement from the West, where English under Drake for the first time landed upon the shores of California, where, finally, American overlanders engaged Spanish occupants for supremacy in the far West: this is historic ground.

The story, delightfully and simply told, is presented in a series of descriptions which leave in the mind vivid pictures of the episodes of the early days; the coming of the Spanish, English and Russians; the founding of the Mission in 1823 and of the Presidio and Pueblo in 1835; life at the frontier settlement; the advent of the Americans and the Bear Flag disturbances. Appended is an interesting account of the Russian expedition to Mount St. Helena in 1841, the naming of the peak in honor of the patron saint of Helena, then Empress of Russia, and the placing of a tablet on the summit by the explorers, W. A. Wossnessenski and E. L. Tchernich.

Some material is included which has never been published before in book form. Unusual care has apparently been taken to preserve historical accuracy, but it seems difficult for the reader in certain cases to separate the more certainly known events from those which perhaps are legendary or traditional.

Miss Tuomey is an able and enthusiastic local historian, and Mrs. Emparan is well known as the youngest daughter of General M. G. Vallejo, the first military commandant of the District of Sonoma, comprising "all that part of Alta California extending from the Golden Gate to the Oregon country and from the Pacific Ocean to the Sacramento River."

From '49 to '83 in California and Nevada, chapters from the life of George Thomas Marye, a pioneer of '49. By George Thomas Marye, Jr. San Francisco: (A. M. Robertson) 1923. Ports. and Pls. 212 pp. 8°.

This is a republication in book form of articles from the *Overland Monthly* 1914-1918. The chapters are entitled—*The Journey to California in 1849, The Pioneer Life of San Francisco, The Sale of City Hall Lots, Virginia City and the Comstock and Virginia City in the "Seventies."* The work closes with a short biographical sketch. The author pays gracious tribute to his father by the preservation of this record of early business affairs in San Francisco and on the Comstock.

Karoc Indian Stores. By Sarah Emilia Olden. San Francisco: (Harr Wagner Publishing Co.) 1923. Illustrated. 191 pp. 8°.

The author has collected these imaginative tales from the Indians themselves whom she visited at their village of Penominee on the Upper Klamath River in California. An introduction of forty-nine pages is devoted to a review of the tribal customs—games, dances, basketry, houses, clothing, money, laws and religious rites. There are a few myths concerned with origins of such things as fire and local landmarks, but most of them are short animal stories such as a mother might invent for her children.

Life and Works of the Rev. Ferdinand Konscak, S. J. 1703-1759 an early missionary in California. By Msgr. M. D. Krmpotic. Boston: (The Stratford Company) 1923. 6 plates, 2 folding maps. 167 pp. 12°.

This account of Reverend Konscak's labors is stated in the introduction to be drawn from "photographic copies of original letters found

in the Royal Museum of London." The letters are the same as those contained in the *Apostolico Afames de la Compania de Jesus* published in Spain in 1754 and again separately under the title *Diario de Californias*, Paris, 1757. The present translation gives us an English version of Konscak's famous explorations in Lower California where the worthy missionary spent twenty-eight of his best years. It also adds some very welcome information concerning Konscak's early life and the spelling of his name. We learn that he was born in the city of Varazdin in Croatia, that he was educated in Slovakia as a Jesuit, that he sailed from Cadiz to Cuba in 1730, that his desire to be established on the most difficult frontier of mission enterprise, the Lower California peninsula, was gratified in 1733 when he arrived at San Ignacio.

Konscak's important explorations began in 1746 when he made a venturesome voyage northward from Loreto along the east coast of Lower California as far as the mouth of the Colorado River. Early in 1751 he set out inland with pack animals to find a site for a mission to the north of Ignacio. A result of this trip was the founding of Santa Gertrudis in 1752. In these explorations and during the rough journeys Konscak was required to make as visiting missionary it was said that "a walking stick and a piece of canvas made his whole outfit and comfort."

The concluding chapter comprises a translation of a valuable letter of Francisco Zevallos regarding Konscak's work and his death in Lower California on September 10, 1759.

It is regrettable that these interesting records should be marred by such unidiomatic and almost unreadable English as appears under the pen of the translator.

California County Boundaries. A Study of the Division of the State into Counties and the Subsequent changes in their Boundaries. By Owen C. Coy, Ph. D. (Berkeley: California Historical Survey Commission) 1923. 69 maps. vii, 335 pp. 8°.

This work is an epitome of the history of California county boundaries. It graphically illustrates and carefully describes the great changes made in the boundaries since 1850, when California's original twenty-seven counties were created. The fifty-eight counties at present existing include all the original counties from which they were carved out. In view of the confusing number and the magnitude of these changes the present record is especially desirable and important.

Many of the early modifications in county lines grew out of the necessity of re-establishing boundaries which were found to be too

indefinite or inconvenient. Time and again uncertainties due to lack of surveys and reference to non-ascertainable geographic features necessitated changes. One curious result of the lack of surveys was that for three years (1861-1864) the county seat of Mono County (Aurora) was a town subsequently found to be located over the line in Nevada.

The most important developments were of course the addition of new counties cut out of the old to accommodate increase of population. Thus in 1853 San Bernardino County was subdivided from Los Angeles due to the Mormon immigration. The desirability of consolidating the city and county of San Francisco resulted in the creation of San Mateo County from the original county of San Francisco in 1856. Mariposa and San Diego counties as first established were of enormous extent. The former comprised about twenty-five times its present area. The growth and spread of the unsettled mining population resulted in some rather curious boundary fluctuations. In 1851 the county of Klamath was organized, the only county of the state which has now completely disappeared. The spread of mining interests in 1852 into what is now Nevada caused California legislators to establish Pautah County in territory entirely beyond the bounds of the State of California. It was expected that the Congress of the United States would eventually cede to the State of California the territory described in the act creating this county, an act which remained upon the statute books until 1859.

The work of the California Historical Survey Commission, of which Dr. Coy is the director, has resulted in bringing into harmony the various laws dealing with county boundaries, and by the Codification Act of 1923 certain necessary changes have been established as a part of the Political Code.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

At the meeting of September 19, 1923, Hon. Joseph R. Knowland addressed the members upon the subject of "Historic Spots Marked by the Native Sons of the Golden West." The speaker, sometime President of the California Historic Landmarks League, has long been active in the movement which has for its purpose the preservation of the missions and the permanent identification of notable spots of historic interest. This work of restoration and identification has not been accomplished solely by any organization, but by the efforts of several kindred associations generally acting individually and independently.

From a picturesque point of view the missions of California have long been a most valuable asset to the State. Unfortunately this fact was not realized until within a comparatively recent period, and even then it was not by the Californians but by visiting tourists and observant travelers whose comments were profuse and enthusiastic. No measures for preservation were adopted until after 1890.

Some of the missions being occupied and still actively in use, were maintained in some state of repair; moderately adequate in some instances, and hopelessly indifferent in others. Two of the missions have disappeared forever, and a number of others are little more than rapidly crumbling ruins. The results of the processes of preservation may be observed at Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, San Gabriel, San Francisco Solano and a few others. Unfortunately the work of restoration has generally effaced the work of time, and thereby much of the picturesque has been removed. But surgery after all is a drastic operation, and all surgery leaves its scars.

In their more extended work, these societies also have attempted to mark sites of historic importance. Elaborate monuments have been raised at Donner Lake, in Coloma, and elsewhere. A complete restoration has been effected of Sutter's Fort at Sacramento. Bronze tablets have been employed to permanently identify the spots and scenes of events in our history known far and widely, such as the place where Commodore Montgomery landed and took Yerba Buena from the Mexicans; "Fort Gunnybags," where the famed Vigilance Committee assembled in stern tribunal and performed its grim work of purification; and the noted field where Broderick fell.

These are some of the activities of these societies which are endeavoring to preserve to posterity the records of former days that are rapidly passing into oblivion. Methods of commemoration need not be

monumental. The signers of the Declaration of Independence were content to affix their names alone without the embellishments of pedigrees or portraits. The simple bronze tablet is quite as convincing in force and purpose.

The work accomplished by these various associations for preservation and restoration merits commendation and deserves gratitude. The highest tribute that individuals or societies may receive is not so much for what they have accomplished, but for that which they have conscientiously tried to perform.

Dr. C. Hart Merriam addressed the Society on Friday, October 26, 1923, on "A Regrettable Chapter in California History." Dr. Merriam is well known as one of the leading authorities on the California Indians, having devoted many years to a study of their mode of life, manners, traditions, and geographical distribution. At the time of the occupation by the Spaniards California was densely populated with Indians, and the territory was very definitely divided among them, each tribe having well established boundary lines. Everything points to the fact that they had occupied their relative positions for a very long time. Predatory warfare was comparatively unknown, such wars as did occur being brought about by what might be called trespass on the lands of an adjoining tribe. Dr. Merriam spoke about the effect of the mission system on the Indians, but devoted the major portion of his address to an account of their troubles with the Americans. The period of the gold rush was marked, as far as the Indians were concerned, by a total disregard by the newcomers of the rights of the Indians to their property and even to their lives. Dr. Merriam cited a number of instances of what might be called wholesale slaughter of unoffending Indians by parties of whites who could not always be called irresponsible.

We hoped to be able to present a full account of Dr. Merriam's most interesting address, but owing to his inability to revise the report of his remarks in time we are obliged to defer this until the next number of the Quarterly.

At the meeting of November 20, 1923, Mr. Charles B. Turrill treated the members to "A Stroll Through San Francisco in the Long Ago," which he illustrated by lantern slides from photographs in his own extensive collection. He first showed a picture of San Francisco in 1837, drawn in after years by W. F. Swasey from his recollection of it. He then conducted the assembly to Portsmouth Square and showed

a number of pictures surrounding that historic spot. It would be impossible to mention all the interesting pictures which Mr. Turrill showed and which he accompanied by a series of running commentaries drawn from his vast fund of personal experiences. The meeting was one of the best attended that the Society has ever held, and at its close many persons remained to offer their congratulations to the speaker for a pleasing hour spent in San Francisco "before the fire."

IN MEMORIAM

WILLIAM CAREY JONES

William Carey Jones, former dean of the graduate division of the University of California, died of apoplexy in Pekin on October 2, 1923. Dr. Jones was a grandson of the famous Senator Benton of Missouri, and therefore a nephew of Mrs. Jessie Fremont. His father, William Carey Jones, was an able lawyer who took a prominent part in the early litigation over California land titles. Dr. Jones was born in Washington, D. C., in 1854, but came to California while very young, and after a course at the University of California graduated in 1875. From that time until his retirement last year Dr. Jones was connected with the University in various capacities. He was best known, however, on account of his connection with the school of jurisprudence, in which he became professor in 1894, heading the new department.

Although Dr. Jones was not a member of this society at the time of his death, he will always be associated with it as one of the most active members on its reorganization in 1886. Dr. Jones acted as Secretary for some time, and contributed a very valuable paper, "The First Phase of the Conquest of California," which was printed in the Papers of the California Historical Society, vol. I, part 1, San Francisco: 1887.

He leaves a wife and three daughters.

FRANCIS J. CAROLAN

Francis J. Carolan, a member of a pioneer Sacramento family, died at the age of sixty on November 11, 1923, in San Francisco, having been in ill health for some time previous to his death. Although born in Sacramento, he graduated from Cornell University in 1882, and then came to San Francisco to enter business. He married one of the daughters of the late George M. Pullman, head of the Pullman Car Company, and established a beautiful place called "Carolands" in Hillsborough. For many years Mr. Carolan was prominent in the social life of San Francisco and the peninsula. He leaves a widow but no children.

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